ESSAYS

ON

THE CHINESE LANGUAGE;

BY

T. WATTERS.

Black

REESE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

SHANGHAI:
PRESBYTERIAN MISSION PRESS.

1889.

PREFACE.

The first beginning of this book was made in Peking more than a quarter of a century ago. It was at the suggestion of the lamented Sir Frederick Bruce, then H. M.'s Minister to China, that the study of the word Tao was taken up, and at the same time the survey of the Chinese language in general was begun. It was originally intended to take in a number of subjects not treated of in the pages which follow. But as the work proceeded it was found impossible to carry out the original design. Still the author ventures to hope that what is here given will help or interest students of the Chinese language and form a basis for further researches.

Imperfect drafts of part of the book have already appeared in the *Chinese Recorder* and the *China Review*.

It affords the author much pleasure to acknowledge openly his deep gratitude to his friend, W. R. Carles, Esq., H. M.'s Consul for Chinkiang. The hard and irksome task of correcting the proofs was undertaken by Mr. Carles and carried out by him during the whole time the work was going through the press. The Superintendent of the Mission Press also has done all in his power to diminish the number of printer's errors. These, however, are still too many, and the author regrets that the book has to appear marred by these and other errors for which the printers are not responsible.

Newchwang, *September*, 1889.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

CONTENTS.

Chap. I.

SOME WESTERN OPINIONS.

Number of those who use the Chinese language, p. 1; sphere of the language, 1; Chinese little known to Western scholars, 2; different opinions, 3; some theories as to origin and family relationship, 4; Golius, Leibniz, Farrar, 4; John Webb, 5; early Roman Catholic missionaries, 7; Edkins, Marshman, Chalmers, 8; Logan, G. von der Gabelenz, 9; de Lacouperie, 11; Fried. Müller, 12; some opinions on Chinese from the morphological point of view, F. von Schlegel, 12; Bopp, W. von Humboldt, 13; Schleicher, Pott, L. Adam, Max Müller, 14; Grube, 15; some opinions on the contents and general character of the language, 15; Semedo, 16; Premare, Amyot, 16; W. von Humboldt, Steinthal, Whitney, Renan, 17; materials for correct general judgment not yet ready, 19.

Chap. II.

THE CULTIVATION OF THEIR LANGUAGE BY THE CHINESE.

This chapter does not pretend to give a full account of the cultivation of their language by native authors, p. 20; early use of writing, 21; the state interpreters in Chow period, 22; cultivation of the language in this period, 23; Ch'in Shi Huang Ti's action, 26; the scholars of the Han dynasty, 28; the Buddhist missionaries from India, 36; the scholars of the Three Kingdoms

period, 38; the works on the language in the Chin period, 39; the North and South dynasties, 42; the Sin dynasty, 46; the T'ang dynasty, 48; Buddhist monks on the language, 51; invention of printing,* 54; writers under the Sung dynasty, 55; the Mongol or Yuan dynasty, 73; works on the language during the Ming period, 78; those of the present dynasty, 84; treatises to teach natives of Kuangtung and Fuhkeen the Mandarin language, 97.

Chap. III.

CHINESE OPINIONS ABOUT THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE.

Chinese opinions as to first men, they were not mute, p. 103; they and barbarians generally chattered like birds, 103; Chinese regard speech as natural, 104; man speaks when moved, 106; speech before or after music, 106; the growth and changes in speech not arbitrary, 107; earliest articulate utterances of baby, 108; sing-sing, parrot and other creatures can utter words, 109; man alone has faculty of speech, 110; two fold source of speech material and mental, 113; climatic conditions affect speech, 115; speech not enough and visible record needed, 116; precursors of writing, the Ho-t'u, and Lo-shu, and Pa-kua, 118; written characters invented by Tsang Chie but made according to reason, 121; history of writing, 123; Chinese appreciation of value of writing, 125; comparison of written languages of China and India, 126.

Chap. IV.

ON THE INTERJECTIONAL AND IMITATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

Man's conscious control does not extend to the use of emotional and imitative expressions, p. 128; treatment of these by grammarians and philologists, 128; by native scholars in

* See Errata.

China, 129; Farrar's "elements of articulate speech," 130; Chinese use of interjections such as *ai-ya*, 131; uses of *ai*, 133; vocal gestures, 135; in some cases such expressions are real words or their ruins, 136; blowing of wind, rain, 137; imitations of animal cries, 139; of involuntary human sounds as coughing and sneezing, 142; defects and peculiarities of utterance, 145; child's language, 147; expressions metaphorically imitative, 149.

CHAP. V.

THE WORD TAO.

Neither foreign nor native opinions as to the resources of the Chinese language to be trusted, p. 152; the word Tao to be investigated, 152; cautions with reference to what is stated in this chapter, 153; Tao does not give fair specimen of uses of a word, 153; writing and pronunciation of the word, 153; synonyms, 154; combinations with sense of *road*, 154; special phrases connected with meaning of *road*, 160; to travel, 161; right of way, 161; from, district, 162; orbit, course, 164; ray, band, line, time, 166; *Tao* as a numerative or classifier, 167; in the sense of means and manner, 168; expedient, 169; attainments, characteristics, 170; course of conduct, 172; state or condition, 175; to lead or guide, 177; doctrine, religion, 180; truth, wisdom, 181; principles, 183; to rule, government, institutions, 186; good government, order, 189; law, standard, &c., 190; to talk, discourse, &c., 192; the *Ultimate Principle*, 197; nature or law of creatures, 201; *T'ien-tao's* meanings, 202; man's moral constitution, 206; conscience, 208; *Tao-hsin* and *Jen-hsin*, 209; Reason, 211; duty, 214; relationship, 217; essentials, sum, 219; *Tao* as title of person, 221; source or cause, reason, 222; type, emblem, 223; ideal moral perfection, 225; ideal state of society, 228; Nature, 229; Miscellaneous, 232; Taoist use of the word, 235 Mahometan, 239; Christian, 240.

Chap. VI.

TERMS RELATING TO DEATH AND BURIAL.

The Chinese language is rich in some respects and poor in others, p. 245; words and phrases connected with Pig, 246; names for year, 249; for periods of human life, 252; terms for death, 257; for *dying*, 259; to die, 262; to die prematurely, 274; to die ill, 279; the dead, 282; terms for ceremonies on behalf of the dead, 292; terms for customs to be observed by mourners, 297; terms for the coffin and its parts, 299; the bier, 303; the site for the grave, 305; terms for burial, 307; for temporary resting of coffin, 309; the grave and tomb, 310; the cemetery, 318; terms for mourning, 321.

Chap. VII.

FOREIGN WORDS IN CHINESE.

Foreign words in Chinese not numerous, 328; Barbarians, 329; commodities known by names of countries, 329; An-hsi, Chiam-pi, Ho-lan, 330; Greek and Roman terms, 331; Spanish and Portuguese, 333; Dutch and German, 334; French, 334; English, 335; Malay, 341; Persian, 347; Arabic, 352; Turkish, 356; Manchu, 362; Mongolian, 369; Tibetan, 375.

Chap. VIII.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

The influence of Buddhism on Chinese only sketched in outline, p. 379; intercourse with India before the Han period asserted but not proven, 379; Chang Ch'ien gives report of India, 380; first missionaries from India, 380; effects of Buddhism on Chinese like those of Christianity and Mahometanism on other languages, 380; the Chinese were taught Sanskrit by the mis-

sionaries, 381; books were written, 382; the Chinese were also taught how to study their own language, 383; astronomy and other sciences taught, 383; the foreign missionaries were not all from India, 384; different dialects, Indian and Chinese, 385; Indian words introduced at different periods, 385; words relating to the Buddhist religion: the objects of worship and reverence—Buddhas, P'usas, Disciples and Patriarchs, 387; Indian gods, Brahmā and Indra, 394; Yama and Māra, 395; other supernatural beings, Rakshas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Asurs, 396; Chaṇḍi, 399; Buddhist heavens and hells, 400; names for professed Buddhists and lay members, 401; Brahmans, 406; terms relating to sacred buildings, 407; monks' robes and bowl, 412; alms and alms givers, 413; cremation, 415; Nirvāṇa, 416; relics, 417; technical terms such as Prajnā-Pāramita, Bodhi, 418; Yü-lan-hui, 421; Nan-wu, 422; T'o-lo-ni, 423; Buddhist sacred books and the material and way of chanting, 424; grammatical geographical terms and names of places, 425; names of numbers and measures, 430; names of minerals and precious stones, 432; names for trees, flowers and vegetable medicines and other products, 435; names of animals, 442.

Chap. IX.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE CHINESE LANGUAGE *(Continued.)*

New Chinese terms added by translation from the Sanskrit, p. 445; mode of proceeding adopted by early translators, 445; names of Buddhas and P'usas, Sākyamuni, Jan-têng, Kuan-yin, 446; Kei-ku-tu, 449; Lun-wang and Fa-lun, 449; Buddhist clergy, 450; geographical and topographical names, 450; objects associated with Buddhist monks, 452; San-tsang, 453; Chin-kang, 454; San-shêng, 454; other technical terms as Tao-pi-an, Mie-tu, 456; new expressions which are not translations, 458; Ch'u-chia and similar terms, 458; transmit robe and bowl, 460; transmit lamp, 450; sitting cross-legged, 461; wood-fish, 461; Name for

monastery, 462 ; terms for saluting, 462 ; terms for begging, 463 ; terms relating to transmigration, 464 ; terms for services on behalf of the dead, 464 ; other terms from Buddhist religious teaching, 466 ; sea of misery and ship of mercy, 466. ; terms for death, 466; Sui-hsi and Fang-hao-kuang, 467; miscellaneous terms which include name of Buddha, 468 ; some which have Kuan-yin, 469 ; Lo-han, 471 ; the Ho-shang, 471 ; Mâra, 471 ; Sêng-lu, 472 ; new meanings given to old expressions, 472 ; Confucianists complain of Buddhist misuse of *hsing, hsin,* &c., 473 ; new meanings for *fa,* 473 ; *chiao,* 474 ; Buddhist uses of Tao, 475 ; *Hao-shi,* 478 ; *Kung-tê,* 479 ; *pu-shi,* 479 ; terms about mortal life, new meanings to *shêng* and *shi,* 480 ; *Wu-ch'ang,* 482 ; belief in Karma affected some words, 483 ; wandering ghosts, 484 ; names of sacred places, 485 ; various instances, 486 ; *la,* a year ; *t'ien,* heaven, 487 ; *Ch'u,* to feel, 488 ; *Hsiang, Fang-pien,* 489 ; *Ju-i,* 490 ; effects of Buddhism illustrated by proverbs and common sayings, 491 ; proverbs in which Buddha's name occurs, 492 ; some in which that of Kuan-yin occurs, 493 ; P'usa, 494 ; Ho-shang, 494 ; monasteries and the monk's garb, 495 ; Karma, 495 ; the king of the dead, 495 ; heaven and hell, 495 ; the maṇi, 496 ; universal sovereign, 496.

REESE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

ESSAYS ON THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

SOME WESTERN OPINIONS.

The number of human beings who at present speak the Chinese language in one or other of its many varying forms cannot rightly be set down as much less than 400,000,000. For even if we regard the population of China proper, as given by some Western writers, to be greatly overrated, yet when we add to it those of Chinese origin who, living outside of the Eighteen Provinces, still speak a dialect of their native language, we have a sum which is perhaps even above the total just given. And the number of those who use the written language of China is much greater, for the latter is to a large extent the literary and official medium of record and communication in several countries beyond China, each of which has at the same time its own colloquial idiom.

Now for a very long period the Chinese language, written and spoken, has for the inhabitants of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, so far as it was known to them and used by them, embodied all that was highest and most desirable in civilisation. The rules for private and public life, the social and political institutions of China, handed down from age to age, surviving dynastic overthrows and popular convulsions, have exercised a great and lasting influence not only on the people which lived in the fostering shade of the Son of Heaven, but also on the tribes and nations not blessed to dwell within the circle of his potent virtue but beyond the limits of the Flowery Land. In its own sphere, which is not a small one, the Chinese nation has done much, though not unmixed good. In the history of the world,

however, it has not played a great or very conspicuous part, nor has it wrought for mankind the noble works of other nations. But we must also bear in mind that we know the history of the world only as told by Western authors. Still, the language and literature of China can never among people remote from that country arouse any enthusiastic interest such as that with which some of the Semitic and Indo-European languages have been studied by western scholars, especially within a recent period.

It cannot be maintained, however, that the language and literature of China have failed to excite the curiosity and attract the attention of Western students. Nor should we expect it to be otherwise, at least as to the language, when we think on its nature and the way in which it is written, so unlike all that we are familiar with in other languages. As Geiger truly observes, no one who aims at obtaining an insight into what mankind actually is can omit to take notice of the Chinese language, partly on account of the enormous territory over which it extends, partly because of its typical peculiarity, and partly because it is a literary language of the first rank, having original intellectual monuments from before the eighth century B.C.[1] Yet it was not until about the end of the sixteenth century that important and authentic information about China and its language began to be acquired by European scholars, and the works written by these show how the language puzzled and enchanted them. One of its great charms for them at first seems to have been found in its written characters. These we find described as "Characters Real, which express neither letters nor words in gross, but Things or Notions; insomuch as countries and provinces, which understand not one another's language, can nevertheless read one another's writings, because the characters are accepted more generally than the languages do extend; and therefore they have a vast multitude of characters, as many, I suppose, as radical words."[2] Afterwards, the qualities of the language, such as its richness, terseness, and simplicity, became subjects of dis-

[1] "Ursprung der Sprache," Vor. S. xi.
[2] Bacon, "Advancement of Learning," Book ii. (Ellis and Spedding Ed., Vol. iii. p. 399).

cussion, and various and conflicting theories arose about its origin, kindred, and history. For a long time, however, little was done to bring it practically within the knowledge of Western scholars. But within the last fifty or sixty years the relations of China with European nations have undergone great changes, and one result of these changes has been that the study of the language and literature of the country has been taken up and pursued, almost with enthusiasm in some cases, by European students. Hence we find that within this period the production of Manuals for learning Chinese, Grammars, Dictionaries, Translations of Chinese books, and of other works of a miscellaneous character on the language and literature, by European scholars, has increased very quickly. Of these books, many have been compiled to meet practical wants, and not a few, being merely mechanical reproductions of others, have little value for the student. But the Science of Language has lately taken up Chinese, and men trained in that Science have tried to fix the place and worth of Chinese among the languages of the world. Consequently, new and more liberal ways of studying it have begun to be followed, and already there are good results and hopeful prospects.

Hitherto our Western scholars who have discussed this language have held about it varying and often conflicting opinions. These opinions differ according to the point of view from which the subject was contemplated by the investigators, and according to their learning and the influence of their prejudices. They vary in value, some being the result of careful research skilfully conducted, and others being only theories with little or no attempt at verification. We have now to make a short and summary review of some of these opinions and judgments, and in doing so it will be convenient to arrange them in three classes. The first comprises those which concern the origin and kindred of the Chinese language; the second those which have regard to its formal structure and character; and the third class contains some of the judgments on the language as to its material contents, its capacity to express the thoughts and feel-

ings of the people. This arrangement, it will be seen, corresponds somewhat, but not precisely, to the three systems of classifying languages, the genealogical, the morphological, and that which proceeds according to the general value of languages when compared among themselves as instruments of expression.[1]

Beginning, then, with Western theories as to the origin and family relationship of Chinese, we find them to contain many and widely-differing opinions. Some great authorities have even harshly ousted this language from the great clan of human tongues, and left it a lonely, kinless stranger on the cold heights of isolation. Thus it was the opinion of the celebrated Golius, "a man of divine candour and a thorough Orientalist if ever there was such," that "the Chinese language was not derived from the old speech of mortals, but was constructed by the skill and genius of some philosopher"—"invented all at once by some clever man to establish oral intercourse among the many different nations who inhabited that great country which we call China." It seems strange to us now that a man like Leibniz should have given his assent to so wayward a fancy, and perpetuated it in one of his best philosophical works. Within our own time, also, the eloquent and accomplished Farrar has refused Chinese all family relationship, saying that it "differs from other languages as much as if it were spoken by the inhabitants of another planet." He puts it in the miscellaneous gathering of languages "(perhaps a thousand) which are not Aryan, and not Semitic, and which have not yet been grouped together by mutual affinities." To these languages he applies the "excellent, easy, and perfectly unobjectionable terms" "Sporadic, *i.e.*, scattered, and Allophylian, *i.e.*, spoken by other different tribes of the human family."[2]

Very few, however, have clung to the heresy of the special creation of Chinese, though many have held it to be a language by itself without parent and without offspring. In direct oppo-

[1] On this subject see Whitney's "Language and the Study of Language," p. 356 et sec. (5th Ed.).

[2] Fourmont, "Med. Sin." p. xiii.; Bayer's "Mus. Sin. Præf." p. 103; Leibniz "Op. Phil.," p. 297 *et sec.* (Ed. Erdmann); Farrar, "Language and Languages," p. 376.

sition to such opinions is the theory which makes Chinese to have been the primeval tongue, the first language,—that in which Adam and Eve talked with the Lord God and the Serpent and to each other as they walked among the trees in the Garden of Eden—and so the fore-mother of all other languages. One of the earliest and best known supporters of this theory was John Webb, an Englishman who lived at the period of the Restoration. His little book on this subject is full of rare and curious learning, persuasive reasoning, and odd fancies, and he shows a thorough knowledge of the best works on China up to his time. Martinius, Kircher, Semedo, Mendoza, Trigault, are largely quoted by him, and he seems to have gained from them a very fair insight into the nature of the Chinese language.

Webb thinks it possible that Noah may have migrated with his family to China and there built his ark, of which modern junks are but "degraded copies." He also says that "it may be very much presumed that Noah himself, both before and after the flood, lived in China." He thinks the Chinese language as it exists, written and spoken, came directly from Noah's son Shem, or the children of the latter. Whether their ancestor had settled in China or had not, they had at least moved eastwards in time to avoid the confusion of tongues, and so Chinese escaped the misfortune of being made a "confounded language." Edkins also, it will be remembered, thinks the first Chinese had gone eastward before there was any Babel. But this learned Sinologist adopts the heresy which makes Ham the ancestor of the Chinese, a heresy which Kircher and others once held, as will be seen, but Webb completely refuted. In the course of his treatise, Webb argues that Chinese has all the requisite characteristics of the primitive tongue, which are these—Antiquity, Simplicity, Generality, Modesty of Expression, Utility, and Brevity, "to which by some is added Consent of Authors." The "plain and meek" language of Adam was transmitted to his posterity down to Noah and thence through Shem to the original Chinese. The written characters even may have been taught by one of the antediluvian patriarchs, for, not to mention earlier treatises, did not

Enoch, the seventh from Adam, leave a work on Astronomy, which the Queen of Sheba possessed, and of which one so late as Tertullian "had seen and read some whole pages?" The book was written in letters "significative and hieroglyphical," and no one will deny that this description may apply to the Chinese characters, and these have an antediluvian antiquity and are, as Kircher has it, "hieroglyphicorum in omnibus æmuli," in all respects rivals of hieroglyphics. As a clinching argument Webb writes, "And as if all things conspired to prove this the Primitive Tongue, we may observe how forceably Nature struggles to demonstrate so much. The very first expression we make of life, at the very instant minute of our births, is, as was touched on before, by uttering the *Chinique* word *Ya.* Which is not only the first, but indeed the sole and only expression that Mankind from Nature can justly lay claim unto."[1]

Many others have supposed that the Chinese people and language had their origin in the neighbourhood of that old country with the soothing name Mesopotamia. That the first speakers of the language also were the offspring of Shem seemed very probable. They had apparently a knowledge of arts and sciences beyond other tribes of the time, and was it likely that Noah would be partial to Ham, the son who was "a reprobate," "peu respectueux et maudit dans sa posterité?" Kircher, indeed, thinks that Ham conducted his colonies out of Egypt into Bactria through Persia. From Bactria they may have passed into China, "the utmost nation of the habitable world, together also with the first elements of Letters, which from their father *Cham*, and *Mercurius Trismegistus*, Counsellor of his son *Misraim*, and first inventor of hieroglyphicks, they had though rudely learned."[2]

But this opinion is regarded as heterodox, and, as has been stated, it has been refuted by Webb. As to the other son of Noah, Japhet, he was doubtless taught by his father all that Shem was taught. But Japhet, or at least his children, evidently

[1] "An Historical Essay Endeavoring a Probability that the Language of the Empire of China is the Primitive Language." By John Webb. 1669. Sec. pp. 62, 147, 196.
[2] Webb's "Historical Essay," p. 29.

lost the knowledge thus communicated, as witness their long use of stone and flint tools and their slow return to more skilful appliances. But the children of Shem, including the primæval Chinese, were shrewd and wise, and never lost what they had learned. Here we see a very early instance of that practical sagacity which has never forsaken the Chinese. For when the first fathers of the race, urged by the resistless promptings of fate, left their home to go Eastward, whether before or after the "unaccomplishable work" which Nimrod's race began was abrubtly stopt, they carried away with them their "shovels, pickaxes, and trowels." They took also a small collection of Primitive Roots and the books which they had received from their fathers written in characters which their descendants have ever since retained. These are facts which satisfactorily explain the almost total absence of stone and flint tools from the archæological antiquities of the country, and the very primitive character of the language spoken and written.[1]

Most of the early Jesuit and other Roman Catholic missionaries in China and their disciples at home seem to have held this doctrine of the Shemitic origin of Chinese, though they could not agree as to which of Shem's descendants was the actual immediate progenitor. Thus there was scarcely enough proof, some maintained, to identify Yao T'ang, the first great Chinese Emperor, with Joktan, the great grand-son of Shem. Some, as has been seen, have held that Ham was the father of all such as speak Chinese, and others have deemed them to be the offspring of Japhet. Several authors have seen a relationship between the language of China and that of ancient Egypt. The first and greatest advocate of the theory that the original Chinese were a colony from Egypt was De Guignes. He boldly entitled his treatise on the subject, "Memoire dans lequel on prouve que les Chinois sont une Colonie Egyptienne;" but he supported his hypothesis largely with word-resemblances of an artifical character. Scholars and Sinologists have held that Chinese and Hebrew are related, the latter having been regarded by some of

[1] See the Lettres Edifiantes, T. 34, p. 217 *et al.* (Ed. 1832).

them as the parent language of the world. Many, also, have believed that Chinese is one of the seventy or seventy-two tongues produced by as many angels when these were sent to stop the building of the impious tower in the plain of Shinar.[1]

Dr. Edkins has tried to prove the "connection of Chinese and Hebrew" and of Chinese and other ancient languages. These, he thinks, had a common origin "in the Mesopotamian and Armenian region," a region to which distance of time and space lends great enchantment. According to Dr. Edkins, the first Chinese "were probably Hamites;" but the Chinese language, "like Mongol and Turkish, belongs to the Japhetic stock;" and yet "the ancient Hebrew and the ancient Chinese were probably dialects of a still more venerable mother speech which was truly antediluvian and began with Adam." So Chinese has an "antiquity of type" beyond other languages, for "being itself of the first descent from the primeval mother of human speech, we can trace in it no later elements."[2]

Marshman, whose defects of learning are somewhat compensated by his cautious and conscientious spirit, could not find proof enough to satisfy him of an original connection between either Hebrew or Sanskrit and Chinese. He left the question undecided, though he would perhaps have liked to see an affinity established between this language and that of India.[3]

Dr. Chalmers, in his study on the Origin of the Chinese, includes language in his attempt "to trace the connection of the Chinese with Western Nations." He takes 300 Chinese words and compares these with words of like meanings in Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic, Tibetan, and other languages. His opinion as to the affinities of the Chinese language is conditional, as the following sentence shows—"If the Chinese came into this land, from the original home of the human race, by the direct route, over the passes about Hindu-Cush, and through Tibet,

[1] Semedo's "Relatione della grande Monarchia della Cinna," C. 6, p. 43. (Ed. 1643).

[2] "China's Place in Philology," pp. 86, 67; "Notes and Queries," Vol. ii. p. 6; "Ch. Rec.," Vol. iii. p. 203.

[3] Chinese Grammar, p. 139.

UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA

and if, as is highly probable, they kept up communication from the earliest times immediately with a Tibetan nation—and through them with civilised peoples more remote—we ought to seek among the Himalayan languages, including Burmese and Siamese, rather than among the Tungusic or Mongolic classes, for affinities with the Chinese." And the conclusion to which Dr. Chalmers comes on the subject is simply that "The people and the civilisation of China are derived from the West, and only some important inventions belong to the race." [1]

Dr. Edkins dreamt of a universal kinship of languages, in which Chinese was the oldest living relative. In his dream, along with other hard tasks he tried to work, he endeavoured to prove an affinity between the roots—or so-called roots—of Chinese and those of the Aryan languages. This task was afterwards undertaken in earnest by a distinguished Dutch Sinologist, Gustave Schlegel. In the treatise of this latter we have the first scholarly and methodical attempt to compare Chinese words with those of the Aryan languages. Taking, for example, Pott's view that a resemblance between the verbs and pronouns of the two languages proves a "unité de race antérieure," he gives examples which he thinks proves this unity between the Chinese and the Aryan languages.[2]

As to the monosyllabic languages to the west of China, it seems to be generally admitted that Chinese is related to them as mother, or at least as elder sister. Logan, however, says: "On the evidence of language we may conclude that the present more western, or monosyllabic tribes, or their prototypes, were in existence when Chinese civilisation arose. Insuperable difficulties oppose the hypothesis of their having been derived from any of the languages of China after the dawn of its civilization." Yet from other passages in Logan's treatise, one would, perhaps, be justified in inferring that he regarded Chinese as related to some, at least, of the living monosyllabic tongues to which he here refers. Marshman, also, says of the Anam, Laos,

[1] "The Origin of the Chinese," pp. 36, 78, *et seq.*

[2] "Sinico-Aryaca ou Recherches sur les Racines primitives dans les Langues Chinoises et Aryennes."

Siam, and other dialects: "They spring from the Chinese, however much they may have been affected by any foreign mixture, and in that language we may expect to find the origin of that simplicity of construction, which excludes every kind of inflection. From that of its descendants, therefore, the genius of the Chinese language may be easily inferred." Schott, Whitney, and others have given utterance to opinions of a similar nature. And in 1878 the learned Sinologist, Professor G. von der Gabelenz, read a short but suggestive paper before the Oriental Congress in Florence. The aim of the paper was to raise the question of the possibility of proving a genealogical affinity between the dialects of China and the languages of Tibet, Assam, and the Transgangetic Peninsula. The writer's opinion evidently was that such an affinity existed and could be proved; and we are led to expect more light on the subject from labours in which he was then engaged. It must be admitted that the information accessible even now is neither sufficient nor properly verified and arranged to warrant general conclusions as to the kinship between Chinese and the monosyllabic tongues on her frontiers. We cannot, accordingly, accept without reserve the confident assertion made several years ago by our great Indianist, W. W. Hunter. He tells us: "Chinese has hitherto been looked upon as a language standing by itself, devoid of ethnical kindred or linguistic alliances. But in spite of its inexactitudes, this book proves that China has given its speech not merely to the great islands of the Southern Ocean, but to the whole Eastern Peninsula, to Siam, Tenasserim, Burmah, in a less degree to Central Asia, to many of the Himalayan tribes, and to some of the pre-Aryan peoples of the interior of India." It is probable that the above mentioned scholars would regard the old language of China, now dead or lost, as the common parent of all the living Chinese dialects, and of those included under the title Indo-Chinese, so far, at least, as the framework or substance of the latter is concerned. But it may be doubted whether the theory, even as thus limited, can ever be verified.[1]

[1] "Journal Ind. Arch." Vol. IV., p. 296; Marshman Ch. Gr., p. 193; Schott, Ch. Sprachlehre S. 17; Whitney, O. C. p. 331; Atti del iv. Cong. Inter. Vol. II.,

We may not pass unnoticed the opinions on the genealogical affinity of Chinese held by our revolutionary Sinologist, M. Terrien De La Couperie. As the result of long study and research, M. De La Couperie has been led to recognise in the Chinese spoken language "an ancient member of the great family of agglutinant languages, known as *Ural-Altaic.*" He adds: "And in doing so, it may be necessary to establish a third division of that family's group which has been provisionally constituted by recent discoveries, and which might appropriately be called Amardian; a group in which the first division embraces Akkadian and its dialect, and the second division Proto-medic, Susian, and Kossian."[1] We are this brought back to dear old Babylon. Professor Douglas, in the preface to the paper which contains the passage here cited, says of the "linguistic facts and suggestions" contained in it: "Put in a few words, these, and an abundance of others which will shortly be adduced in support of them, prove an unmistakeable affinity between the languages and traditions of ancient China and of Babylonia." Then in another book we have the following characteristic statement by M. De La Couperie: "China has received its language (since altered) and the elements of arts, sciences and institutions from the colonies of the Ugro-Altaic *Bak* families who came from Western Asia some twenty-three centuries B.C., under the conduct of men of high culture, acquainted, through their neighbours the Susians, with the civilisation which emanated from Babylonia and was modified in its second focus. This general statement is now beyond any possibility of doubt, for the evidence in its favour is overwhelming." It is a pity that the evidence has overwhelmed M. De La Couperie and disabled him from imparting it to expecting students. We look, however, for much light and leading from his promised works, the

p. 283; "A Comprehensive Dict. of the Languages of Ind. and High Asia," by W. W. Hunter, Disser'n. p. 20.

[1] Under the head "Turanian or Ural-Altaic (Ugro-Altaic)" Professor Sayce places two classes: (1) the West Asia and (2) the Uralic Languages. In the former he has the two groups of obsolete languages, (a) Accadian or Sumerian, and (b) Susiauian, Kossæan, Protomedic. Introduction to the Sc. of Lang., Vol. II., p. 43.

"Origin of Chinese Civilisation," and "China before the Chinese: the Aboriginal and Non-Chinese races of China."[1]

Professor Friedrich Müller gives a genealogical classification of languages based on Hæckel's "Hair" classification of mankind. His ninth class is called Mongolian, and it includes the following, (1) the Ural-Altaic languages, (2) the Japanese, (3) Corean, (4) the Monosyllabic languages, *i.e.*, Tibetan and Himalaya languages, Burmese and Lohita languages, Siamese, Annamite, Chinese, and the isolating languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. This classification has been followed, with considerable modifications, by Professor Sayce in his genealogical arrangement of all known languages. Sayce, however, puts Chinese in a separate group, and he gives under it the following curious list of dialects: "Amoy, Cantonese or Kong, Foochow, Punti, Shanghai, Mandarin." Professor Sayce did not learn in any of the authorities quoted in his note that "Punti" was a Chinese dialect.[2]

The opinions which have been cited above are, we may say, chiefly on the *material* constituents of the Chinese language as compared with those of others. They are based on a study, or pretended study, of the roots or original elements, with little reference to the formal structure. We now proceed to notice some of the opinions which have been given on Chinese from this latter point of view. And here we do not find a very great diversity of opinion among Western scholars, although, as will be seen, there is by no means perfect agreement among them.

The first to make a morphological classification of languages was perhaps Friedrich von Schlegel in his treatise on the language and wisdom of the Hindus. Using terms taken from natural science he divided languages into Organic and Inorganic. In the latter division he placed (1) language without inflections and composed of roots which suffer no change what ever,

[1] "Early History of the Ch. Civilisation," p. 19; Colquhoun's "Amongst the Shans," Int'n. pp. 29 and 40; M. De La Couperie, in "The Academy," September, 1st, 1883.

[2] Grundriss d. Sprachwissenschaft v. Dr F. Müller. B. I. S. 76; Sayce's "Introduction to the Sc. of Lang." Vol. II., p. 48.

and also (2) those called agglutinating or affixing, in which the grammar is formed entirely by suffixes and prefixes which are still easily separated and retain to some extent their own independent meanings. In the former, or Organic division, he places (3) those languages whose roots are subject to modifications from within, and in which the grammatical distinctions are expressed by inflections. He puts Chinese in the first, or lowest class, as a monosyllabic uninflected language, in which the particles denoting modifications in the meaning of a root are single syllables having always a separate and independent existence. The Chinese roots never sprout nor yield a branch or leaf of inflection ; they are thus merely lifeless, inorganic products.

W. von Schlegel followed, and divided languages into three great classes, those without any grammatical structure, the agglutinating, and the inflectional. Then we have Bopp, who approved of this division, but distinguished the classes in a manner somewhat different. In the first he placed languages which had no real roots and did not admit of composition, and hence were without organism and grammar. To this class he assigns Chinese, in which everything seems—and only seems—to be root and nothing more, the categories of grammar and the dependent relations being indicated only by the position of the words in the sentence. In the second class, Bopp placed languages with monosyllabic roots capable of being compounded. His third class comprises those languages which have dissyllabic roots with three indispensable consonants necessary to express the original or primitive meaning. Bopp also denied to Chinese the possession of roots, and what seemed to be such were not so actually. Then we have W. von Humboldt, who had studied Chinese and could compare it with Burmese and other Eastern languages. He placed it along with the Semitic and Indo-European groups, under the head of "Perfect Languages," as one of those which develope themselves, according to the law of their being, with regularity and freedom. Humboldt did not regard Chinese as related to Burmese either in origin or in structure. An important distinction of Chinese is that in it the speaker or writer trusts entirely to the mental activity of his hearer or reader and to the

arrangement of words in sentences. He writes: "I think I can reduce the difference which exists between the Chinese and other languages to the single fundamental point that, in order to indicate the connection of words in its phrases, it does not base its grammar on the classification of words, but settles otherwise the relations of the elements of language in the concatenation of thought. The grammars of other languages have an etymological part and a syntactical part. Chinese grammar knows only this latter.[1]

Then we have Schleicher's well-known three-fold division of languages, as Monosyllabic (Isolating), Confixative (Agglutinating), and Inflexive (Inflectional). In the first division are "Languages which are simply composed of invariable disjointed meaning-sounds, Monosyllabic, *e.g.*, Chinese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese." Schleicher's distribution has been followed by Professor Max Müller and others. It forms the basis of Pott's division of languages, which, however, is a four-fold one. Pott splits up the agglutinating into two classes, the Agglutinating and the Incorporating. In his first class, that of the Isolating Languages, in which matter and form remain perfectly separate, he places the Chinese and Indo-Chinese languages.[2]

There are also other classifications of languages from the morphological point of view, as *e.g.*, that of M. Lucien Adam. In this there are five classes, the first being that of the Isolating Languages, which are Chinese, Annamite, Siamese, Burmese, and Tibetan. Here, as in other classifications of languages on this principle, Chinese has a low place. Judged by its morphological constitution, Chinese is an inferior language. It and Sanskrit are at the two poles of the speech-world, and all other languages lie between them. In Chinese the words are units, they are not capable of attachment, and they are not related in any recognizable way as compounds or derivatives. They are not even roots, according to Bopp and some of his followers. Max Muller,

[1] Bopp's "Vergleich," Gr. B. I. S. 204 (3rd Ed). W. von Humboldt's "Sprach. Phil. Werke," p. 649 *et seq*. (Ed. Steinthal): Lettre á M. Abel Remusat, etc., pp. 2, 44.

[2] "Schleicher's Compendium," Part I., p. 2 (Bendall's Translation); Fr Müller, op. c., p. 68.

however, treats them as roots, for his first stage of language is that in which "Roots may be used as words, each root preserving its full independence," and this stage is "best represented by ancient Chinese." The difference in opinion here seems to be partly due to the fact that the writers attach to the word Root meanings which are to a great extent unlike and incompatible.[1]

The thoroughly monosyllabic character of the Chinese language has also been called in question by some. Remusat was apparently the first to do this, but his arguments have been long ago refuted, aad he has been followed by only a few. A living sinologist, Dr. W. Grube, is disposed to take the living language of China out of the category of Isolating and Monosyllabic. He thinks that it, like Tibetan and the Burmese and other Indo-Chinese languages, has a middle place between isolating and agglutinating. The classical and anti-classical language of China, Grube regards as composed of monosyllables, but these, he thinks, are not of a primitive nature.[2]

It is generally admitted, however, that the morphological basis is not a good or sufficient one for a system of classification which will apply to all languages. More particularly the threefold distribution of languages, as Isolating, Agglutinating, and Inflecting, and the theory of progression founded on it, have led to serious errors concerning the history and character of languages.

There remain now to be considered some of the opinions which have been formed by Western critics on the Chinese language written and spoken, when judged by its contents and general character. The questions to be answered here are of a rather vague and general character, and they do not admit of precise treatment and uniform interpretation. We are to enquire whether Chinese has been found and declared to be rich or poor in its store of words and phrases to express the spiritual and material wants of the people. Compared as an instrument of thought with other languages, does it seem to do its work in a rude or inartistic manner, or does it seem to perform its functions

[1] M. L. Adam in "Rev. de Linguistique," T. xiv., p. 245; Max Müller, "Lectures Sc. Lan.," Vol. I., p. 330 (9th Ed.)

[2] "Die Sprachgeschich. Stellung d. Ch.," S. 19.

well and neatly? Here, also, we find differences of opinion according to the standard of comparison and the attainments of the critic in Chinese. The missionaries and other European writers on China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, seem to have been for the most part quite enchanted with the great compass of this language, and the simple terse forms with which it did its work unaided by suffixes or inflections. Semedo praises even its conciseness, which makes it indeed equivocal but at the same time compendious. Such is its softness, also, according to him, that when spoken correctly, as at Nanking, it charms the hearer, flatters the sense of hearing. But he admits that while Chinese is very rich in characters it is very poor in words, that is, in its supply of terms differing in sound.[1] Semedo found a sweetness in this language and so did Webb. The latter says that "if ever our *Europeans* shall become thoroughly studied in the *Chinique* tongue," it will be found that the Chinese have very many words "whereby they express themselves in such elegancies as neither by *Hebrew* or *Greek*, or any other language how elegant so ever can be expressed. Besides, whereas the *Hebrew* is harsh and rugged, the *Chinique* appears the most sweet and smooth language of all others throughout the whole world at this day known."[2] P. Premare, who was missionary and sinologist and had a right to speak with authority, becomes quite enthusiastic on the subject of this language. Chinese Grammar, he says, is for the most part free from the thorns which ours presents, but still it has its rules, and there is not in the world a richer language, nor one which has reigned so long.[3] And we find like high praise given to the language by P. Amyot, a very accomplished scholar, who knew both Chinese and Manchoo very well. He defends Chinese from several charges which had been brought against it, and argues for its excellencies as rich and full. He regards it as peculiarly adapted for recording and communicating political science.

[1] Semedo's "Relazione d. Cina," Cap. vi., p. 43 (Ed. 1643).

[2] Webb's "Historical Essay," etc., p. 196.

[3] "Lettres Edif.," T. 33 Lettre.

Coming down to later years, when the study of language and lauguages began to be pursued in a thorough and critical manner, we have W. von Humboldt, as has been seen already, giving great praise to Chinese. Judging from the point of view of grammatical structure, one might, he says, at the first glance regard it as departing the most widely from the natural demand of speech, and as the most imperfect. On a more thorough examination, however, this view disappears, and, on the contrary, Chinese is found to possess a high degree of excellence, and to exercise on the mental faculties an influence which, if one-sided, is yet powerful.[1]

Steinthal, one of the latest and most philosophical students of language and languages, has a two-fold division into Formless and Form Languages. Lowest in the latter is Chinese, which has matter-elements, and nothing else. Form being indicated only by juxta-position. He speaks of Chinese, however, as being a language rich in terms for abstract ideas, and in vocabulary generally. It is also highly cultivated, and in the modern literature it shows delicacy, grace, spirit, wit, and humour. "The contrast between the means of the Chinese language and its productions is," Steinthal says, "a phenomenon quite unique in the history of language."[2] And Whitney warms into eloquence when he comes to treat of the history and character of Chinese. Having owned that "in certain respects of fundamental importance" the Chinese "is the most rudimentary and scanty of all known languages," he goes on: "The power which the human mind has over its instruments, and independent of their imperfections, is strikingly illustrated by the history of this form of speech, which has successfully answered all the purposes of a cultivated, reflecting, studious, and ingenious people, throughout a career of unequalled duration; which has been put to far higher and more varied uses than most of the multitude of highly organised dialects spoken among men—dialects rich in flexibility, adaptiveness and power of expan-

[1] "Ueber d. Verschiedenheit d. Men. Sprachbaues," B. II., S. 331 (Ed. A. F. Pott).

[2] "Charakteristik," &c., pp. 108, 137 *et al.*

sion, but poor in the mental poverty and weakness of those who should wield them."[1] So, also, a living authority on Chinese, Herr Georg von der Gabelenz, speaks of it as one of the most highly developed languages of our world, and as having given the greatest and best literature of all Asiatic countries. Chinese, he considers to be not only the most important representative, but also *par excellence* the ripest fruit of the Isolating class of languages.[2] On the other hand, however, we find it not seldom stated that the Chinese language is poor in its stock of words, and that as a means of expression it is rude and awkward in management. It has been declared by several of our Western scholars to be specially wanting in terms to express abstract and spiritual ideas, and the requirements of a high civilisation generally. A Jesuit missionary of the last century, who had studied Chinese among the people, writes from Canton that there is not, perhaps, in all the world a language poorer in expressions. He gives this opinion as the result of study, and he proceeds throughout a large part of the letter to dilate on the failings of the language.[3] Farrar and others have used similar phrases of depreciation, and Sayce has called Chinese a time-worn and decaying form of speech. No one, however, has decried it in such bitter, scathing language as M. Renan. Though this *savant* owns that Chinese attains its ends as well as does the Sanskrit, he says, "Is not the Chinese language, with its inorganic and imperfect structure, the reflection of the aridity of genius and heart which characterises the Chinese race? Sufficing for the wants of life, for the technicalities of the manual arts, for a light literature of low standard, for a philosophy which is only the expression, often fine but never elevated, of common sense, the Chinese language excluded all philosophy, all science, all religion, in the sense in which we understand these words. God has no name in it, and metaphysical matters are expressed in it only by round-about forms of speech."[4]

[1] "Language and the Study," &c., p. 336, and see p. 367.
[2] "Chinesische Grammatik," S. 5.
[3] "Lettres Edifs." T. xxxvii., p. 311.
[4] "De L'Origine du Langage," p. 195 (4th Ed.) Compare also p. 216.

It must be owned that many of the opinions here cited were formed somewhat rashly and without knowledge. Others evidently were the result of careful, intelligent study and comparison, but without sufficient authorities. The information necessary to enable us to form correct general judgments on the Chinese language as an instrument of expression and communication cannot be said even now to be all forthcoming. Nor are we yet in a position to give a final opinion on its rank and value when compared with other languages, or on its descent and kindred. We have among us at present students who are from time to time adding new and interesting facts, which will greatly help the future philosopher to form conclusions wide and general and at the same time accurate. But much still remains to be done before the genius and constitution of the Chinese language are thoroughly understood, and before its rank and value in the world's speech-tribes can be definitely settled. In some of the chapters which follow, an attempt will be made to bring together some of the materials which may be used hereafter in the building up of accurate knowledge and the formation of scientific deductions.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

CHAPTER II.

THE CULTIVATION OF THEIR LANGUAGE BY THE CHINESE.

From the judgments of foreigners on the Chinese language we pass to the consideration of the treatment which the language has had at the hands of natives. To tell this with any fullness would be a work needing a great knowledge of Chinese literature, and it would not, perhaps, repay the labour. It will be enough here to attempt a slight sketch of the course which the cultivation of the language by its speakers and writers has taken since the time when its records begin. Even such an outline, however, must needs be meagre and imperfect, and, at best, of little interest except to a very small number. For the early part of the history, moreover, materials are few and doubtful, while for the latter part they are too many to be properly made use of in a slight sketch like the present. In this sketch all works are passed over which are exclusively on the art of writing and the various kinds of characters, as also those treatises which were only designed to be commentaries on the Confucianist canonical scriptures. Only those books or parts of books are noticed which are specially devoted to philology, and which show us the progress made by the Chinese in the intelligent use and cultivation of their language, written and spoken. Of such treatises also, it need scarcely be added, the following sketch pretends to describe or mention only a very small number, and in several cases the accounts of the books have to be given at second-hand, the originals being out of reach. Still, it is to be hoped that the imperfect outline here presented will help to give a right idea of the way in which the Chinese have studied and cultivated their language, and will serve to correct some wrong impressions on the subject. Let us begin with the introduction of the art of writing into literature.

We have, apparently, no means of learning at what time the Chinese first began to use writing for literary purposes. We know, however, that in matters of government it was employed from a very early period. One of the first occurrences in literature of the word *shu* (書) in the sense of "writing," so far as I know, is in a passage of the historical classic, "Shu-ching." The Emperor Shun (B.C. 2255 to 2205) is there represented as giving the following instructions with reference to the reprobates about his court. "Use archery to show what they are, flogging to make them remember their faults, and writing *(shu)* to serve as a record."[1] In the reign of the same sovereign the Baron I (伯夷) seems to have drawn up a code of ceremonies, and also to have set forth the Penal Statutes of the realm for the information of the people.[2] Another early mention of writing occurs in the historical record of the king Tai-chia (太甲), and it also is found in the "Shu-ching." In the passage referred to, we are told that in the year B.C. 1753 the high minister I-yin (伊尹) "made a writing" (作書 *tso-shu*) in which he gave excellent counsel to the new king. And about two years afterwards the same minister again makes a writing to congratulate the above king on his tardy return to virtue.[3] The next mention, perhaps, is that which occurs in the "Charge to Yue" of the same treatise. It is there recorded of the king Wu Ting (武丁)—B.C. 1324 to 1265—that on a certain occasion he made a writing to convey his instructions to his ministers.[4] But it is to be noted that the passages in the "Shu-ching," just referred to, have been condemned as spurious by some critics, and there is some doubt as to their geniuneness. We know, however, that the ceremonial codes of the Hsia and Yin dynasties were committed to writing, and that parts of them survived the fall of the latter. But records concerning the history and institutions of the country before the rise of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122 to 250) were even in Confucius' time very

[1] Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol. III., p. 82; "Shu-ching," chap. v. (十三經 Ed. by Yuan Yuan).

[2] Legge, C. C. III., pp. 47, 595; "Shu-ching," chaps. iii., xix.

[3] Large, C. C. III., pp. 199, 205; "Shu-ching," chap. viii.

[4] Legge, C. C. III., pp. 250; "Shu-ching," chap. x.

scanty. The tablets of wood and bamboo on which these were written were liable to be lost. They were also occasionally stolen or defaced by officials whose projects they were likely to thwart. Hence, when search was made among them, they were often found deficient.

Among the official class, writing seems to have been in common use under the early rulers of the Chou dynasty. They had a Secretary (司書 *ssŭ-shu*), who was in charge of the state archives, and had control of all public receipts and expenditures. Another official was appointed to keep foils, or duplicates, of all registers, census returns, and maps, and he had to examine and verify the public returns and accounts. There was also one whose duty was to record on wooden tablets the name, sex, age and birthplace of each individual in his jurisdiction. Tutors were appointed for the king's sons, and one of the subjects which they had to teach was the "Liu-shu," or Six Writings, that is, the characters in their six-fold classification. In this the Chou kings seem to have followed the custom of the dynasty they subverted.[1]

Another institution which the Chou rulers seem to have taken from their predecessors was that of State Interpreters. These had not only to translate the messages of the barbarian chiefs into Chinese, and the commands of the king into the dialects of the strange visitors: they had also to teach these last how to perform their parts in the various state ceremonies in which they were required to act while at the royal court. Moreover, in the seventh year, after a royal progress, the State Interpreters were all summoned to court in order to have the various dialects compared and the king's orders harmonized. In the second year after this, the blind musicians and the annalists of the state were collected at the capital "to compare the written characters and hear the pronunciation" (諭書名聽聲音). Of the State Interpreters there were at first four classes. There were the *Chi* (寄) for the barbarians of the East, the *Hsiang* (象) for those of the South, the *Tih-ti* (狄鞮) for those of the West, and the *I* (譯) for those of the North.

[1] Biot's "Le Tcheou-Li," T. I., pp. 129, 132, 296; 周禮, chaps. vi., vii., xiv.; 字金監, Introduction.

But in this period the general designation for all the official interpreters was *Hsiang* or *Hsiang-hsü*. It was the policy of the Chow rulers to extend their dominion towards the South, and it was with the tribes of that quarter that they had most intercourse. Hence the designation of the interpreters for the Southern peoples came to be given to all classes of state interpreters. In process of time the term *Hsiang* was in its turn supplanted by *I*, which came to mean: to translate generally from one language into another. It will be observed that this last is the only one of the four words which actually supposes the use of speech in the work of interpreting between the Chinese at the capital and their various neighbours.[1]

In this period colleges existed at all official centres, and schools of various kinds were to be found generally throughout the country. Books were written and libraries formed, though, it must be presumed, only on a small scale. The written characters were few and insufficient, much time was wasted in the process of writing, and the materials used were rude and clumsy.

There is one treatise on the language which has at least a show of claim to be referred to this period. The "Urh-ya"—the first so-called Chinese dictionary—has been by vague tradition of no early origin referred to the very beginning of this dynasty, Chow Kung being supposed to have composed it for the use of his nephew Chêng Wang. And though the work as it has come down to us is evidently of a much later period than the twelfth century B.C., yet there is reason for believing in the early existence of a treatise with this name. Confucius is supposed to refer to such a work in a passage which occurs in the Ta Tai's "Li-chi." The Duke Ai asks him about "small distinctions," and Confucius says: "The 'Urh-ya,' in studying antiquity, is enough for the discrimination of language." But the context shows that this passage would at least admit of a different rendering. In an earlier work we find what is apparently a quotation from the beginning of the "Urh-ya," and we may with some reason treat the

[1] Biot, "Le Tcheou Li," T. II., pp. 407, 435; "Chow-li," chaps. xxxiv., xxxvii., xxxviii.; 禮記 chap. iii. (王制).

first part of the book as compiled during this period. We find Confucius and his disciple Tzŭ-Hsia credited with the composition or enlargement of the treatise. It was plainly not the work of one man or one time, and there may have been in early times a small beginning to which Confucius and others long afterwards made great additions.

This treatise is not, properly speaking, a dictionary, but rather a Thesaurus or vocabulary. It gives the terms and phrases used in the old classics and also those of common life, though it does not represent the store of words in existence at the time (or times) of its compilation. The subjects are classified under nineteen categories, to each of which there is a chapter. These are explanations of old terms, synonyms, buildings, music, heaven, earth, water, birds, plants, and other indefinite genera. From the study of the work we learn that at the time it was composed the language was rich in some departments, and that it contained many terms which were nearly or quite synonymous though different in origin. Many of the words in it have long ago fallen out of use, and some were, perhaps, only peculiar to dialects. The phrase Urh-ya means "approaching the perfect," that is, an attempt to give the correct or standard terms and phrases of the language. But the work is not in any degree critical. Its value lies chiefly in the view it gives of the vocabulary in existence at the time of its compilation, and in its being an early attempt to reduce the language to order. Wylie, however, who dignifies the title by the translation "Literary Expositor," says it "is a dictionary of terms used in the classical and other writings of the same period, and is of great importance in elucidating the meaning of such words." Its usefulness has been much increased by the labours of a series of learned commentators, some of whom will appear below. It was long ago made a *Ching* (經) or canonical work, and regarded as a sort of appendix to the classic on Filial Piety. Though not so highly prized now, it is still treated with respect and quoted as an authority by native scholars.

In the reign of king Hsüan (B.C. 827 to 782) the court

annalist Chow (籀) invented a new system of writing. This became known as the *Ta-chuan* or Great Seal character. The term *chuan* (篆), however, is also said to mean "record," as if *ch'uan* (傳), because this kind of writing was to be capable of recording everything for ever. Chow, who is often called Shih-chow (史 籀), is said to have written a treatise in fifteen chapters, sometimes called the "Ta-chuan" and sometimes "Shih-chow's Fifteen Chapters." This work survived the fires of Ch'in, but in the troubled period of Wang Mang's usurpation six chapters were lost. The remaining nine lived on for a few ages and gradually disappeared. A number of the characters, however, were preserved in other treatises and were used as specimens of Chow's system of writing. These characters are sometimes said to be merely altered forms of those called "tadpole;" they were in some respects like, and in others unlike, the old systems of writing (*Ku-wên*). And although Chow's system was an improvement on these, it did not supersede them. They continued to be used, at least for literary purposes, down to the end of this period. But Chow's invention had the effect of producing a considerable number of new characters, and of restricting to a small extent the applications of those already existing. Yet growth in number is said to have been followed by an increase in the misuse of characters. These were written in many very different manners throughout the kingdom, and the sounds given to them varied also. One state wrote and pronounced in one way, another in another way, and so, towards the end of this dynasty, the language, written and spoken, was in a state of great uncertainty and confusion.[1]

When the Prince of Ch'in (秦) was settled on the throne of China (B.C. 221) he set himself to make reforms and bring in order and certainty. This proud, ambitious sovereign, Ch'in Shi Huang Ti, wished to make his reign the beginning of a new state

[1] "Han-Shu," chap. xxx.; 說文 chap. xv. Chu Fu-tzŭ writes to a friend that the "Urh-ya" was a compilation of the explanations and definitions given by the scholars of former and contemporary times made into a book, but that it has inaccuracies and cannot be regarded as old (爾雅乃是纂集古今諸儒訓詁以成書其閒蓋亦不能無誤不足据以為古)—朱子全書, chap. lii.

of affairs for the whole country. He wanted the Chinese to bury their dead past and begin life again as one nation, to be one people, speaking the same language and using the same kind of writing. But to effect his purposes he used measures which were barbarous and in the end only partially successful. The check which he gave to the progress of learning did not last long, and it was followed by a reaction which more than undid what he had done. But in one thing, at least, he succeeded, for he put an end to the use of the old styles of writing—the *Ku-wên*, though the canonical writings were long afterwards reprinted in their original characters for scholars. In Shi Huang Ti's time eight kinds of writing, called the *Pa-t'i* (八 體), were current. These were (1) the *Ta-chuan* (大 篆) or Great Seal; (2) the *Hsiao-chuan* (小 篆) or Small Seal; (3) the *K'ê-fu* (刻 符), Carved Tallies; (4) the *Chung-shu* (蟲 書), Insect Writing, from its resemblance to the traces of birds and insects; (5) *Mu-yin* (摹 印), characters used for seals; (6) *Shu-shu* (署 書), used for official notices, etc.; (7) *Shu-shu* (殳 書), used for inscriptions on weapons; (8) *Li-shu* (隸 書), the square, clear writing for use in public offices. Of these, the first and second alone were used for the ordinary writing on tablets of wood and bamboo. But Shi Chow's writing had been found to be too complicated for common purposes. So a simplified form of it was devised by Li Ssŭ (李 斯), a Minister of State to Shi Huang Ti. It was this minister who advised the Emperor to burn the books and kill the scholars. Hence he has come down to posterity with a bad name, though acknowledged as a man of learning and abilities. The style of writing which he introduced, called the Small (or *Ch'in*) *Chuan*, was developed in a book to which he gave the name "Ts'ang-chie" (蒼 頡). About the same time another scholar wrote a work called the "Yuan-li" (爰 歷), and a third composed the "Po-hsio" (博 學). Chao Kao (趙 高) was the author of the former treatise, and Hu Mu Ching (胡 毋 敬) of the latter. These three works, which formed a treatise called the "San-ts'ang" (三 蒼) or "Ts'ang-chie-pien," were all written in the Small Seal characters, to which they gave a temporary popularity.

But these, though invented expressly to facilitate the transaction of public business, were still a cumbrous, inconvenient way of recording. A great improvement on them was made by the invention of the *Li-shu*, or Official Hand, the eighth of the *Pa-t'i*, which is the parent of the modern writing. The invention is usually attributed to Chêng Mao (程 邈), who also was a distinguished official of Shi Huang Ti. Tradition represents him as working out his system while undergoing unjust imprisonment by the command of the Emperor. It is said that the latter, on perusing the two thousand characters in which the new system was taught, released the author and restored him to office.

It is from this period of Ch'in Shi Huang Ti that the use of the term *tzŭ* (字) or "character" dates, and the change in name from *wên* (文) or *shu* (書) is said to have been brought about by the modes of writing invented by Li Ssŭ and Ch'êng Mao. Hitherto, all inscriptions and engravings had been mainly pictorial or symbolic, expressing, as their chief office, only objects or ideas, but now sounds also began to receive attention. And it may be mentioned in passing that the introduction of hair-pencils, *pih* (筆), for writing purposes, is generally ascribed to Shi Huang Ti's general, Mêng T'ien (蒙 恬). It seems probable, however, that, as some writers think, such pencils were known in various parts of China before Mêng T'ien's time, and that he only made improvements and brought the pencils into use in his own native land, Ch'in, the modern Shensi. In support of this view the "Li-Chi" and "Urh-Ya" are quoted as showing an early use of the character *pih*. In the former we read that on a certain state occasion "the annalist has charge of the pencil," that is, writing (史 載 筆). The "Urh-Ya" simply tells us that *pu-lüh* is called *pih* (不 律 謂 之 筆). The term *pu-lüh* (or *lih*) is said to be only the sound *pih* resolved into its elements; but it is also described as the name which the pencil had in the Wu country, that is, the Soochow region. It is agreed, however, that after Mêng T'ien's time the

name for the pencil in his State became the general one, and it has continued to be so down to the present.[1]

To the reign of Shi Huang Ti is referred the compilation of a work called the "Small Urh-Ya" (小爾雅 or 小雅). This is a treatise in thirteen sections, and is generally ascribed to K'ung Fu (孔鮒), a descendant of Confucius. It is only a small outline vocabulary, perhaps intended to form a supplement to the large "Urh-ya." The use of the word *Kuang* (廣), "expanding," at the head of ten of the sections, seems to lend support to this view. It is also strengthened by the fact that the last sections, on weights and measures, supply information on subjects left out of the larger treatise.[2]

But there does not seem to have been any thorough and methodical study of the language, any critical survey of its quantity and quality until the time of the Han dynasty. The period which bears the name of this dynasty, extending from B.C. 205 to A.D. 220, is regarded as the birth-time of China's literary greatness. The first impulse to the study of the language came from the awakened interest in the old books of song, history, social and political institutions, and philosophy. These having been hidden to escape the fires of Ch'in, were brought back into the light of day in the early part of this period. The writing on the tablets which constituted these books was now hard to make out, and there were many various readings. So at first the attention of students was given almost exclusively to the composition and meaning of the written characters. Hence arose the sayings of men in after times to the effect that the Han scholars knew the meaning but not the sounds of the characters. With them the great object was to settle a disputed reading, restore a genuine text, or give the original sense of a term or phrase in the old classics. And from their time down the study of the language in China has been intimately associated with that of the early canonical literature.

[1] "Shuo-Wên," Pref.; 字鑑, Pref.; 文房肆攷, chap. iii.; Edkins, Int. to Ch. Chars., p. 142: "Yuan-chien-lei-han," chap. cciv.; 日知錄, chap. xxi.; "Li-chi," 曲禮上; "Urh-ya," chap. v.; "Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao," chap. clxxxix.

[2] The 小爾雅 in the "Han-wei-tsung-shu."

The "Urh-ya," of which mention has been made above, is with good reason supposed to have been much enlarged and otherwise improved during this period. But little or nothing seems to be known with certainty about the fortunes of this book until we come to the Chin dynasty.

Among the writers on subjects connected with the language in the early part of this period was Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju (司馬相如), of the second century B.C. This man, more famed for his success with song and lyre than for his literary accomplishments, was a native of what is now Ch'êng-tu in Ssŭchuan. He composed a work called the "Fan-Chiang" (凡將), a short treatise which has been praised for not giving the same character twice for explanation. This work, published about B.C. 130, was based on the "Ts'ang-chie-pien," and in it Ssŭ-ma used the style of writing introduced in that work, but he also added new characters. Nearly ninety years afterwards there appeared the "Chi-chiu-chang" (急就章) by Shi Yu (史游), an official in the reign of Yuan Ti (B.C. 48 to 32). This was followed in the next reign by the "Yuan-shang-pien" (元尙篇) of Li Chang (李長). These also were written in the Small Seal character, and were also apparently based on the "Ts'ang-chie-pien." The "Chi-chiu," or Ready Finder, soon became popular among scholars, and was for a long time used as a text-book. It was often reprinted and edited with annotations by distinguished scholars, such as Ts'ao Shou (曹壽) and Yen Shi-ku (顏師古). It appears to have been written in an easy style, and to have abounded in old phrases, sounds, and characters. The above three treatises are of importance, however, mainly on account of the use made of them by the compilers of the "Fang-yen" and "Shuo-wên."[1]

About this period, the first century B.C., we find that the characters in the "Ts'ang-chie-pien" had in some places become nearly obsolete, that is, few could read them correctly and understand their meaning. It was only among the men of Ch'i, part

[1] "Han-shu," chap. xxx.; "Wên-hsin-t'ung-k'ao," chap. clxxxix.; "Shuo-wên," Pref.; 日知錄, chap. xxi.; 續博物志, chap. iv.

of Shantung, that the true pronunciation of the characters and their right interpretation remained. So the Emperor Hsüan Ti (B.C. 73 to 48) issued an order that the system of those scholars should be adopted. It was learned from these men by Chang Ch'ang (張 敞), the famous official who at home penciled his wife's eyebrows, and abroad crushed all rebellion. He was Prefect of Ching-chao, in Shensi, B.C. 60, and ten years afterwards of Chi-chow (冀 州), in Chihli. Chang Ch'ang communicated his learning to his children, from whom it passed to his daughter's son. This last taught it to his son, Tu Lin (杜 林), who committed it to writing and composed two treatises on the "Ts'ang-chie-pien." Tu Lin was a native of Mou-ling (茂 陵) in Shensi, and held office under Kuang Wu Ti, A.D. 25 to 58.[1]

Nearly all the works just mentioned have ceased to exist, and some of them lived only a short time. But it has fared otherwise with a famous treatise supposed to have been composed about this time, the "Fang-yen," to wit. This work is ascribed to Yang Hsiung (楊 (or 揚) 雄), known also as Yang Tzŭ-yun (子 雲), a native of Ch'êng-tu, in Ssŭchuan, who lived from B.C. 52 to A.D. 18. In childhood, Yang, who was a quiet, thoughtful boy, was troubled with an impediment in his speech. He had a strong love for learning and was specially fond of the writings of Ch'ü Yuan (屈 原) and Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju. In addition to his better known works on philosophy he compiled a treatise usually cited by its short title "Hsün-tsuan;" in full, "Ts'ang-chie-hsüan-tsuan" (蒼 頡 訓 纂). In this Yang made Li Ssŭ's work the basis, but he made many additions and corrections, the result of wide reading and of a comparison of terms culled from all parts of the empire. In A.D. 5, above a hundred scholars, under the presidency of Yuan Li (爰 禮), were assembled in the Imperial palace at Ch'ang-an to "explain the symbolic and phonetic writings" (說 文 字). The results of their discussions were used by Yang, as were also the works of

[1] "Han-shu," chap. xxx.; "Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao," chap. clxxxix.; "Shuo-wên," Pref. Some take the "Ch'i-jen" (齊 人) as referring to an unknown individual—see Tuan Yü-tsai's Commentary in S. W., chap. xv.; 尙 友 錄, chap. xv.

Tu Ye (杜業), father of Tu Lin, of Yuan Li—the chief among the students of the language, and of Ch'in Chin (秦近).

But the book which has given Yang Hsiung his chief fame in later times is the "Fang-yen." Native scholars have tried in vain to find out how and why the authorship of this treatise came to be ascribed to him. It is not mentioned in the list of books in the "Han-shu," nor in the life of Yang Hsiung in that work, nor, so far as is known, does Hsü Shên or any other of Yang's contemporaries refer to the book by name. As an appendix to the "Fang-yen" two letters are found, one from Liu Hsin (劉歆) to Yang, and the other the reply to this. From these two letters, and the facts above mentioned, we may safely adopt the opinion that the "Fang Yen" was not published in the life-time of Yang. The first writer to ascribe the authorship to him was apparently Ying Shao (應劭) who lived in the second century of our era. In the preface to his famous treatise, "Fêng-su-t'ung-i," Ying makes mention of Yang as the author of a treatise which is evidently the "Fang-yen." But though he even quotes from Yang's letter to Liu Hsin, he does not give the name of the treatise. From his time down to the end of the twelfth century there seems to have been no difference of opinion as to the authorship. The first to challenge the truth of the tradition was Hung Mai (洪邁), who lived A.D. 1123 to 1203. His arguments against the genuineness of the book are founded chiefly on the supposed irregular use of certain characters, and on the fact that no mention of Yang's authorship is made by himself or by others of the same period. But these arguments have been answered by later students, and they have not shaken the learned belief in the general tradition.

As we have it, the "Fang-yen" is in thirteen chapters and is said to contain 12,000 characters, but it is supposed to have been originally in fifteen chapters and to have had only 9,000 characters. The full title,[1] here given in the foot-note, points to its sources. During the two dynasties which immediately preceded the Han, certain officials—the "light carriage envoys"

[1] 太玄法言

—were sent periodically to visit the various states subject or tributary to China. Their duty was to observe and note the different ways of speech, and manners, and popular sayings, and ballads of the towns and districts through which they passed. When they returned to court they made reports which were put on record. At the time of the Han dynasty the practice had ceased, and in the first century B. C. most of the tablets containing the reports were lost: even the nature of the duties of the "light carriage envoys" was almost forgotten. But attention was recalled to them by the labours of a recluse of Ssŭchuan, by name Chuang (*al.* Yen 嚴) Chun-p'ing (莊君平). He compiled from the old records a vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, and Lin Lü (林閭) *al.* Wêng (or Kung 公) Ju (翁子孺), also a native of Ssŭchuan, made a summary. While Yang was in Ssŭchuan he came into very close relations with Lin Lü, and, liking his mode of procedure, he adopted it for his work. Thus he not only used the extracts available from the reports of former "light carriage envoys," but he also instituted similar investigations himself. For twenty-seven years he went on collecting and arranging his materials, and died, as the book seems to show, with his work still unfinished.

The "Fang-yen" is mainly a comparative vocabulary of a large number of the terms and phrases used in different states and districts. It tells the areas within which certain names and forms of expression prevailed. To some extent also it is simply a dictionary, explaining the meaning of certain terms, and giving synonyms. It does not give the sounds of the characters or any attempt at an analysis of them. From it, however, we learn many of the dialectical varieties which existed in the first century B. C., and how certain words and phrases of that time have to be understood. Many of the words in it have long since become obsolete, or have continued to live only in the small circuit of a dialect. The text, as we have it now, is supposed to differ considerably from that left by Yang, and the work is said to have suffered otherwise in the course of transmission.

But the zealous labours of Kuo P'o and other editors have made the "Fang-yen" a standard authority on the language in the time of the Former Han dynasty.[1]

The next work to be noticed is the "Shuo-wên-chie-tsŭ" (說文解字), best known by its short title "Shuo-wên." The author of this was Hsü Shên (許愼), with the second name Shu-chung (叔重), who was a native of Shao-ling (召陵) in the south of Honan. He lived about the end of the first and the beginning of the second century of our era, but the precise dates of his birth and death do not seem to be recorded. He held office for some time, but he had retired from public life and was living at home when his death took place, which was apparently about A.D. 121. The "Shuo-wên" was finished in A.D. 99, and in the next year Hsü composed the preface. But the work was not published until A.D. 121, when the author's son Ch'ung (沖) put it in order and presented it with a memorial to the Emperor An.

Hsü Shên was a devoted student of the orthodox literature of his country, and was famous among his contemporaries for his great learning. The old texts of the canonical books which had been brought from their graves in the early period of this dynasty had, as has been stated, given rise to much controversy. It was to help in settling doubts and difficulties about these that Hsü composed his first treatise, the "Discussions of Variations in the Five *Ching*" (五經異議), on which Chêng Hsüan animadverted. It was with a like end in view that Hsü prepared his "Shuo-wên," the long labour of his last years. For the making of this he studied, with the help of Chia K'uei (賈逵), one of the greatest of the Han scholars, all the accessible literature in the old characters and in those invented in later times. He compared the texts of the recovered tablets, collected inscriptions on ancient vases, and examined the writings of his predecessors, such as Shi Chow, Li Ssŭ, and Yang Hsiung.

[1] 輶軒使者絕代語釋別國方言 ("Wu-ying-tien" edition); 風俗通義, Preface; "Han-shu," chaps. xxx., lxxxvii.; "Wen-hsien-t'ung-k'ao," chap. clxxxix.; Edkins, Int. Ch. Characters, Appendix; "Shuo-wên," Preface.

For the characters to be explained, the author of the "Shuo-wên" used the Small Seal kind of writing, and for the explanations he used the *Li* (隸) writing. The work is divided into fourteen chapters (or books), and there are 10,600 characters explained. These are arranged under 540 classifiers, called also Primitives and Radicals, beginning with *one*, the origin of all things. The subjects which the Dictionary embraces are, according to Hsü Ch'ung, the literature of the country, heaven and earth, demons and spirits, hills and streams, vegetable and animated nature, and all the affairs of men. The author seems to have meant his work to be mainly an authority for the true texts and right meanings of cerain treatises regarded as canonical. For these it was to *shuo-wên*, state or explain the symbolic writing, and *chie-tsŭ*, analyse the phonetic characters. Some of the explanations which it gives to characters seem to be mere trifling, and the work can scarcely be considered as one of great etymological value. Nor is it to be regarded as an index to all the characters in use at the time of its compiling. It leaves out through feelings of reverence those which entered into the names of Han emperors, and even in the author's own preface are characters which are not given in the dictionary. Nor does the work profess to solve all the difficulties which occur, for, as the author states, in some places he found doubts which he had to leave as he found. The "Shuo-wên" is of interest chiefly as the earliest Chinese dictionary extant which attempts to give an analysis of characters and a clue to their sounds. It is consequently a record of at least a part of the language as used for literary and other purposes before the end of the first century of our era. The analyses of characters which it gives are doubtless those which had most authority at the time of the compiler, and the indications of the sounds given to them are of value to the student of the language and literature. But it was with the writing of the characters and with their original or supposed original meaning that Hsü was chiefly concerned. It is for what he achieved in these matters that his work has been highly prized by native scholars. The preface also, which forms *chuan* 15 of the treatise as it was

published, is of great value for the information it gives about the book and about the cultivation of the language up to the author's time. The "Shuo-wên" has always been in high esteem among native scholars, who regard it as necessary to the understanding of the books which were written before it, and as the standard for those which have been written since. While many of its successors have long ago died, the "Shuo-wên" still lives and has its old authority. It has served also as a text on which many later scholars, some of whose works will appear below, have discoursed with various learning.[1]

Another treatise which illustrates the language of the Latter Han period is the "Shi-ming" (釋名) or Name Explainer. This was compiled by a man whose surname was Liu (劉). He gives his name as Hsi (熙), but others call him Chên (珍) apparently, or Hsi (喜), and his second name was Chêng-kuo (成國). He was, according to one account, a native of what is now Ch'ing-chow (青州), in Shantung, and he lived in the latter part of the second century of our era. He wrote a commentary on Mencius, and was apparently a good scholar.

The "Shi-ming" is a vocabulary and dictionary of words distributed under twenty-seven headings, and divided into four *chuan*. The first category is Heaven, and then we have Earth, Mountains, Water, Food, Clothing, and others, the last being Death and Mourning. The "names" given under these headings are mainly terms in common use, and the explanations were evidently intended, as the author tells us, for the unlearned. The analyses and meanings are not convincing, and sometimes they appear to be almost comical. But many of them are curious and give help to the student. The author explains *fang* (房), a house, by *pang* (旁), the side, because dwelling-houses are on each side of the court. A well is *ching* (井), that is, *ch'ing* (淸), pure. An island is *tao* (島), because it is a place to which men go, *tao* (到), for shelter. *A father, fu* (父), is *fu* (甫), the beginning, because he starts the baby in life; and a mother, *mu* (母), is *mao* (冒) to cover,

[1] 說文解字, ed. by Kuei Fu-hsio and Tuan Yü-tsai; Mayers' Ch. R. M., No. 202; Chalmers in Ch. Rev., V., p. 296, IX., p. 297; Edkins' Int. Ch. Chars., p. 151; "Hou-han-shu," chap. lxxix.

because she covers the baby in her womb. *Su* (俗), common, is *yü* (欲), to want, what the common people want. Such popular etymologies as these gave those for whom they were designed a clue to the sounds of the characters, and at the same time supplied a reason for the use or meaning of the words of daily life. The meaning is generally right, though the reason is wrong. Unscientific derivations of words are not often correct, and some of those in the "Shi-ming" remind us of like ones at home. The origin of the word anchoress, for example, as given by an old writer, would quite suit the author of this book. The anchoress is told—"for thi ancre is icleoped ancre and under chirche i-ancred, ase ancre under schipes borde." The "Shi-ming" does not seem to be indebted to any of its predecessors except perhaps the "Urh-ya," which is mentioned in it by name. It is often quoted by later writers, but apparently in the enlarged edition to be noticed presently.[1]

In addition to those here noticed there were several other scholars of the Han period who made a study of the language. Such were Ma Yung (馬融) and his great disciple Chêng Hsüan (鄭玄) *al.* Chêng Kang-ch'êng (康成). These, however, devoted themselves mainly to the old canonical literature, and it was only with a view to the elucidation of the orthodox texts that they studied the language. From the writings of these and the many other scholars who gave its literary glory to this dynasty, the language acquired a considerable degree of exactness and polish. It became a medium of expressing with clearness and precision not only social and political facts and doctrines, but also the nice refinements of literary criticism. The characters already in existence had their meanings defined according to the uses of classical authorities, and many new characters were added.

Long before the time at which we have now arrived, however, Buddhist missionaries had come from India and settled down in China. In order to have their sacred books translated and their religion propagated in the country, they had to learn

[1] 釋名 (in "Han-Wei-tsung-shu"); "Hou-han-shu," chap. lxxx., 上; 家訓, chap. xviii.

its language. This must have appeared to them, when compared with their own, barbarous and ungainly, and incapable of reproducing accurately either the sounds or the teachings of their books. They accordingly tried to introduce their own alphabet and have it brought into use in China, but in this they completely failed. They succeeded, however, in teaching the Chinese, or at least in giving popularity among them to an art of spelling, which, though rude and inaccurate, is better than none. This is the procedure known as *Fan-ch'ie* (反切), from *fan*, to turn back, and *ch'ie*, to rub, an appropriately hazy designation. By this method the sound of a character is given by two other characters, of which one forms the initial and the other the final; these two are manipulated in such a way as to yield the sound required, the tone being given by the final. The process was at first called *fan* (反), and when this character was taboo and unlucky, *ch'ie* was substituted: but this was in time replaced by the phrase now in use. It appears, also, that before any of the foreign missionaries came into China its scholars had to some extent a system of spelling like the *fan-ch'ie*. Many instances of this are given, and it is probable that many more might be added. One or two examples may be here presented. The word *p'o* (叵), cannot, was spelled *pu-k'o* (不可), as the character *p'o* in the old writing indicates, the character being self-spelling, and self-explaining. So also *ho* (盍) was spelled by *ho-pu* (何不); and *chu* (諸) by *chĭ-hu* (之乎). The first marking and describing of the four tones at a later date, and the classification of human sounds according to the physical organs employed in their production, are also generally attributed to Buddhist missionaries. The times at which the above steps were taken cannot be exactly determined, nor, apparently, is any one of the innovations uniformly associated with any particular individual. All that we learn is that they originated with Buddhist monks from India, or at least obtained currency through their teaching.[1]

[1] 試筞箋註, chap. iii.; 顧氏學, "Yin-lun" 下; "Kanghsi's Dictionary," Preface.

We have now arrived at the period of Chinese history known as that of the Three Kingdoms, or *San-Kuo* (三 國), when the country was divided into the Han, Wei, and Wu kingdoms. During this short but troubled period, extending from A.D. 220 to 265, the cultivation of the language steadily advanced. Up to this time, we are told, there had been little care given to the spoken words or the pronunciation of characters. But now these matters also began to be thought of importance. The first, apparently, to write on the sounds of characters, was Ts'ao Chih (曹 植) *al.* Ts'ao Tzŭ-chien (子 建), who lived from 192 to 232. He was a son of the famous Ts'ao Ts'ao, Prince of Wei, in the North of China. But Ts'ao Chih was a poet and a student, choosing the quite pleasures of learning rather than the bustling turmoil of public life, nor heeding the contempt with which he was treated by his warlike relatives. He was the author of a work called The Forty-two Documents (or Tallies), (四 十 二 契), in which he treated of more than 3,000 *Shêng* (聲), or sounds for characters. About the same time Li Têng (李 登), a public officer of the Wei kingdom, compiled the "Shêng-lei" (聲 類) in ten chapters; and this is said to have been the first book to give a classification of characters according to their sounds. But it is to be noted that with these two writers the term *Shêng* is used generally, and not in the restricted sense of "tone."[1]

In this period we have also the well-known treatise called "Kuang-ya" (廣 雅) or "Po(博)-ya." This was compiled by Chang I (張 揖), of the Wei kingdom, about the year 265. It is a supplement to the "Urh-ya," the authorship of which work Chang, in his Memorial to the Throne, ascribes to Chow Kung. The "Po-ya" is little more than a large classified vocabulary with occasional short comments or descriptions. As we have it now, the pronunciation of most of the characters is given, but this was the work of an editor in the Sui period, whose name was Ts'ao Hsien (曹 憲). The pronunciation is sometimes given in the *fan-*

[1] "Li-shi-yin-chien" (李 氏 音 鑑), chaps. i. and ii.; "Yun-hsio" (韻 學); "Ku-shi," etc. "Yin-lun" 上.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ch'ie way, and often by one word. The pairs of characters thus represented as like in sound are occasionally interesting to observe. Thus, for example, the character now called *wêng* (翁) is given as like *kung* (公) in sound, and this helps us to understand why these two characters are found to be interchanged. It was this same editor who in the name of the book changed *Kuang* to *Po* in order to avoid using the name of the Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty. In addition to the "Po-ya," Chang I wrote also the "P'i Ts'ang" (埤蒼), in three *chuan*; the "San-ts'ang-hsün-ku" (三蒼訓詁), in three *chuan*; and two other treatises, all on subjects connected with the language. He is said to have been a good scholar in this branch of knowledge, and he is often quoted, but most of his writings seem to have been lost long ago.[1]

The period of the Three Kingdoms was succeeded by that of the Chin (晉) dynasty, which lasted from 265 to 419. In this period the first name to be mentioned is that of Wei Chao (韋昭), who was famous as a scholar and commentator. He edited the "Shi-ming," and greatly enlarged the original work, specially adding to it terms relating to government and state affairs generally.[2]

Another distinguished student of the language about the same time was Sun Yen (孫炎). This scholar is better known by his other name, Shu-jan (叔然), which he had to use on the accession of Chin Wu-ti, who also had the name Yen. Sun was a native of Lê-an (樂安), in the present province of Shantung, and was born in the latter part of the Han period. Hence he is variously described as of the Han, Wei *(San-Kuo)* and Chin dynasties. He was a follower of the teachings of Chêng Kang-ch'êng, who spent the last years of his life at his native place, also in Shantung. Sun, who was celebrated among his contemporaries for his great learning, was the author of several treatises on the old classics. Among them was one on the "Urh-ya," in six *chuan*, and called "Urh-ya-yin-i" (爾雅音義). In this he seems to have used the *fan-ch'ie* spelling, and some

[1] 博雅 (in "Han-Wei-tsung-shu"); "Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao," chap. clxxxix.
[2] Appendix to "Shi-ming."

writers assert that he was the first native author to adopt that method. This treatise was much used by subsequent editors of the "Urh-ya," but it cannot be said to have held a high place in native esteem.[1]

The first addition to the "Shuo-wên" was made in this period by Lü Shên (呂忱), a native of Jen (任), a town in what is now the Prefecture of Yenchow, in Shantung. Lü Shên, who was a contemporary of Sun Yen, was an official and a scholar, but he is chiefly remembered as the compiler of the "Tzŭ-lin" (字林) or Grove of Characters. This is variously spoken of as in one, three, five, six, or seven *chuan;* or as in five chapters *(pien).* It was intended to be a supplement to the "Shuo-wên," and many characters were given in it which had been left out from the "Shuo-wên," either designedly or otherwise. These characters were derived from various sources, but mainly from the old tablets and those in the Great Seal writing, and they were new and unknown to the scholars of this time. The "Tzŭ-lin" soon came to take its place as an appendix to the "Shuo-wên," and to be regarded as a good authority. Some scholars have even maintained that the text of the modern editions of the "Shuo-wên," is indebted to this work. The first to enrich the "Tzŭ-lin" with notes and comments was a Buddhist monk, Yun Shêng (雲勝), but little is known of him or his work. The "Tzŭ-lin," however, has been often reprinted, and great additions have been made to the text, but it has long been hard to find.[2]

A younger brother of Lü Shên, by name Ching (靜), was also a scholar and a writer on the language. He compiled the "Yun-chi" (韻集), called also "Chi-yun," or Collection of Finals, in five *chuan.* This book, which was founded on the "Shêng-lei" of Li Têng, had the characters arranged according to the five *yin,* or musical notes. It is in this work, according to some writers, that the expression *Yun-shu* (韻書), Book of Finals, first occurs; and the first use of *yun* in its restricted sense of *final* is

[1] "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. ii.; 顏氏家訓, chap. 下, where 言 is used for 然 in Sun's name; "Shang-yu-lu," chap. iv.

[2] "Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao," chap. clxxxix.; 桂馥學's "Shuo-wên," chap. l.; 韻學, chap. i.

also ascribed to its author. But others refer the first use of *yun* in this technical sense to Luh Chi or Luh Fa-yen. On this point the general statement is perhaps the correct one, to wit, that this use of the character *yun* began in the Chin Sung (or Chin Wei) period, or after the middle of the third century of our era.[1]

Contemporary with the above was Luh Chi (陸 機) *al.* Luh Shi-hêng (士 衡), the ill-fated poet, soldier, and scholar. His life, which lasted only from 261 to 303, was one of worry and distress, yet he found time to write above 200 *chuan*, which were thought worthy to live. In one of his writings the word *yun* is found contrasted with *wên*, the spoken word with the written character. Some writers, as has been stated, regard Luh Chi as the first to use *yun* in its technical sense.[2]

But the greatest among the students of the language at this period was Kuoh P'oh (郭 璞) *al.* Kuo Ching-shun (景 純). This man, who lived from 276 to 324, was a native of Wên-hsi (聞 喜) in the present province of Shansi. He was the son of an official and scholar and followed his father's example. But it was more as an astrologer, and necromancer, and alchemist that he was celebrated during his lifetime than as an official or a scholar. He was from youth a lover of all curious learning, and a devoted student of early literature. He wrote several works on the ancient classics, but his fame now among native scholars rests mainly on his labours in connection with the "Urh-ya" and the "Fang-yen." He edited the text of the former and added an illustrative commentary giving the sounds and explanations of many of the characters. This commentary was afterwards incorporated in the edition of the "Urh-ya" produced by Hsing Ping of the Sung dynasty, and it is still an authority. The manuscript of the "Fang-yen" was put in order and published by Kuo, with notes which give the sounds and meanings of rare or difficult characters. Native students still regard this work as

[1] "Yun-hsio," chap. i.; "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. ii.; "Ku-shi," etc., 音 論 上.

[2] "Ku-shi, etc., Yin-lun;" Mayers' Ch. R. M., No. 436; "Chin-shu," chap. liv.

a text-book and as the only authoritative edition of the "Fan-yeng." The old treatise known as the "San-ts'ang," noticed above, was also edited by Kuo and furnished with a commentary: and he composed other books on subjects connected with the language.[1]

The extinction of the Chin dynasty in 420 was followed by that division of the empire known as the South and North Dynasties, which lasted to the year 588. Of this period, however, only the portion embraced by the Southern Dynasties Ch'i (齊) and Liang (梁), extending from 479 to 557, is of much importance in connection with our subject. It marks an epoch in the cultivation of the language, and is regarded as the period in which the study of etymology began to flourish.

The first name to mention is that of Chow Yü (周 顒) *al.* Chow Yen-lun (彥 倫) who lived in the second half of the fifth century. He was a native of Ju-nan, in the province of Honan, and held office, but he is remembered only as an author on the language. The treatise ascribed to him was the "Ssŭ-shêng-ch'ie-yun" (四 聲 切 韻), Words Pronounced According to the Four Tones. This is said to have been the first native work in which the four tones—*P'ing, Shang, Ch'ü, Ju*—were distinguished, and also one of the earliest treatises in which the *fan-ch'ie* mode of giving the sounds was systematically adopted. The work was long since lost, and its contents are known only by the statements of subsequent writers. Of Chow Yen-lun the well-known story is told that when Liang Wu Ti refused to recognise the four tones, the courtly scholar convinced him of their existence by the expression *T'ien-tzŭ-shêng-choh* (天 子 聖 哲), Your Majesty is saintly wise. This story is told also of Shên Yo, and of his disciple Chow Shi (周 捨).[2]

Next to Chow Yen-lun comes Shên Yo (沈 約), *al.* Shên Hsiu-wên (休 文). The native place of Shên was Wu-hsing (吳 興) in the present prefecture of Hu-chow, near the T'ai-hu

[1] "Chin-shu," chap. lxxii.; Mayers' Ch. R. M., No. 304; 爾 雅 註 疏 (in 十 三 經), Int.; 方 言 注, Pref.; 文 中 子, chap. vi.

[2] "Ku-shi, etc., Yin-lun," 中 chap.; "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. ii.; "Yun-hsio"; Ma T. L., chap. clxxxix.

in Chekiang. He lived from 441 to 513 and held various offices, but all his love through life was for learning and the society of scholars. Several historical and other works were composed by him, but his fame rests chiefly on his contributions to the study of the language. These were made in a treatise called "Ssŭ-shêng-yun-pu" (四聲譜韻) or Record of Finals (or words) according to the Four Tones. This treatise did not survive very long, apparently, but it did not perish until it had been greatly used and had gained a high reputation. It was based on the treatise above mentioned by Chow Yen-lun, and as the two men were contemporary, Shên may have derived from Chow his learning on the "four tones." But some think that Shên was the first to discover these and make them known. He is represented as saying that though men had written poetry for thousands of years they had not noticed the distinction which he alone discovered by silent thought. Others tell us that Shên was the first to present in a tabulated form a system of initials and finals according to the four tones. He is said to have adopted Chow's system of giving the pronunciation, and to have illustrated it by the rhymes in the "Shi-ching," adding the results of his own thought and reading. The following description of the four tones is sometimes ascribed to Shên Yo, but it is perhaps due to a later writer. The *p'ing shêng* is said to be sad and even, the *shang* fierce and raised, the *c'hü* clear and receding, and the *ju* direct and shortened. It is interesting to compare this description with those given in other places, for example with the one given in the Introduction to Kang-hsi's Dictionary. One critical objection that has been made to Shên Yo's etymological teachings is that he wished to made the sounds of his native place the standard for the empire, to regard the dialect of Wu as the language of China.[1]

That Shên Yo was not the first to discover the existence of the "four tones" and mark their differences scarcely admits of doubt, notwithstanding the assertion to the contrary made by

[1] "Ku-shi, etc., Yin-lun," 中 chap.; "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. ii.; "Shang-yu-lu," chap. xvii.; 神珙九弄圖; Edkins' Shanghai Gr., p. 10., and Chinese Buddhism, p. 112.

him or his biographer. The distinction was most probably first observed by the Indian missionaries, and it was known to native scholars at least in the reign of Ch'i Wu Ti, A.D. 483 to 494. But the discovery was not fully recognized and adopted until the time of Liang Wu Ti, A.D. 502 to 550. About this time several other scholars also wrote on the subject of the "four tones," and it soon became a popular one, though not without protests. It does not seem to have been well known, however, to another contemporary of Shên Yo who also became famous in literature. This was Liu Hsie (劉 勰) *al.* Liu Yen-ho (彥 和), a native of Tung-kuan (東 莞) in Shantung, in the time of Liang Wu Ti. He was a great reader and a good writer, and some of his works have been preserved. Among these is one called by its author "Wên-hsin-tiao-lung," (文 心 雕 龍), The Carved Dragon of the Heart of Literature, that is, the finest ornaments of the best writing. This treatise is divided into ten *chuan* containing fifty chapters, the last of which gives some account of the work and the origin of the title, and from it the explanation here given has been derived. The work is a series of essays on various literary and other subjects, and is written in a loose, easy style. It touches on nearly every subject known at the time connected with the origin and development of language and literature. Its notices of the first rise and meaning of new expressions are specially interesting, though not always correct, and it abounds in references to old authors.[1]

The next writer on the language to come under notice is Chiang Shi (江 式) *al.* Chiang Fa-an (法 安), a native of Chi-yang (濟 陽) in Honan. He was the author of the "Ku-chin-wên-tzŭ" (古 今 文 字), in forty *chuan*, published in the year 514. Chiang was a man of inherited literary tastes and of great learning. In the above treatise he made the "Shuo-wên" his standard of authority (主), and he seems to have read with care all the good literature bearing on the characters. It was to these rather than to the spoken sounds that he devoted his thoughts and reading.[2]

[1] 文 心 雕 龍 (in "Han-Wei" Collection); Wylie, Notes on Ch. Lit., p. 197.
[2] Kuei Fu-hsio's "Shuo-wên," chap. 1.

A much more famous author, however, was Ku Ye-wang (顧野王) *al.* Ku Hsi-fêng (希馮). This man was a native of K'un-shan (崑山), in the Soochow Prefecture of Kiangsu, and lived from 519 to 581. He rose to high office under the Ch'ên dynasty, but his reputation as an official was eclipsed by his fame as a great scholar and an author. The work with which his name is most associated is the dictionary called "Yü-pien" (玉篇), in thirty *chuan*. This was finished and published in 543, but no copy of that edition has been in existence for a long time, the earliest known edition being that published in 675 by Sun Ch'iang (孫强). The "Yü-pien" was based on the "Shuo-wên" and followed the arrangement of that dictionary, adding and omitting characters. The current style of writing—the *chiai* (楷)—was substituted in it for the now obsolete characters used by Hsü Shên. It makes use of 542 classifiers (radicals), and gives throughout the *fan-ch'ie* way of spelling. Whether, however, this latter was the work of the original compiler may at least be doubted. As left by him the "Yü-pien" is said to have been very imperfect, omitting many characters, faulty in arrangement, and abounding in errors. Native scholars who may be disposed to regret the loss of the first edition may console themselves with the reflection that it was not so good as the one to which they now have access.[1]

To the latter part of this period belongs another distinguished man, Yen Chih-t'ui (顏之推) *al.* Yen Tzŭ-fên (子分). He was born in 531 and lived to the end of the period. As he held office for a considerable time under the North Ch'i rulers he is generally spoken of as belonging to that dynasty. But he has come down to posterity only as an author, and specially as the author of the "Chia-hsün" (家訓), or Family Teaching. This treatise, as we have it now, is in two *chuan*, divided into twenty chapters; and it treats of many subjects connected with the good conduct and education of a family in a style easy and pleasant. Several chapters are devoted to subjects connected with the language, and these are among the most interesting. The whole of

[1] "Yü-pien" with Chu I-tsun's Preface (Ed. 1704); 程氏讀書分年日程 chap. iii.; Edkins' Mand. Gr., p 73.

the eighteenth chapter, for example, is devoted to language and philology, and it will repay a reading. From this book we learn that the "Shuo-wên" was at this period regarded as the ultimate standard of appeal; its readings of the canonical works were taken against those of the current texts. Yen Chih-t'ui was also author of two works specially devoted to matters relating to etymology. These were the "Chêng-su-yin-tsŭ" (證俗音字), and the "Tzŭ-shi" (字始). Yen was a native of Lang-ye (瑯琊), the modern Yi-chow in Shantung.[1]

About this time the son of one of the North Ch'i Emperors introduced to native scholars an expedient which, though it did not meet with much popularity, deserves some notice. It is known as *Tzŭ-ch'ie* (自切) or *Tzŭ-fan* (自反) and among Buddhist writers as *Ch'ie-shên* (切身), all expressions having the meaning of self-spelling. By this expedient the sound of a character is given in the composition of the character. Thus the sound *te* is expressed by 丁也, that is, *ting* 丁 and *ye* 也; to make *tsi*, the initial *tsu* 足 is placed at the side of *i* 亦. Properly, the character which gives the initial is placed at the left side of that which yields the final, but the rule was not generally observed. This mode of representing sounds is expressly stated to have been derived from the Buddhists, but it was apparently used before the Indians came into the country. The translators of the Buddhist sacred books, however, used this method to some extent in transcribing Sanskrit sounds, and so made it popularly known. It is not improbable that a closer study of Chinese would show that the apparently meaningless composition of many characters is the result of an attempt to make them self-pronouncing.[2]

During the short-lived Sui dynasty, from 589 to 618, the study of the language continued to flourish. Much attention was now paid to the tones and the sounds of characters generally, rather to the neglect of other matters relating to the history of the language. We find mention of a book written about this time

[1] 彥氏家訓 (in Han-Wei Collection).

[2] "Ku-shi, &c., Yin-lun" 下; "Li-shi," &c., chap. ii.; 貫珠集, Vol. I., p. 36.

on the finals, called "Yen-tsuan" (韻纂), by Tsün, Prince of Ch'in (秦王俊). This work, we are told, made the sounds of characters the chief thing, and so differed from the "Shuo-wên" and "Tzŭ-lin." But little notice is found of the book, and it was apparently not of much importance. It was added to the "Ch'ie-yun" of Luh Fa-yen, as a sort of appendix, by Kuo Chih-hsüan.[1]

This Luh Fa-yen (陸法言), called also Luh Tzŭ-pei (詞輩), has an important place in the history of the cultivation of the language. With the co-operation of Liu Chin (劉臻) and seven others, including Yen Chih-t'ui, some from the south and some from the north, Luh made the phonetic dictionary with which his name is associated. This treatise was begun in 581 and first published in 601, but no copy of that edition seems to have survived very long. The earliest edition which became generally known was that of 677. In this year the work was edited by Kuo Chih-hsüan (郭知玄) and published with the title "Ssŭ-shêng-ch'ie-yun" (四聲切韻) in five *chuan.* It cannot be known what the original text of Luh contained, for we are told that Kuoh and others made many additions and corrections. The "Ch'ie-yun," to use the short title of the work, as Kuo left it, had the characters arranged under 206 finals according to the four tones. It was the first dictionary apparently to do so, and from it latter works derived the system. Luh and his associates, who were all scholars well learned in the language, took the works of Chow Yen-lun and Shên Yo as their basis, and the "Ch'ie-yun" is described by some as the lineal successor or continuation of Shên Yo's treatise. The aim of Luh and his fellow-workers was to correct the mistakes which had been made by their predecessors, and to reform abuses in the employment of characters generally, adding the correct pronunciation of these according to classical authorities. They wished to make and transmit a uniform language, to establish a criterion for ancient times and a standard for the modern. It is not known how much of the "Ch'ie-yun" was due to Luh himself. Some think that he only arranged and edited the materials which Liu Chin and the seven others had collected.

[1] Kuei's "Shuo-wên," chap. l.; "Yun-hsiao."

These men seem to have taken a very extensive course of reading, and to have otherwise gone to work very earnestly. The employment of the 206 finals is by some attributed to the T'ang editor Kuo Chih-hsüan, and no one seems to know who first invented the system or when it arose. The "Ch'ie-yun," however, is generally spoken of as Luh's work, and is described as having been a treatise of great research and careful execution. It came to be largely used by later writers in the compilation of dictionaries and other works on the language.[1]

To the Sui succeeded the T'ang dynasty, which is counted as lasting from 618 to 906. In this period learning of various kinds was favoured and encouraged, and several of the Emperors were patrons and cultivators of learning and literature. Not only were the old native classics, especially the "Shi-ching," now studied with renewed enthusiasm, but the sacred and other books of the Indian Buddhists also became well known through translations. The native language also was now studied with great learning and ability, and increased attention was now paid to the tones and the sounds of characters generally. Both Chinese and foreigners now wrote on these subjects, and acquaintance with them was required from the competitors for the state degrees or literary titles by which official employment was obtained.[2]

At the beginning of this period we find Luh Yan-lang (陸元朗), better known by his other name Luh Tê-ming (德明), one of the greatest scholars of the T'ang dynasty. He was a native of Soochow and lived at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Among native scholars he is well known for his writings on the "Yi-ching," and for his treatise on the old language. This is called "Ching-tien-shi-wên" (經典釋文), An Explanation of the Terms and Phrases in the Classics. Dr. Legge says of it, "This is more a dissection of the classics, excluding Mencius, and including "Laou-tsze" and "Chwang-tsze," giving the sounds of characters, and the meaning

[1] "Ku-shi, etc., Yin-lun," 上; 古今韻略, Int.; "Yun-hsio."

[2] "T'ang-shu," chap. cxcviii.; "Wên-hsien," etc., chap. clxxxix.; Legge, Ch. Cl., Vol. IV. Prolog. p. 205; 經典釋文, ed. by 盧文弨 and others (1791).

of them single and in combination, than a dictionary. It is valuable as a repertory of ancient views." A separate *chuan* on the old vocabulary, the "Urh-ya," is also given as having been compiled by Luh Tê-ming. It is the 30th and last in the edition I possess, which is a good modern reprint. Another scholar who was already famous when the T'ang dynasty succeeded was Ts'ao Hsien (曹憲). The native place of Ts'ao was Chiang-tu (江都), Yangchow, in Kiangsu, and he lived in the sixth century and the early part of the seventh. During the Sui period he had composed several treatises which had made his name famous. One of these was a new edition, with revised text and a commentary, of the "Kuei-yuan-chu-tsung" (桂苑珠叢), which was made by command of Sui Yang Ti. For the "Urh-ya" and "Kuang-ya," also, Ts'ao wrote commentaries, giving the sounds and meanings of characters, and these he added to texts which he carefully edited. Another treatise by him was the "Wên-tzŭ-chih-kuei" (文字指歸) or Guide to the Restoration of Characters, on the correct forms of the old writing. By these works Ts'ao had made himself an authority on all matters relating to the antiquities of the language, and his fame for learning in these matters was over the empire. The T'ang rulers offered him high office of a congenial nature, but as he had served the Sui dynasty, etiquette forbade him to accept preferment from the new rulers. T'ai Tsung, however, esteemed him none the less, and was wont to refer to him when in difficulty about a word or phrase. It is for his services in reviving a knowledge of the language as it was before the Han period that Ts'ao is best remembered. The new learning of tones, and finals, and *fan-ch'ie*, had put out of fashion the old learning taught by Tu Lin and his fellows. But by the books which he published, and the great popularity of his teaching, Ts'ao Hsien brought the attention of students back to the structure and derivation of characters.[1]

Another scholar of great learning and genius who adorned the reign of T'ai Tsung was Yen Chou-ch'i (顔籀其), known only by his other name Yen Shi-ku (師古). He was a native of

[1] "T'ang-shu," chaps. lvii., cxcviii.

Lin-yi (臨 沂) in Shantung, and his life extended from 581 to 645. The notes which he added to his edition of the "Han-shu" are very useful to the student of the early language apart from their value otherwise. To him also native scholars are indebted for a good edition of the old "Chih-chiu-chang" (急 就 章), to which he contributed a valuable commentary.[1]

In 675, as has been stated, Sun Chʻiang, another great student of the language, produced his edition of the "Yü-pien." This is the earliest one known at present, and the only edition which has authority. The full title of the work as we have it now is "Ta-kuang-i-hui-yü-pien" (大 廣 益 會 玉 篇), but this is seldom used.[2]

A commentary on the "Chʻie-yun" of Luh Fa-yen was composed in 677 by Chʻang-sun Noh-yen (長 孫 訥 言); and in the same year Kuo Chih-hsüan, as stated above, brought out his edition of the "Chʻie-yun." This was republished in 751 by Sun Mien (孫 愐) and others, with the title "Tʻang-yun." The new editors added to the original work and corrected its errors, but they do not seem to have made any great changes. The pronunciations of the characters were retained, and all the arrangements of the "Chʻie-yun." This last, however, had received many additions and undergone many modifications since the date of its first publication, and the "Tʻang-yun" apparently reduced these to order. Sun Mien and his associates used a large number of books—classics, histories, and travels—beside the writings of their predecessors on sounds and characters, in the preparation of their work, which occupied them several years. It has been said that this dictionary was the first treatise in which attention was directed to the differences between modern and ancient sounds, that is, perhaps, the first in which this was done systematically. The book itself, however, became extinct long ago, and it is known only by notices of it in other treatises. It has been added that not only the "Tʻang-yun" but also all other treatises on rhymes or finals produced before the end of this dynasty have long ago perished.[3]

[1] "Tʻang-shu," chap. cxcviii.
[2] Preface to reprint of "Yü-pien."
[3] Preface to reprint of "Kuang-yun"; Ku-shi, etc., Yin-lun" 上.

The old learning, also, about this time received attention from a faithful adherent, Li Yang-ping (李陽冰) *al.* Shao-wên (少溫), who lived in the second half of the eighth century. Li was a relative of the celebrated poet of the same surname, and held office under the Emperors Su Tsung and Tai Tsung (756 to 780). In philology he claimed to be a reviver of the study of the old language before the time of the "Shuo-wên." To this book he devoted himself with great zeal, and he published an edition of it in thirty *chuan*. At this time the text of the "Shuo-wên" was full of errors, and much had been left or had fallen out, and Li wished to restore it to the state in which he supposed Hsü Shên had left it. So he introduced many characters from the old "Seal" and earlier writings, and altered the forms of others, and thus made what he considered improvements to the "Shuo-wên." But the critics who came after him thought differently and regarded his innovations as a cause of confusion. They were wroth with him for finding fault with the venerated classic. It was owned, however, that few could equal Li Yang-ping in a knowledge of the "Seal" characters, a knowledge in which he was said to be not inferior to Li Ssŭ. Li Yang-ping compiled a treatise on these characters and another one on unauthorized or forbidden characters. His learned work on the "Shuo-wên," however, was his chief contribution to the cultivation of the language, and yet it was destined to have only a short-lived popularity.[1]

Among those who about the time of the T'ang dynasty contributed to the study and improvement of the Chinese language we must not omit the Buddhist monks. It is not possible to do more here than simply mention a few individuals. Of these and their philological works few particulars are given in books now accessible, and it is in some cases hard to find when and where they lived. Some of the missionaries from India, and a few of the Chinese monks who had studied in that country, wrote books on the Sanskrit grammar and alphabet. The knowledge

[1] 程氏讀書, etc., chap. iii.; Kuei's "Shuo-wên," chap. l.; Ma T. L., chap. cxc.

thus communicated was afterwards turned to account by native authors in the study of Chinese. We now read for the first time of *tzŭ-mu* (字 母), letters, alphabet, or, in the narrowest use of the term, characters employed as initials. We are told that the first occurrence of the term is in the translation of a *sutra*, the "Wên-chu-wên-ching" (文 殊 問 經) that is, the Mañjusri Pariprichchhā Sūtra, by Pu-k'ung (不 空), Amoghavajra. This celebrated monk, originally a Brahman of North India, lived in the eighth century and spent many years at Ch'ang-an in China. But the use of certain Chinese characters to serve for the transcription of the Sanskrit alphabet seems to have been known some centuries before his time.

In this period, also, Shên-kung (神 珙), an Indian monk of great learning, taught the use of the tones and the art of analysing and compounding the sounds of human speech. His diagrams illustrating his teachings are to be found as an appendix to the "Yü pien." Shên-kung is also said to have selected thirty characters, *kien* (見), etc., to represent the Sanskrit consonants and serve as initials. This achievement, however, is also ascribed to Shê-li (舍 利) another Indian missionary, if these two names do not indicate only one individual. To the thirty characters thus selected six more were added by Shou-wên (守 温), a learned monk of China or Corea and the author of a small treatise on the finals. The system of thirty-six initials which this Buddhist introduced is known in literature as the *Chung-yin-tzŭ-mu* (中 音 字 母) or Standard Alphabet, Initials for the Sounds of Correct Chinese. These characters, sometimes with slight changes, are in use at present as initials, and they are to be found so employed in Kanghsi's Dictionary and in many other treatises.[1]

We must needs also reckon the "I-ch'ie-ching-yin-i" (一 切 經 音 義), or Sounds and Meanings of all the Buddhist Sacred Books, as a contribution to the cultivation of the language. This great work was founded on others of the same kind which have

[1] "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. ii.; 同文韻統, chap. vi.; Catalogue of Bud. Trip. by Bunyiu Nanjio, Col. 444.; "Yü-pien," vol. iii. Appx.

long been lost. It was originally in twenty-five *chuan* and was compiled about the middle of the sixth century by Yuan-ying (元應), called also Hsüan-ying (玄應), a monk who lived at Chang-an. The work is a glossary to the foreign, technical, and difficult words and phrases in the Buddhist canon. It gives the sounds and meanings of the Sanskrit proper names and terms of religion, and the different transcriptions which had been used. Important Chinese phrases are also explained and the pronunciation of characters given and illustrated. The compiler generally bases his statement or interpretation of Chinese expressions on standard native authorities. Thus he often quotes such works as the "Ts'ang-chie-pien," the "Shuo-wên," the "Yü-pien," the "Kuang-ya," and the commentaries on the Confucian classics. Though native scholars quote this treatise freely it is not easy to consult, owing to the absence of an index and the want of a good arrangement. It is also pronounced to be faulty in the use which it makes of the Han writers and in the sounds which it assigns to characters. Two chapters were added some time afterwards by a subsequent editor. These were the work of Hui-yuan (慧苑), another Buddhist monk who lived some time after Yuan-ying, and they may be regarded as a sort of supplement to the first part of the latter's work. But they do not show the great learning and industry of the author of the "I-ch'ie-ching-yin-yi."[1]

To these may be added the names of a few other works composed by Buddhist monks of this period. The "Hsiang-wên" (像文) a treatise on the "Yü-pien," was compiled by Hui-li (慧力); the "Wên-tzŭ-shi-hsün" (文字釋訓) was by Pao-chih (寶誌); the "Yun-ying" (韻英) by Ching-hung (靜洪); and a useful supplement to the "Ch'ie-yun" was contributed by Yu-chih (猷智).[1]

In several respects the period of the T'ang dynasty forms an era of great importance in the history of the cultivation of the language. It was the time in which China first began to have a popular literature, and the classical works of antiquity were now published in a form which made them accessible to all. In the

[1] 一切經音義, ed. 1869.

year 744 an Imperial order was given to the Chi-hsien (集賢) College to have the "Shu-ching" transcribed in the characters in common use at the time. The Emperor, Ming Huang, disliked the *li* characters in which the "Shu" and other classics continued to be written. Moreover, these characters had become obsolete, hard to learn, and liable to confusion, and only professional scholars could read the canonical books. The Emperor's order was carried out by Wei Pao (衛包) and his fellow-collegians, and the editions of the classics in the vulgar writing soon superseded the others. Plays also now began to be written and performed and romances to be composed in a style often but little removed from that of everyday conversation. These, however, tended to make the dialect in which they were composed fashionable and permanent. Hence we find it stated that with them arose the *Kuan-hua* or standard language of the country; that which thus became the language of the empire having been previously only the dialect of Kiangnan.[1]

The invention of printing in China dates from the T'ang dynasty, though it is generally ascribed to Fêng Tao (馮道) who lived in the succeeding period, that of the Wu Tai or five short dynasties. It was apparently Fêng, however, who introduced the art of printing by cutting characters in wooden blocks, and the first books to be thus printed were the authoritative texts of the canonical works of antiquity. It was not, however, until the next dynasty that the invention led to great results.

The next dynasty was the Sung, which gives its name to the period from 960 to 1280. This was, according to general native opinion, the time of China's best literary and philosophical activity, the time of her greatest thinkers, her most thorough scholars, and her most accomplished statesmen. It was also the time in which the language is supposed to have reached its acme, to have become complete in all its formal and material equipment, having everything needful to make it an effective instrument for expressing the national mind. The invention of printing now led to a

[1] "T'ang-shu," chap. lvii.; 六書故 Int.; Ma. T. L., chap. clxxvii.; Legge, Ch. Cl., III., Prolog., p. 31.

great activity in the production of books, and a general diffusion of learning. In the department of philology we find mention of many new treatises, some of which were of great and permanent value. Old works half-forgotten or rendered obscure by corrupt readings—the growth of centuries—were restored to something like their original state. New works of a critical or historical nature, and some of a speculative character on subjects connected with the language, were also published.

The first writers in this department to fall under our notice are the two brothers Hsü. These men, who flourished in the middle and latter half of the tenth century, were natives of Kuang-ling in the modern Prefecture of Yang-chow, Kiangsu. The younger brother was Ch'ie (徐 鍇) *al.* Ch'u-chin (楚 金), and he came to be known also as the Hsiao, or young Hsü, to distinguish him from his brother. He was a great lover of learning, but specially devoted to an enthusiastic study of the "Shuo-wên." In order to facilitate the use of that dictionary he produced the "Shuo-wên-yun-pu" (說 文 韻 譜). In this treatise, which soon fell into unmerited neglect, a phonetic arrangement of the "Shuo-wên" was attempted, the head words being disposed according to the finals and the four tones.[7] The editor curtailed, however, and otherwise tampered with the text of his author, and the treatise by which Hsü Ch'ie is best known is the "Shuo-wên Hsi-chuan" (繫 傳), or Appendix to the "Shuo-wên." In this we have what its author regarded as a restored text of the "Shuo-wên," with notes critical and illustrative, and the sounds of the head characters given according to the spelling of Hsü's time by a scholar named Chu Ao (朱 翺). This part of the work extends over thirty chapters, and they are followed by two other chapters to show that the classifiers of the "Shuo-wên" proceed in a natural order. To these succeed three chapters explanatory of certain categories; one of criticisms specially on the innovations of Li Yang-ping, one in which the classifiers are arranged in groups or

[7] It is possible, however, that they are right who say this work is erroneously ascribed to Hsü, and that "Shuo-wên-yun-pu" stands for "Wu-yin-yun-pu," a work of Li Tao to be mentioned presently.

classes; one in which the raveled uses of characters are brought into order; one in which the doubts about certain words are discussed; and a last one in which the contents of the thirty-nine preceding chapters are summarized. The work is one of great learning and genius, but its theories and criticisms are too subtle and fanciful. Hsü Ch'ie, it has been said, reverenced the "Shuo-wên" as a canonical book, and no one up to his time equalled him in the zeal and learning devoted to that work. His great treatise, as it has come down to us, has many errors and mistakes, partly due to copyists or printers and partly to the want of revision. A learned and critical examination of it has been made by a late scholar, who has pointed out and corrected the mistakes of Hsü Ch'ie and his brother. This reviewer is Ch'i Shun-fu (祁 淳 甫 *al.* 父), and his work in three *chuan* is now published as an appendix to the reprint of Hsü's "Shuo-wên Hsi-chuan."

This last had, soon after it was originally published, been put out of fashion by the edition of the "Shuo-wên" which bears the name of the elder brother. This brother Hsüan (鉉) *al.* Ting-ch'ên, (鼎 臣), is known also as Ta (or Elder) Hsü, and he is quoted in literature as I-t'ung (儀 同) from the name of a public office which he held. He was born in the year 916, four years before Ch'ie, and he lived until 991, surviving his younger brother seventeen years. These two brothers had like tastes and pursuits, and it was at the request of the elder that the younger compiled his phonetic edition of the "Shuo-wên," to which, when ready for publication, the elder brother contributed an introduction. They both entered the state service, but the elder, more fortunate than the younger, lived to enjoy public life at the capital, though the end of his career was clouded by official disgrace. His fame also rests entirely on his labours in connection with the "Shuo-wên." These were undertaken in obedience to the commands of the celebrated Emperor Tai Tsung, who appointed a commission to make a new and correct edition of the text of that work. At the head of this was Hsü Hsüan, and he had the co-operation of several distinguished scholars. The result of their labours was the treatise known as the "Hsü

Hsüan Shuo-wên-chu," which was finished in the year 986. In the preparation of this treatise Li Yang-ping's edition was taken as a basis, but the fanciful corrections and innovations of that editor were rejected. The new editors, however, also introduced many corrections and made many additions. The latter are marked by the words *hsin-fu* (新附), "newly added," prefixed to them. The pronunciation of the head characters is given according to the teaching of Sun Mien in his dictionary of the language published in the T'ang period. Criticisms and illustrations by the editors are distinguished as theirs, and they often quote from the work of the younger Hsü. Neither of these brothers gave much study to the phonetics of the language, and later scholars object to them that they overlooked the changes which had passed over the sounds of characters between the Han and T'ang dynasties.

Some also have found fault with Hsü Hsüan for the additions which he made to the "Shuo-wên," and specially for the introduction of non-classical characters. Yet his edition remains to this day popular with students, and it may be regarded as giving the authoritative text. Thus in the Kanghi Dictionary Hsü's "additions" are treated as part of the genuine text, and so in other works of authority. One of the many reprints of the work is that published in 1809, carefully revised and edited by Sun Hsing-yen (孫星衍).[1]

About the same time that the "Shuo-wên" was receiving new life from the brothers Hsü, another old classic, the "Urh-ya," also was revived. In the year 999 a revised and corrected edition of this thesaurus was prepared by a commission of learned men appointed by the Emperor. At the head of this commission was Hsing Ping (邢昺) *al.* Hsing Shu-ming (叔明), who lived from 932 to 1010. Hsing was a good official, a learned scholar, and the author of several treatises. At present he is perhaps best known by his labours on the Canon of Filial Piety and the "Urh-

[1] 說文解字徐氏繫傳, ed. 1839, by 姚覲元 (Rept.); 徐鉉說文註, by Sun Hsing-yen (1864 Rept.); "M. T. L.," chap. clxxxix.; "Sung-shi," chap. ccccxli.; 貫珠集, Pref.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE

ya." For his edition of the latter treatise he studied the various texts and commentaries in existence. These, and specially the works of Liu Hsin, Sun Yen, and Kao Lien he used as his foundation; but he adopted as his text that of Kuo Po's edition and retained all Kuo Po's comments. Classic and commentary, however, were subjected to a careful examination before being incorporated in the new work. The short title of this is "Urh-ya-chu-su," that is, the "Urh-ya" with Kuo Po's explanations and the commentary of Hsing Ping and his colleagues. This edition was for a time popular among students, but it fell into disrepute even during the Sung period. It has been condemned by later critics as superficial and unclassical, and as careless and dishonest. Still it has been often reprinted, and it is one of the Thirteen Canonical Treatises in Yuan-yuan's edition of these. But in the last century it has been superseded apparently by the better work of Shao Chin-han, to be noticed shortly.[1]

Of other writers on the language during the tenth century only two or three need be here mentioned. One of Hsü Hsüan's fellow-workers was Kou Chung-chêng (句中正 *al.* Tan-jen 坦然), a native of Ch'êng-tu in Ssŭchuan, who lived from 929 to 1002. Kou was celebrated in life for his great learning and specially for his thorough acquaintance with the antiquities of the language. In addition to his contributions to Hsü's "Shuo-wên" he assisted in the compilation of the "Yung-hsi Kuang-yun," that is, the edition of the "Kuang-yun" which was published in the Yung-hsi period (984 to 988) of T'ai Tsung's reign. A Buddhist monk of the Khitan country, by name Hsing-chün (行均) published in 997 a treatise to which he gave the title "Lung-k'an-shou-ching" (龍龕手鏡). This was a sort of dictionary explaining about 26,400 characters. It soon obtained popularity in the country of the author, but it was not admitted openly into China for several years after its publication. Another of the Buddhist monks who contributed to a knowledge of the language at this period was Mêng-ying (夢英). He was far seen in the old writings and

[1] 爾雅注疏 (13th ed.); "Ma T. L.," chap. clxxxix.; "Sung-shi," chap. ccccxxxi.

composed the "Tzŭ-yuan" (字源) in one *chuan*. The meaning of the title is "Source of Characters," that is, of those in the "Shuo-wên," the book being an attempt to explain the classifiers of that dictionary. The mention of Mêng-ying suggests his critic Kuo Chung-shu (郭忠恕 *al.* Shu-hsien 恕先). This learned and eccentric genius wrote several treatises, to one of which he gave the name "P'ei-hsi" (佩觿). This means "Portable Piercer" and the book was intended to be an "unraveler" of the knots of confusion into which the written language had been forced.[1]

About the end of the tenth century was compiled the first edition of the celebrated dictionary "Kuang-yun," the Yung-hsi edition mentioned above. We read indeed of a "Kuang-yun" published during the T'ang period, but nothing seems to be known of that work; nor, indeed, is much known of the "Yung-hsi Kuang-yun." The edition which has come down to us is the revised and enlarged edition of 1008. The full title of this is "Ta Sung Ch'ung-hsiu-kuang-yun" (大宋重修廣韻), that is The second revised "Kuang-yun" of the Great Sung Dynasty. This title was given to the treatise by the Emperor Chên Tsung, who had ordered it to be compiled. For this purpose he had appointed a commission, the chief members of which were Ch'ên Pêng-nien (陳彭年), a native of Nan-ch'êng in Kiangsi, and Ch'iu Yung (丘雍), men of learning and repute. The names of these men, however, were not given in the published work. It is acknowledged that the "Kuang-yun" is based on the "T'ang-yun" and "Yü-pien," and some have not hesitated to assert that it is a combination of these two books, or merely a reprint of the "T'ang-yun" or the "Ch'ie-yun." One writer states that in his time the "T'ang-yun," "Ch'ie-yun," and "Kuang-yun" were simply one book under different names. This is perhaps overstated and incorrect, but as the last is the only one of the three which has survived, it is not possible to decide from a comparison. The "Kuang-yun" is a phonetic dictionary arranged according to the 206 finals beginning with *tung* (東). In this arrangement the characters to be described are distributed under the four

[1] "Ma T. L.," chap. cxc.; "Sung-shi," chaps. ccccxli. and ccccxlii.

tones—*P'ing, Shang, Ch'ü,* and *Ju.* The pronunciation of the first of a group of characters is given by the *fan-ch'ie* or syllabic spelling. But the sounds thus given are not those of the eleventh century, but of a period at least two or three centuries before. The meanings which it gives are few and unsatisfactory, often putting one off with such stuff as "name of a place," or "name of a person." The number of characters of which the "Kuang-yun" gives explanations is 26,194, but many of these were, even in the eleventh century, obsolete or archaic. This dictionary has a value as the earliest one extant in which the sounds of characters are given systematically. But it has never stood high with native scholars, some of whom do not hesitate to speak of it as a Dodder-garden Book, a treatise dealing with the petty affairs of low occupations. It has, however, been often re-edited and republished, and it is still occasionally reprinted.[1]

About the same time that Ch'ên Pêng-nien was engaged in the compilation of the "Kuang-yun" he was also busy with a new edition of the "Yü-pien." In this work he was assisted by Ch'iu Yung and Wu Jui (吳 銳). The additions and alterations which had been made by previous editors were carefully examined, and those which were approved were retained. But substantially the new edition was only a corrected reprint of that by Sun Chiang in 674, with a few additions. It bears the title "Ta-kuang-i-hui Yü-pien," and is still the received text of the "Yü-pien."[2]

The "Kuang-yun" was quickly followed by the "Chi-yun" (集 韻), another treatise of the same kind. This work was begun apparently in 1034 and finished in 1039. It also was undertaken by Imperial orders and on the petition of certain scholars who found the "Kuang-yun" faulty and untrustworthy, and the object with which it was compiled was to correct the faults and supply the defects of its predecessor. Like it, the "Chi-yun" also was to a large extent a reproduction of the "Ch'ie-yun," and for the meanings of words it was chiefly indebted to the "Shuo-wên."

[1] "Kuang-yun," (Reprint of Chu I-tsun's ed.); "Ku-shi," etc., 音 論 上; "Li-shi," etc., chaps. i. ii.; "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Int.; Phon. S. W. Int.

[2] "Yü-pien," (Reprint Chu I-tsun's ed.); "Ma T. L.," chap. clxxxix.

The number of characters of which the meanings and sounds are given is 53,525, or above 27,000 more than the "Kuang-yun" had. Several distinguished scholars were engaged in its compilation and revision, chief among them being Sung Ch'i (宋 祁), Chêng Ch'ien (鄭 戩), Chia Chang-ch'ao (賈 昌 朝), Ting Tu (丁 度), and Li Shu (李 淑), all men of famous learning. Their work, the "Chi-yun," was taken at the time of its publication as an authority for the sounds of characters, and it was several times republished with additions and corrections. By some it was ranked above and by others below the "Kuang-yun." The original edition, however, seems to have soon gone out of print, and the earliest which has survived is perhaps that brought out under the revision of Ssŭ-ma-kuang in 1067.[1]

While the "Kuang-yun" was being prepared another new work of the same kind was being compiled. This also was produced under orders from the Throne, and was published at the same time with the "Kuang-yun." The name which it bore at first was simply "Yun-liao" (韻 略), and it was compiled by Ch'i Lun (戚 綸) and others. The authors took the "Ch'ie-yun" as basis, and by liberal pruning and careful selection produced a treatise which at once found favour. Their work was adopted as the authority on the subject of rhyming words by the Li Pu (Board of Ceremonies) for the State Literary Examinations. In 1038 there appeared a new edition revised by Ting Tu, mentioned above, and issued by the Imperial Academy. This edition received the title "Li Pu Yun-liao," and the work through all its changes has ever since borne that title. The careful and scholarly way in which this dictionary was compiled made it popular with students generally, and even during the Sung period it was several times republished, usually with additions and alterations. Originally it gave the sounds and meanings of only 9,590 characters, being thso of most frequent occurrence, but this number was not adhered to in the various editions. At first also the book was merely a compendium *(liao)*, containing only those head-characters the

[1] "Yun-hsio."; Phon. S. W.; 定 聲; "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Int.; "Ku-shi, etc., Yin-lun," 上; "Ma T. L.," chap. clxxxix.

sounds and meanings of which were essential for one competing at the state examinations to know. In a comparatively short time, however, it supplanted all the previous pronouncing dictionaries, being much preferred to the "Kuang-yun" and "Chi-yun." About 1090 a new edition of the "Li Pu Yun-liao" was brought out by Sun O (孫諤) and the poet Su Shi. In this, as in other editions, not a few additions and corrections were made, but it had not any great success. A much more important edition is that which bears the name of the two Mao, father and son. This work, which is commonly quoted by the short title "Tsêng-yun" (增韻), was finished before 1160 but not published until about thirty years later. It was begun by Mao Huang (毛晃) and finished by his son Chü-chêng (居正), natives of Chü-chow (衢州) in Chekiang. In the "Tsêng-yun" above 2,650 characters were added to those given by Ting Tu, but the original number of finals, 206, was retained. This edition of the "Li Pu Yun-liao" had for a time great popularity, especially among the literary men who were candidates for state appointments. Yet it has been severely censured by Liu Yuan and later critics. These have found fault with it for substituting vulgar and incorrect ways of writing characters for those taught by the "Shuo-wên" and other standards. Instances of this reprehensible proceeding are given in the use of 謚 (properly *i*) for the old and correct 諡, and of 袞 for 衮 *kun*. In these two cases it will be seen that by the changes in the way of writing, sense and sound are alike liable to be confounded. The misuse here indicated still continues, though educated men prefer to use the forms of the characters taught by the old authorities.[1]

Turning back to the eleventh century we have to note an interesting work, the "Yun-tsung" (韻總), by Chien-yü (鑑聿), a Buddhist monk of Lo-yang. The aim of this treatise, which was in five *chuan*, with a preface by Ou-yang-hsiu, was to guide to the proper use of the Sanskrit initials, and to give the true and correct sounds of characters. The compiler was well read in the

[1] "Wylie's Notes," p. 9; Phon. S. W. Ting-shêng; "Ku-chin-t'ung-yun," chap. i; "Ku-shi, etc., Yin-lun," 上; "Tsŭ-chien" (字鑑), Pref.; "Ma T. L.," chap. cxc.

curious learning of China and in the literature of his own religion. Another Buddhist monk, Hsiang Ching (相 淨), with the help of other men of learning, in the year 1034 compiled the "T'ien-chu-tzŭ-yuan" (天 竺 字 源). The meaning of this title is Origin of the Indian Letters (or characters), and in the book, which was in seven *chuan*, the author gave the 12 vowels and 30 consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet in Chinese characters, and instituted a comparison between the languages of India and China.

To this century belongs also Wang An-shi (born 1021, died 1086), poet, scholar, and statesman, but doomed to a bad fame for doing what was new. He was the author of a philological treatise of considerable merit and celebrity. This work, which was in twenty *chuan*, bore the modest title "Tzŭ-shuo" (字 說) or Descriptions of Characters. It was composed when Wang was old and broken, living in obscurity at Nanking. The characters given in it are explained mainly from the point of view of the *hui-i*, combination-meanings, and the author, according to his critics, makes too much of this class of characters. But the great offence of the "Tzŭ-shuo" is that it dares to censure the "Shuo-wên." It has also been blamed for refinements and hyper-criticism, and it was indexed as unsound. Still its intrinsic merits kept it from utter extinction, and up to the present it is often quoted. By its bold criticism it roused orthodox scholars to take up the "Shuo-wên" and study it with renewed earnestness. Thus a fresh impetus was given to philoligical investigations, and several treatises were called forth in reply to Wang's teachings. These works were generally inferior in knowledge of the language which they displayed to the "Tzŭ-shuo," which was vanquished by an author to be noticed below. Wang's son, P'ang (雱 *al.* Yuan-tsê 元 澤), also studied and wrote on the language. With the help of his father he compiled an edition of the "Urh-ya" which has been praised for the thorough and methodical manner in which the work was done. He was the author also of the "Tzŭ-shu-wu-tu" (字 書 誤 讀), Faulty Reading of Written Characters.

Contemporary with Wang An-shi and his disciple in philosophy but not in politics was Luh T'ien (陸 佃) *al.* Nung-shi (農 師) of Shao-hsing Foo in Chekiang (born 1042, died 1102). Luh T'ien devoted his studies largely to the "Urh-ya," and produced a treatise to which he gave the name "Urh-ya Hsin-i" (爾 雅 新 義), New Meanings of the "Urh-ya." This book has received great praise for the careful and thorough manner in which the author treats his subject. He compiled also the "P'i-ya" (埤 雅), a work which he designed to be a sort of supplement to the "Urh-ya," giving the names for common objects. Dr. Legge says that in the "P'i-ya," Luh is "less careful in describing the appearance of his subjects than in discussing the meaning of their names." The "Shuo-wên" also attracted Luh's attention, and he assisted in the preparation of a new and revised edition of that dictionary.[1]

Another contemporary of Wang An-shi and one of his greatest opponents was the historian Ssŭ-ma-kuang (born 1019, died 1086). This latter also devoted much of his leisure to the study and cultivation of the language. His contribution to the "Chi-yun" has been already mentioned. As companion and supplement to that work Ting Tu suggested and began a treatise, to which when finished the name "Lei-pien" (類 篇) was given. This work had to pass through several hands before it was finished and published by Ssŭ-ma-kuang, whose name alone it bears. The "Lei-pien" is a dictionary in which, as in the "Shuo-wên," on which it is founded, the characters are arranged according to classifiers. Of these there are 544 and the number of distinct characters analysed and explained is 31,319. The treatise is in 49 chapters, and thirty years (1038 to 1068) passed while it was being elaborated. To Ssŭ-ma-kuang we owe also the "Ming-yuan" (名 苑). In this Garden of Names the author, taking the "Chi-yun" as basis, arranged a large number of characters according to their tones, giving also their composition according to the "Shuo-wên," and adding definitions and illustrations from the classical authors. Another help which

[1] "Sung-shi," chap. cccxliii.; L. C. C. iv., Prolog., p. 179.

Ssŭ-ma contributed to an accurate knowledge and proper use of the language is the "Ch'ie-yun-chih-chang-t'u," Pronunciation made easy in Tables. In this we have twenty tables representing as many groups of sounds which serve as finals. Each table gives the 36 Sanskrit initials at the head, and under these above 3,000 characters in all are arranged according to the four tones and other technicalities of utterance.[1]

Other writers of distinction on the language in this century were Sung Hsiang (宋庠) and Chang Yu (張有). To the latter the Chinese owe a book for which the orthodox student retains great admiration and almost affection. This is the "Fu-ku-pien" (復古編), a Book which Restores the Ancient, that is, the old writing of characters and their meanings. Chang Yu, whose other names were Ch'ien-chung (謙中) and Chên-ching (眞靜) was a native of what is now Hu-chow in Kiangsu, and lived in the latter half of the eleventh century. His "Fu-ku-pien," which occupied him many years, was not published until the beginning of the next century. The chief part of this treatise is a collection of characters in the "small seal" mode of writing. These are given according to the four tones and the ordinary finals; then the modern form of each is given; the meaning, wrong ways of writing, and the spelling are added. The book contains also collections of compounds and of pairs of characters similar in sound or form or both, but these refer rather to the mere writing. Chang Yu was a strong opponent of Wang An-shi's theories about the "combination meaning," and it was chiefly to combat these that he composed the "Fu-ku-pien" which takes those characters which are made up of two elements, one significant and one phonetic. The "Fu-ku-pien" has been many times edited and republished, and it is still consulted. Its author wrote another treatise on the language, but it does not seem to have survived.[2]

The next author to be mentioned is Chêng Ch'iao (鄭樵) styled Yü-chung (漁仲) "one of the most erudite and renowned

[1] "Ma T. L.," chap. clxxxix.; Supt. "Ma T. L.," chap. xxv.; 切韻指掌圖 (Reprint of 1203 ed.)

[2] 復古編 (Reprint of 1781); "Ma T. L.," chap. cxc.

men of letters of the Sung dynasty; distinguished by almost universal knowledge." He was born at P'u-t'ien in the Hsing-hua Prefecture of Fuhkeen, and his life extended from 1104 to 1162. The sobriquet by which he is known in literature is Mr. Chia-chi (夾漈先生), from the name of the mountain in which he had a lonely retreat. In the monumental work of this scholar —the "T'ung-chih"—we find two sections devoted to our subject. One in five *chuan* is the "Liu-shu-liao" (六書略) and the other is headed "Ch'i-yin-liao" (七音略). The former treats in a clear and copious manner of the six divisions of characters, giving numerous examples and illustrations. It also discusses many points of interest in connection with the development of the language and the changes which words had undergone in the long tract of time. The "Ch'i-yin-liao" gives 43 Tables of Characters, in which is shown the position which each character has under the thirty-six Sanskrit initials, the native finals, the four tones, and the "Ch'i-yin" or seven musical tones. It is in these two essays that Chêng compares the sounds and writing of his own language with those of Sanskrit. He has been blamed for carrying his theories of analysis to excess, and for making too many distinctions. But few are competent to judge his teachings and decide on their merits. It is hard even to estimate the amount of patient useful labour spent on the above two works, and yet they are not all that he wrote on subjects connected with the language. He produced also a book in three *chuan*, "Shi-ku-wên" (石鼓文), in which he argued against the supreme antiquity of the "Stone Drums." From the resemblance of the characters on these to characters found on objects of the Ch'in dynasty (B.C. 255 to 206) he concluded that the Drums also belong to that period. Chêng composed also a commentary on the "Urh-ya," but this does not seem to have had a long life. Some of his early works on the language were incorporated in those mentioned above and it is not necessary to refer to them farther. The matchless learning and the great analytical powers which Chêng Ch'iao brought to his labours on the language have made his writings of peculiar importance. They are in an eminent

degree books for the genuine lover of learning, but unfortunately they are not easy of access for the poor student.[1]

About this time the "Yun-shu" or Pronouncing Dictionaries had cast into the shade the old classic "Shuo-wên." But there now appeared a treatise which brought the latter again into some popularity. This treatise is generally quoted by its short title, "Wu-yin-yun-pu" (五 音 韻 譜), the words "Shuo-wên" being understood to be prefixed. Its compiler was Li Tao (李 燾), whose other names are Jen-fu (仁 甫) and "Wên-chien" (文 簡), a celebrated scholar, historian, and statesman. He was a native of Tan-leng in Ssuchuan, and lived from 1115 to 1184. In compiling the above work his object was to render the "Shuo-wên" easy of reference and so make it popular. He arranged the characters given under each of the 540 classifiers of that dictionary according to "Luh Fa-yen's" system of finals in the "Ch'ie-yun." This edition of the "Shuo-wên" found favour with students and put Hsü Hsüan's work out of fashion with them for a time. Being easy to consult, it also took the place of all the old editions and maintained its popularity for a considerable period.[2]

Another important treatise of this century is the "Pan-ma-tzŭ-lei" (班 馬 字 類). This was the work of Lu Chi (婁 機) *al.* Yen-fa (彥 發) who lived from 1133 to 1211. In this work the old and peculiar characters in the historical writings of Pan-ku and Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien are brought together. They are arranged according to what the author regarded as their proper classes in the current phonetic system. Lu Chi was a diligent student of the archæology of the language, and specially of the changes which the written characters had undergone. In addition to the treatise above mentioned he compiled two others. One of these was the "Kuang-kan-lu-tzŭ-shu" (廣 干 祿 字 書), a revised and en-

[1] "T'ung-chih" (通 志), chaps. xxxi. to xxxvii.; Mayer's Ch. R. M., No. 61; Bushell in N. C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. VIII., p. 133; "Sung-shi," chap. ccccxxxvi.; Phon. S. W. Int. The *Liao* may be found as a separate book. They were published with the title 通 志 略 in 1550, and since that several new editions have appeared.

[2] "Sung-shi," chap. ccclxxxviii.; 汲 古 閣 設 文 訂 Pref.; "Shuo-wên," chap. l.

larged edition of the "Kan-lu-tzŭ-shu" of Yen Yuan-sun (彥 元 孫) of the T'ang period. The other was the "Han li-tzŭ-yuan" (漢 隸 字 源), Sources of the Li characters in the Han literature. This is regarded as a trustworthy guide to the Li writing found in books and inscriptions of the Han dynasty and the Three Kingdoms. It gives the modern forms of the characters, their Li equivalents, adding the history and explanation of them.[1]

Another student of the language about this time was Lo Yuan (羅 原) *al.* Tuan-liang (端 頁) who was born in 1136 and died in 1184. He compiled a treatise to which he gave the name "Urh-ya-i" (爾 雅 翼) Wings, that is, useful additions to the "Urh-ya." This is a supplement to the original thesaurus, and Dr. Legge considers it superior to the "P'i-ya" of Luh T'ien.[2]

In the year 1150 appeared the first edition of a dictionary which soon became famous and to some extent a standard authority. This was the "Wu-yin-chi-yun" (五 音 集 韻), which was originally compiled by Ching P'o (荊 璞) *al.* Yen-pao (彥 寶) of Chao-chow (趙 州) in Chih-li. Soon after publication it was taken in hand by several members of the Han family of Chang-li in the Chên-ting district of Chih-li. Hence the actual compiling of the work is sometimes ascribed to one of these Hans, by name Hsiao-yen (孝 彥), who has in consequence received much praise for the merits of the treatise. Then about 1212 a son of Hsiao-yen, by name Tao-chao (韓 道 昭) *al.* Po-hui (伯 暉) published a new and improved edition, and the "Wu-yin-yun-chi" is often quoted as his work. He prefixed the words "Kai-ping" (改 併) to the title in order to show that he had altered and condensed the original treatise. It is this edition by Han Tao-chao which is best known, and it is a peculiar and interesting work. The basis of the "Wu-yin-chi-yun" was the "Chi-yun," but other treatises, and specially the "Lei-pien" of Ssŭ-ma-kuang were also used in its compilation. In its present form it combines the tonic and syllabic analyses of words with their arrangement under like

[1] "Ma T. L.," chap. cxc.; "Sung-shi," chap. ccccx.; "Liu-shu-ku," Pref.
[2] L. C. C., iv., Prolog., p. 181.

finals, the "Yü-pien" being woven into a phonetic dictionary. The characters are distributed according to the five musical notes, the four tones, the Sanskrit initials and a peculiar system of finals. The number of these last is reduced from 206 to 160, by omission of duplicates chiefly. There are 53,525 characters given, being about 27,000 more than were given in the "T'ang-yun."[1]

Another book on the sounds of characters which attained some popularity and is still often quoted is the "Wu-yin-pien-hai" (五音篇海). This treatise, which is generally quoted by its short title "Pien-hai," was compiled by Wang Yü-pi (王與秘), a native of Hou-yang, then subject to the Kin Tartars. It was first published in the year 1184 but it has been often reprinted. The "Yü-pien" formed the basis of the "Pien-hai," but Wang rejected some of the classifiers of that work and made a new arrangement of the characters, introducing the combined phonetic and structural system.[2]

A much more famous book of this century was the "Yun-pu" (韻補), Rhyme Restorer (lit. Repairer). This was the work of Wu Yü (吳棫) *al.* Wu Ts'ai-lao (才老), a native of the Bohea district in the Province of Fuhkeen. Wu Yü held office for a time under the Kao Tsung Emperor, and he was a distinguished scholar and a careful, methodical writer. In addition to the "Yun-pu" he composed a commentary on one of the classics and the "Mao-shi-pu-yin" (毛詩補音), a treatise in which he gives what he thought were the correct sounds and characters for the "Shi-ching." In compiling the "Yun-pu," also, Wu's chief aim was to restore to the characters in the old classic poetry their original sounds, and to the texts those readings which the rhymes required. The work was at first apparently only an appendix to the "Chi-ku" (集古) of a writer named Hsia (夏), but it attained fame as a separate publication. Wu argued that the political ballads and other poems of early times were at first sung, or chanted, or recited, and that they were not committed to writing but preserved in memory. He held that the minstrels

[1] 改併五音集韻 (Reprint of 1589); Wylie's Notes, p. 9.

[2] 貫珠集 (Reprint) Pref.; 五音類聚 (Ming Rep.) Pref.

and poets used the sounds current in their several districts at the time, and that words of different tones in the "Shi" were interchanged and rhymed together. In order to restore the original rhymes of the ancient odes and ballads, and the correct pronunciations of words generally, he thought a provincial dialect such as that of the Soochow region at his time should be taken as guide and standard. The characters given in the "Yun-pu" are arranged under the finals in the order of the Sanskrit initials, and some say Wu Yü was the first to adopt this order. He has been severely censured for his teachings about the use of forced rhymes, for needless changes in texts, and for wrong bracketing of finals. But there is considerable difference of opinion on these subjects among later writers, some approving and some condemning Wu's facts and theories. He is recognized, however, as having been the first to distinguish in a methodical manner between the old and the modern pronunciations of characters. The former he called the "Ku-yin" (古 音) and the latter the "Chin-yin" (今 音). To support and establish his doctrines Wu marshalled a great array of illustrations and examples. He had the distinction of being adopted by Chu Foo-tzŭ as guide to the sounds of rhyming characters in the latter's editions of the "Shi-ching" and "Li-sao," though Chu did not always accept Wu's violent changes of text, as, for example, that which he proposed for the well-known passage in the last poem of the "Shi-ching."[1]

To Wu Yü succeeded Chêng Hsiang (鄭 庠) of less fame but more desert, according to late critics. He was the author of the "Ku-yin-pien" (古 音 辨) in which he reduced the "Ku-yun" or old rhyming finals to six classes. Chêng Hsiang's teachings on the differences between the old and the modern sounds of characters are said to be free from most of the errors which are found in the writings of Wu Yü. They have, however, mistakes of their own, and they have never had much success, being, indeed, little known.[2]

[1] 古 韻 標 準, Int.; 古 今 通 韻, Int.; 韻 經, Pref.; "Ku-shï-yin-lun,"; L. Ch. C., iv., Proleg., p. 103.

[2] "Ku-chin-t'ung-yun," the 論 例; 六 書 音 均 表, chap. i.

In the first half of the thirteenth century Wang Poh (王栢), a celebrated scholar and philosopher who lived from 1197 to 1274, compiled the "Chêng-shi-chĭ-yin" (正始之音). This little treatise, published in 1236, was made up of materials taken from the works of Hsü Hsüan, Chia Ch'ang-chao, and Chêng Ch'iao. It has no claim to literary merit, but it is valuable for the information it gives about changes in the forms, sounds, and meanings of characters.[1]

Contemporary with Wang Poh (or Pai) was Wang Tsung-tao (王宗道) *al.* Yü-wên (與文). The latter was a native of Fêng-hu in the Prefecture of Ningpo, and he held office under the Emperor Li Tsung (1225 to 1265). His claim to mention here rests on two works which he composed to teach the proper use of the Sanskrit initials with the rhyming finals. These were the "Ch'ie-yun-chĭ-hsüan-lun" (切韻指玄論), quoted usually by the short title "Chi-hsüan" (or *yuan* 元), and the "Ssŭ-shêng-têng-ti-t'u" (四聲等第圖), in one *chuan*.[2]

One of the most noteworthy books on the language in the 13th century is that known as the "Wu-yin-lei-chü" (五音類聚), which also was the work of the Han family of Chang-li. This book in its late editions has a long title, given at the foot of the page, which gives some clue to its history and composition. It was first published in or about 1208, and it has been several times republished in the North. The basis of this dictionary was the "Yü-pien" as enlarged and re-arranged by Wang Yü-pi, mentioned above. The work of compilation seems to have been begun by Ching P'o, already noticed, and it was continued by Han Hsiao-yen and finished by Han Tao-chao with the help of other members of the Han family and of certain disciples. The arrangement of the book is peculiar. The characters are grouped under classifiers, of which there are 444, being 421 selected from those of the "Yü-pien" with 23 added. These classifiers are taken according to their position under the thirty-six initials

[1] 程氏家塾讀書分年日程, chap. iii.

[2] 試策箋註, chap. iii.; "Ma T. L.," chap. cxc.

derived from the Sanskrit alphabet, arranged under the four tones and the physical organs employed in utterance. Thus the first classifier is *Kin* (*chin* 金) which comes under the *K* initial (*kien* 見), the *p'ing* tone, and is a *Ya-yin*, or sound due to the molar teeth. Under each classifier the characters are arranged according to the number of strokes as in the Kanghsi dictionary, and the pronunciation and usually a few meanings are added.[1]

In the year 1252 there appeared a work which soon became famous and exercised a great influence on the study of the language. This was the celebrated treatise of Liu Yuan (劉淵), a native of P'ing-shui (平水) in Ssŭchuan. The name which he gave to his treatise was in full "Jen-tzü Hsin-k'an Li Pu Yun-liao" (壬子新刊禮部韻略), that is, The "Li Pu Yun-liao" reprinted in 1252, the *Jen-tzŭ* year in the cycle. It seems that this book, to which Liu Yuan is indebted for the perpetuation of his name, was actually composed and published by a scholar named Wang Wên-yü (王文郁). This man also was a native of P'ing-shui, and his book bore the cyclic characters for 1229, the year in which it was published. Liu Yuan seems to have merely altered these characters to those for 1252 and then to have published the work as his own. The treatise itself is largely indebted to the labours of the two Mao noticed above, though the compiler criticises these severely. He is famous for reducing the 206 *yun* or rhyme-classifiers to 107, by omitting or putting together duplicates. By doing this he began, according to some, the confusion of the true sounds of characters. Liu also added 436 characters to the number given in the "Li Pu Yun-liao." His treatise cast its predecessors, and specially the "Kuang-yun," into the shade for a considerable period. Up to the present, indeed, the P'ing-shui system may be said to prevail, and it is in force and fashion now with some slight modifications. Old-fashioned scholars mourn over this and complain that Liu Yuan's system passes in the world as that of Shên Yo or as that of the "T'ang-yun."[2]

[1] 改併五音類聚四聲篇, (Ming Reprint).

[2] "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. ii.; "Yun-hsio"; "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Int.; "Ku-chin-t'ung-yun," Int.; Phon. S. W., Int.

In the year 1276 appeared a work generally cited by its short title "Ch'ie-yun-chĭ-nan" (切韻指南), a Guide to the correct spelling and pronunciation of characters in classical literature. This was composed by Liu Chien (劉鑑) *al.* Shi-ming (士明), a native of An-hsi, in Kansuh. It was founded on the "Wu-yin-chi-yun" of Han Tao-chao, and was regarded by its author as in a manner a supplement to that work. The book is first a series of tables showing the position of certain characters under the Sanskrit initials, the finals of the "Wu-yin-chi-yun," the four tones, and the physical organs concerned in pronunciation. To the tables is appended a small work of later date in thirteen sections. This shows the practical application of the tables, and the author gave it the modest name Jade-key Expedients, "Yü-yao-shi-mên-fa" (玉鑰匙門法), always quoted simply as the "Jade-key." To this part succeed various notes on distinctions in the sounds of characters. The most useful of these is the one on the characters which in classical literature are used in two tones with a separate meaning for each tone. Thus *wang* in the even tone is a king, and in the third *(ch'ü)* tone is "to be king of a kingdom." Such characters the author denominates "moving and quiescent" (動靜), marking the former use of the word by a red circle. He also distinguishes between aspirated and non-aspirated sounds, calling the former *hu* (呼), as sending out breath, and the latter *chi* (吸), as not sending it out.[1]

To the latter half of this (the thirteenth) century belongs by composition a treatise of no little merit, the "Liu-shu-ku" (六書故), Accounts of written characters in their six classes. The author was Tai T'ung (戴侗) *al.* Chung-ta (仲達), of Yung-chia in the Wên-chow Prefecture of Chekiang. After obtaining the Metropolitan Degree he was appointed to an office in the Imperial Academy, and thence transferred as Archivist to T'ai-chow in his native province. Then the Mongols prevailed and Tai T'ung, unwilling to serve them, pleaded ill health and went home into seclusion. Here he occupied himself with the composition of the

[1] 經史正音切韻指南 (Reprint of 1577).

"Liu-shu-ku, the beginning of which was due to his father's teaching. This work, which was not published until 1320, is in thirty-three chapters *(chuan)* with an introductory one called "Liu-shu-t'ung-shi" (六書通釋) or General explanations of the six classes of characters. To the western student this is the best and most interesting part of the treatise. In it we have the author's theories as to the origin and development of writing, the connection between it and speech, and various matters of detail relating to the language. Some of its statements have been found to be erroneous and some of its theories have been declared faulty or absurd. But the essay is written in a liberal, philosophical manner, and Mr. Hopkins has done us a kindness by rendering it into English. In the book itself the characters are arranged under 479 classifiers, of which some are primitives yielding derivatives, and others derivatives which again yield further derivatives. These proceed according to the order of the six classes, Pictorial or Symbolic, Indicative, and so on, and they are marshalled under eight titles designating as many categories of mental or material objects. Following the "Shuo-wên," as he says (契以本文), he places *yi* (一) as the first of numbers at the beginning and makes his first group that of objects related to Number. To this succeed the words which belong to the categories of Heaven, Earth, Man, the Animal and Vegetable kingdoms, manual industries, and miscellaneous. The author gives the spelling of the character, the varieties of writing where such exist, the meanings apparently in what he considered the order of their development, and the derivatives formed from existing or conjectured primitives, generally supporting or illustrating his teaching by reference to classical authorities.[1]

To the early part of the Mongol dynasty belongs the rhyme-dictionary commonly known as the "Yun-hui." This was published near the end of the 13th century, with the title "Ku-chin-yun-hui" (古今韻會), and was, according to some, the work of Hsiung Chung (熊中 or 忠), a friend of Liu Chien. In

[1] The 六書故, ed. 1784; "China Review," Vol. II., p. 175; Ditto, IX., p. 297; Ditto, X., p. 143; The "Six Scripts," by L. C. Hopkins, Esq.

the year 1292 appeared the "Ku-chin-yun-hui-chü-yao" (舉要), which was apparently a new edition of the above. The "Yun-hui-chü-yao" has been ascribed to Huang Kung-shao (黃公紹), of Shao-wu in Fuhkeen. This man, however, is more frequently quoted as the author of the "Yun-hui" simply, the "Yun-hui-chü-yao" being assigned to Hsiung Chung. In the "Yun-hui" the 107 rhyme-classes of Liu Yuan are adopted, and the characters are arranged under them according to the Sanskrit initials. But in thus giving the orthography of characters the book is said to abound in errors, and the confusion in this respect which has since existed is traced by some to the "Yun-hui." This dictionary was based on Liu Yuan's edition of the "Li-pu-yun-liao," but it gives 12,652 characters, being many more than any previous edition of the "Li-pu-yun-liao" had given. For some time the "Yun-hui" had a show of popularity among the professional students, but it afterwards fell into utter disuse. It has been condemned as a faulty, slovenly work, much inferior to its predecessors.[1]

In the early part of the 14th century appeared a notable treatise, the "Yun-fu-ch'un-yü" (韻府羣玉), Jewels from the Treasury of Words. This was the joint work of two brothers surnamed Yin (陰), natives of Hsin-wu in Kiangsi. Their names were Shi-fu (時夫) *al.* Ching-hsien (勁弦) *al.* Shi-yü (時遇), and Chung-fu (中夫) *al.* Fu-ch'un (復春) *al.* Yu-ta (幼達). They belonged to a family distinguished for devotion to literary pursuits, and they inherited a considerable amount of etymological learning. The first edition of the "Yun-fu," finished in 1307, appeared about1314, but as there was a great gap in the work, and as it was in other respects very defective, it had not much success. It was not until 1590 that a new and complete edition was brought out by another great scholar, Wang Yuan-chên (王元貞) *al.* Mêng-ch'i (孟起). He added words omitted in the original edition, and gave the spelling according to the "Li-pu-yun-liao." As thus published, the "Yun-fu" is a copious dictionary of terms

[1] "Yun-hsio"; "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Int.; "Ku-shi-yin-lun," chap. 上; Phon. S. W. Ting-shêng.

and phrases in use among literary men or derived from early classical writings. The compilers adopted the "P'ing-shui" rhyme-finals, with the exception of one which they regarded as a duplicate. In addition to the phrases from the orthodox literature, the "Yun-fu" gives also *huo-t'ao* (活套), that is, quotations in common use but of unknown origin; it has also proper names and phrases derived from Buddhist writings. The work was intended to be of practical utility to students, and its continued popularity with them testifies to the success of the intention. This popularity it has maintained notwithstanding the severe criticisms which have been passed on it by succeeding authors. According to one of these the compilers of the "Yun-fu" so ill-treated the "Shuo-wên" and the "Yun-liao" of Liu Yuan, that the latter and Hsü Shên must be crying for vengeance in Hades. The criticisms of these writers are apparently directed chiefly against the treatise in its early form when published in 1314. The Ming editor supplied many of the defects and corrected the errors which detracted from the value of that edition.[1]

Another etymological treatise of the 14th century is the Chung-yuan-yin-yun (中原音韻), a Vocabulary of the Mandarin or standard language. The authorship of this book is ascribed to Chou Tê-ch'ing (周德清), a native of Kao-an (高安) in Kiangsi. There seems, however, to have been an early form of the work, with the title "Chung-yuan-ya-yin" (中原雅音), the Elegant words of China, that is, the Court language. In order to distinguish Chou's edition from this, the term "Kao-an" was prefixed to the former. As the work is now found in shops and libraries it is a small treatise in two *chuan*, and edited by two scholars of the Ming period. It gives a number of characters arranged under nineteen pairs of finals and four tones. The latter are *Yin-p'ing*, *yang-p'ing*, *shang*, and *ch'ü*. This distinction of a *yin* and a *yang p'ing* was not in the first form of the book. It was due to a scholar named Hsiao (蕭), and was not published until 1324, after Hsiao's death. This distinction is often said to

[1] 新增說文韻府羣玉 (ed. 1590); "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Pref.; "Yun-hsio; Phon. S. W. Ting-shêng.

corrrespond to that of the *p'ing* tone into upper and lower (上 and 下), but one can easily see for himself that such is not the case, at least not always. The "Chung-yuan-yin-yun" further distributes the *ju* or short-tone words, of which there are seventeen groups, among the four other tones, adding them at the end of the section to which they belong. It also distinguishes what it calls *pi-k'ou-yun* (閉口韻) or "shut-mouth finals," of which there are three groups. The words of these classes in Mandarin at present all end in *n*, and cannot be distinguished as to ending from others which in this work are in different classes. But at the time of the compiler the "shut-mouth finals" were probably for him, as Dr. Edkins says, words ending in *m*. It must be remembered, however, that the "Chung-yuan-yin-yun" is not to be taken as a perfect authority for the spoken Mandarin of any part of China in the 14th century. It was compiled as a help to the makers and singers of plays and ballads in North China; and it was for these and similar persons that the proper distribution of the short tone words was taught. In the common speech of the people the short tone words were used as such.[1]

To this period belongs also the "Lei-yun" (類韻), a work in thirty *chuan*, which was published in 1321. It is generally ascribed to Li Poh-ying (李伯英), but he was only to a certain extent the compiler. His father, Mei-hsien (梅軒), began and a brother continued the compilation. Poh-ying himself spent ten years in preparing the book but died before it was printed. The aim of the "Lei-yun" was to correct errors in the popular use of words by supplying the true forms, sounds, and meanings from old authorities. But the book itself contained many serious errors, and it does not seem to be much known.

A nephew of Poh-ying, by name Wên-chung (文仲), in order to soothe the mind of his uncle "under the nine hills," published a book which he called the "Tzŭ-chien" (字鑑) or Mirror of Characters. In this small treatise we have a large

[1] 中原音韻 (Rept. of Ming ed.); "Yun-hsio;" 中州全韻 chap. vi.; Ed. Man. Gr., pp. 40 and 79; "Ku-chin-t'ung-yun," chap. i.; "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. i.

number of characters grouped under the usual four tones and 201 finals. It gives the spelling of each, the original meaning, and a short analysis. For the two last it generally follows the "Shuo-wên," but other works, such as those of Hsü Hsüan, Kuo Chung-shu, and Ssŭ-ma-kuang, are also quoted as authorities. Native students have a liking for the "Tzŭ-chien," which is a useful little book and is often reprinted.[1]

One of the great scholars who adorned the reign of the Mongols was Chou Poh-ch'i (周 伯 琦) *al.* Poh-wên (伯 溫), of P'o-yang in Kiangsi. He was author of the "Liu-shu-chêng-o" (六 書 正 譌), The Six Classes of Characters Right and Wrong. This book gives a selection of above 2,000 characters, under the tones and according to initials and finals. Of each character an old form is given, and the modern way of writing is added below. Then we have the spelling and an explanation of the character, its meaning and right and wrong variants. Chou Poh-ch'i was also the author of the "Shuo-wên-tzŭ-yuan," Sources of the Characters in the "Shuo-wên." This was an earlier and more ambitious work than the "Liu-shu-chêng-o," which owed its existence to the earlier treatises. The later work is still occasionally reprinted and consulted by students and others as a good authority.[2]

The founder of the Ming dynasty was a patron of all kinds of learning and promoted efforts to recover and preserve the valuable treatises which had been lost or become very rare. He also in various ways encouraged the study of the written language. In his reign (1368 to 1399) and by his orders a new and revised edition of the "Yun-hui" was prepared and published, but that treatise still remained unacceptable. In the meantime the Emperor appointed a commission of learned men to make a new pronouncing dictionary. The principal members of this commission were Sung Lien (宋 濂) *al.* Ching-lien (景 濂), of Chin-hua (金 華) in Chekiang, and Yo Shao-fêng (樂 韶 鳳), officials and scholars of great learning and abilities. They produced a dic-

[1] 字 鑑 (Reprint of 1685, ed. by 朱 彝 尊).

[2] 六 書 正 譌 ed, by 胡 正 言 of Ming dynasty.

tionary which, from the style of the Emperor's reign, was called "Hung-wu-chêng-yun" (洪武正韻), Sung Lien's preface being dated 1375. In this work the meanings and pronunciations of more than 12,000 characters are given, and these characters are arranged according to a new set of finals, only seventy-six in number. In fixing on these the compilers seem to have mainly followed the "Chung-yuan-ya-yin," which was a standard of reference for them. The explanations and illustrations are chiefly derived from the work of Mao Huang and his son. A few courtly writers who lived about the time of its appearance have praised the "Chêng-yun," but it has never had favour with the literati. It contains much learning and criticism, but still, as the Emperor Kanghsi says, it never could get into vogue. Sung Lien seems to have blindly followed the doctrines of Wu Yü. He also criticizes as teaching of Shên Yo what was actually that of Liu Yuan, and he made the dialect of his native district in Chekiang the basis of criticism. In the reign of the last Emperor of the Ming dynasty there appeared the "Chêng-yun-chien" (正韻牋), that is, the "Hung-wu-chêng-yun" with supplementary notes. These notes were contributed by Yang Shi-wei (楊時偉) a distinguished Confucianist of the seventeenth century. They are of three kinds: the *Chien* (牋) give sounds, meanings, and illustrations for the characters in the original "Chêng-yun" but supplementary to those already there; the "Ku-yin" (古音) notes give at the end of each *yun* (section) a number of characters with their archaic sounds; and the "I-tzŭ" (逸字) are omitted characters which Yang Shi-wei ventured to introduce.[1]

Among the learned men who helped Sung Lien in compiling the "Chêng-yun," was Chao Ch'ien (趙謙) better known as Chao Hui-ch'ien (撝謙). This man, a native of Yü-yao in Chekiang, lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. He was noted during his short lifetime of forty-four years, for his great learning and philological attainments. In addition to his labours on the "Chêng-yun" he compiled also the "Liu-shu-

[1] 正韻牋 ed. 1632; "Ku-yun-piao-chun,"; Ed. Man. Gr., p. 82; "Ku-chin-t'ung-yun," preface, et al.; "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Int.

pên-i" (六書本義). This is a sort of dictionary in which the characters are given under 360 classifiers, an arrangement which was not adopted by others. The work, however, has been highly praised by subsequent writers, specially for its treatment of the "Chuan-chu" or "deflected" words. Chao, who has the further designation "Ku-tsê" (古則), was the author of two other treatises on the language, one of them being an extensive work in one hundred *chuan*.[1]

The modern etymology of the language is discussed by Chang Fu (章黼) *al.* Tao-ch'ang (道常), a native of Chia-ting (Kading) in Kiangsu. He compiled the "Yun-hsio-chi-ch'êng" (韻學集成), in which he made a careful revision of the distribution of characters in the four-tone classes. In this book we have twenty-one chief *yun* or finals, being the nineteen of Chou Tê-ch'ing with changes and additions. For example, Chang adds *shan* (山) and *hui* (灰), separates *mu* (模) from *yü* (魚), and omits *chiang* (江). Under the above twenty-one finals are subordinate classes which are said to be according to the finals in the "Chêng-yun." The short-tone words are distributed in these classes in a methodical manner, and in what is supposed to be a natural order. The "Yun-hsio-chi-ch'êng" has been much praised for the correct account it gives of the relations of characters under their phonetic categories. Its compiler was also the author of another etymological treatise, the "Chĭ-yin-pien" (直音篇), but this latter work does not seem to be much used or known.

The *fan-ch'ie* method of denoting the pronunciation of characters had now been made practically as nearly perfect as possible, but it was still found inadequate to represent sounds precisely. An attempt to introduce an improved method was made during this period by a scholar named Shên Ch'ung-sui (沈寵綏). His plan required the use of three characters instead of two. Thus he represented the spelling of *kiai* (*chie* 皆) by *ki* (幾), *ai* (哀), and *i* (噫). Shên was evidently in advance of his time, for his method was not adopted in any dictionary, and it

[1] "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Int.; "Yun-hsio."

was even said to be nearly like giving legs to a serpent. But in recent times the attempt has been made to represent foreign sounds by a tri-syllabic spelling.[1]

We may here notice some of the labours in philology of certain Buddhist monks in the Ming period. In the fifteenth century one of these monks, by name Chie-hsüan (戒璿), with the help of several brethren compiled the "Wu-yin-chi-yun," the second treatise with that name. This is said to be a work of great research, the result of much study and investigation. Another monk, Chên-k'ung (眞空), of a monastery in the capital, compiled the "Pien-yun-kuan-chu-chi" (篇韻貫珠集), better known by its short title "Kuan-chu-chi." This is a collection of eight short treatises on subjects connected with the language. It was published in 1498 with a preface from the pen of a metropolitan graduate named Liu. In the preface the work is praised for its great and varied learning and for its usefulness not only to the Buddhists but also to the orthodox student. The praise seems to be rather excessive and the whole work cannot be said to rank high. In the short treatises, however, of which it is composed, the curious reader will find information which he will scarcely find in other treatises. The "Ta-t'zŭ-jen" (大慈仁) monastery, in which Chên-k'ung lived, produced another monk who was noted for his great and varied learning. This was No-an (訥菴) who published a new and enlarged edition of Liu Chien's "Yü-yao-shi." The original edition had only thirteen "keys," and No-an added seven. The new work was edited by Chên-k'ung and published with a laudatory preface in 1513.[2]

In the first half of the sixteenth century lived Yang Shên (楊愼) *al.* Shêng-an (升菴) *al.* Yung-hsiu (用修), born in 1488 and surviving to 1559. He was a native of Hsin-tu in Ssŭchuan, and one of the most remarkable men of the Ming dynasty. In addition to the poetry, political writings, books on philosophy and natural history which he produced during his unhappy life,

[1] "Li-shi-yin-chien," chap. ii.

[2] 貫珠集 (Ming reprint).

he composed also several treatises on subjects connected with the oral and written language. Yang was a great explorer of antiquity, and studied specially the relation of the language of his own time to that of the early periods. One of the best known of his philological treatises is the "Chuan-chu-ku-yin-liao" (轉注古音略), a compendium on the old words of the class "deflected." Yang uses the term *chuan-chu* or "deflected" to denote the characters which came to acquire new pronunciation and new meanings. To some extent he was a follower of Wu Yü, and this treatise is by some regarded as an enlarged and improved "Yun-pu." Like Wu, he gave the name "Old rhyme-sounds" (古韻) to sounds found in the miscellaneous literature of comparatively late times. The treatise here mentioned is said to show great learning but little criticism, and to be marred by a love of display. Yet students of the language and literature continue to regard Wu Yü and Yang Shên as sources of authentic information about the phonetics of the old language.[1]

About the year 1570 appeared the "Shi-yun-chi-liao" (詩韻輯略), a methodical compendium of the rhymes in the "Shi." The author of this treatise was P'an Ên (潘恩) a native of the Shanghai district and a distinguished scholar in the reigns of Shi Tsung and Mu Tsung (1522 to 1573). P'an adopted the "P'ing-shui" 107 finals, and his book, which is in five *chuan*, gives 8,800 characters. His etymology of these is largely based on the work of the brothers Yin and on the "Yun-hui" of Huang Kung-chao. The "Shi-yun-chi-liao" was popular for a time and it is still used, but it has not a high place as an authority on the old language. It is condemned as learned but inaccurate and unmarked by critical discrimination. Yet it had the fortune to be appropriated by a man named Liang, who had it printed word for word as his own production about sixty years after it was first published. Liang's son continued the fraud, and P'an's work was long sold—is perhaps still sold—as that of Liang.

[1] "Ku-chin-yun-liao," Int.; "Ku-yun-piao-chun," Int.; "Ming-shi," chaps. xcvi.; cxcii.; Wylie's Notes, p. 130.

The treatise had a better fortune in being largely used by Shao Chang-hêng in the preparation of his work, which will soon fall to be noticed.

Contemporary with P'an Ên was another scholar also distinguished for his learning in the antiquities of the language. This was Ch'ên Ti (陳 第) *al.* Chi-li (季 立), a native of Foochow. He was the author of several etymological treatises, of which two are still well known. One of these is the "Ch'ü-sung-ku-yin-i" (屈 宋 古 音 義) which treats of the words found in the poetry of Ch'ü Yuan (屈 原) and Sung Yü (宋 玉), that is, with the language of the latter part of the fourth century B.C. The second work is the "Mao-shi-ku-yin-k'ao" (毛 詩 古 音 考), generally quoted by its short title "Ku-yin-k'ao," an examination of old sounds in the "Shi-ching," in four *chuan*, with an appendix. This was published about 1606 with one preface by the author's friend Chiao Hung (焦 竑) *al.* Jo Hou (弱 侯), and a second by the author himself. In it Ch'ên takes 500 characters in succession, and of each he gives what he finds to have been its old sound, supporting his view first by proofs taken from the "Shi-ching," and next by collateral evidence drawn from subsequent writings. Ch'ên Ti was the first to teach in a thorough methodical way that the rhymes of the "Shi" represent the sounds which the characters had at the time the poems were composed, and that characters have from age to age undergone changes of sound. These doctrines he learned from Chiao Hung, mentioned above, who also was a good scholar in the language and a writer on it seeking to preserve its purity and historical correctness. The merit of the "Ku-yin-k'ao" is lessened by the neglect its author shows for local variations and the modern sounds of characters. He went too far also with his theory that *Ku-wu-hsie-yin* (古 無 叶 音), the ancients did not alter the sound of a character for a special occasion. He held, for example, that when *yü* (羽) at the end of one line has the character 野 at the end of the next as a rhyme, we are to infer that the actual sound of this latter character at the time was something like *yü*, say *hu*. In after

times men ignorant of the true sound of the character represented it as *ya* and *ye*.[1]

In the year 1633 was published the first edition of a small but important treatise, the "Tzŭ-hui" (字彙). This was compiled by Mei Ying-tsu (梅膺祚) *al.* Tan-shêng (誕生), a native of Ning-kuo Foo in the Southern part of the present Anhui. It is a dictionary in which the characters explained are given according to the number of strokes, under 214 classifiers. These classifiers are the "Radicals" which were afterwards adopted by the compilers of the Kanghsi dictionary and other similar treatises. The "Tzŭ-hui" in its original form did not give any syllabic spelling, but merely stated under a character that its pronunciation *(yin)* was so and so. In later editions, however, the syllabic spelling is added and the variations of sounds carefully noted. For many years it was very popular among students and it has been often reprinted, revised and improved. But it is considered inferior to later dictionaries as it has wrong ways of writing characters and makes mistakes as to the classifiers. Moreover, the meanings and illustrations which are given even in the enlarged editions are very few, and, as the Emperor Kanghsi says, the work errs by being too brief and concise. It was reprinted in an abbreviated form in 1676, in the complete form in 1681 and again in 1688, and there are still to be found different editions of it in use, varying in the quantity of the original work which they retain. In its fullest form the book is very useful and gives much valuable information about the changes of sound and form which the characters have undergone. It is to be noted that the pronunciation which it gives for a character often differs from that found in the ordinary dictionaries. Thus it gives *ch'i* as the sound of 一 *(i)*, *k'ü* as that of 口 *(k'ou)*, and *ngü* as that of 女 *(nü)*.[2]

[1] 毛詩古音考, ed. 1606; Ed. Man. Gr., p. 267; Phon. S. W., Pref.; "Ku-yun-piao-chun," Int.; "Liu-shu-yin-yun-piao," Pref. Some late native authors quote Ch'ên Ti simply by his name Chi-li (季立) in citing his teachings, as though these and their author were familiar to everybody.

[2] 字彙, ed. 1676 and 1688; Kanghsi Dict., Preface; Ed. Man. Gr., p. 82; "Wu-fang-yin-yun," Pref. by Nien Hsi-yao.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

We now come to one of the great writers on the language, a teacher who has exercised great influence on nearly all who have followed him. This author, often quoted simply as Mr. Ku (顧氏), belongs to the period in which the Ming dynasty fell and was succeeded by that now reigning. He was born in 1613 at K'un-shan (崑山), in the Prefecture of Soochow, and died in 1682. His given name was Yen-wu (炎武), and he had the additional names Ning-jen (寧人), and T'ing-lin (亭林). In the department of philology Ku composed five books, which were published together in 1643 with a short preface by a friend. This is followed by a very interesting essay or letter addressed to one Li Tzŭ-tê (李子德) which is entirely devoted to the archæology of the language. The first of the five books is entitled "Yin-lun" (音論), Discussions on vocal sounds, and it may be regarded as introductory to the others. In this we have extracts from many authors and much interesting information on the origin and development of the Chinese language. It describes the technical terms used in etymological treatises, criticises previous authors, and gives Ku's own views on the use of characters in early poetry. The second book is called "Shi-pên-yin" (詩本音) and is an attempt to reproduce the sounds of the characters as used in the "Shi-ching." The third is the "Yi-pên" (易本) which does the same for the rhymes in the "Yi-ching." The fourth is the "T'ang-yun-chêng" (唐韻正) in which the finals of the T'ang writers have their ancient sounds given, these being substantiated by a collection of evidence from old authorities. The fifth book, which is devoted to the old sounds of words, is called "Ku-yin-piao" (古音表). The author of these works was a man of vast learning, but he was also a thoughtful reader who reasoned and criticised. He was at the same time an enthusiast, specially in matters connected with the antiquities of the language, and carried his opinions to excess. Ch'ên Ti and Lu Tê-ming were the masters whose views as to the proper treatment of the characters in the early classical poetry he in the main adopted. He held that words rhymed in the old ballads merely because of similarity of sound and without distinction of tone. This and

other doctrines of Ku have been disputed by later authors, and he has been rather severely criticised for some of his statements by men who were under great obligations to his labours.[1]

Another great writer on the language in the seventeenth century was Shao Chang-hêng (邵長蘅) *al.* Tzŭ-hsiang (子相), a native of Wu-chin (武進) in Kiangsu. His principal work on this subject is the "Ku-chin-yun-liao" (古今韻略), a phonetic thesaurus of ancient and modern words. This treatise was completed about 1660 but not published until thirty years afterwards. In the introduction the author gives a good historical and critical account of the chief among his predecessors. Then follows the work proper, in which the characters selected are arranged under four tones according to the 106 finals, beginning with *tung*. At the end of each class are added (1st) the old words which were commonly regarded as of like ending, and (2nd) those characters which, according to Wu Yü and Yang Shên, in old times took the same ending for rhyme purposes though their proper sounds were different. So the book is, as the title indicates, a compendium of old and modern rhyming words. As has been stated above, the "Ku-chin-yun-liao" is based on P'an Ên's treatise, but Shao made changes and important additions. The latter are generally taken from the "Kuang-yun" or one of the editions of "Li-pu-yun-liao." Those which he made himself are given at the end of each section, and they have not received universal approbation.[2]

Contemporary with Shao Tzŭ-hsiang was Mao Ch'i-ling (毛奇齡) *al.* Ta-k'o (大可) *al.* Hsi-ho (西河). This latter lived from 1623 to 1713 and was one of the most illustrious scholars of the seventeenth century. He was a man of great learning, of original views and independent research, and he had a clear and direct way of expressing himself in writing. Of his many contributions to learning and philology the only one we notice here is that known generally by its short title "Ku-chin-

[1] 顧氏音學五書; "Ku-yun-piao-chun," Int.; 國朝漢學師承記, chap. viii.

[2] 古今韻略, ed. 1696.

t'ung-yun" (古今通韻), which was published at the Imperial Press in 1684. The full title (given in a note below) is explained by the author thus: The words "Kang-hsi-chia-tzŭ" indicate the reign and the year of the reign in which the book is published; "Shi-kuan-hsin-k'an" means newly corrected by Imperial Archivists; and "Ku-chin-t'ung-yun" shows that the work is concerned with a comparison of the words sanctioned as rhymes now, with those so used in old literature. In the introduction there is a critical review of the current theories on the origin and history of the modes of representing the sounds of characters. The treatise of Liu Yuan was the basis of the "Ku-chin-t'ung-yun," which adopts the 106 finals of the period. Mao teaches that in the old classical poetry there was no separation of the *p'ing*, *shang*, and *ch'ü* tones, but that words in the *ju* tone formed a class by themselves. His criticisms on Wu Yü and others are often severe, and he writes generally in a dogmatic, dictatorial manner. His book is read by students, but it is not sanctioned as an authority on the subject of "interchangeable finals."[1]

In 1705 appeared the first edition of the "Chêng-tzŭ-t'ung" (正字通) compiled in the last years of the seventeenth century. This dictionary is merely an enlarged and improved edition of the original "Tzŭ-wei." It was compiled from the latter by Liao Wên-ying (廖文英) *al.* Pai-tzŭ (百子), but the current editions bear the names of Mei Ying-tsu, the compiler of the "Tzŭ-wei," and Han T'an (韓菼) the editor of that work. The last named is also sometimes referred to as the author of the "Chêng-tzŭ-t'ung." This work has been blamed for carelessness and inaccuracy, and the compilers of the Kanghsi Lexicon are severe on its demerits. Fault has been found with it specially for its mistakes as to the assignment of characters to their classifiers or radicals. In its latest editions, however, it is a valuable work and gives useful information on the sounds and structure of characters, not only in the body of the treatise but also in the parts which are supplementary. A comparison of the "Chêng-tzŭ-t'ung" with the Kanghsi Dictionary will shew

[1] 康熙甲子史館新刊古今通韻.

that the latter followed the lines of its predecessor and took from it freely.[1]

The "Tzŭ-wei" and the "Chêng-tzŭ-t'ung" are still occasionally reprinted, but they may be said to have been quite superseded by the "Kang-hsi Tzŭ-tien." This dictionary was first published in 1717 and soon became the standard authority. Other works of a like character have appeared since, but it has not been displaced by any of them. The Emperor by whose orders it was made also caused a book on the phonetics of the language to be compiled. This was the "Yin-yun-ch'an-wei" (音韻闡微), which became the standard authority on the use of the thirty-six Sanskrit initials. The same Emperor also engaged a college of scholars to make under his supervision the treatise to which the name "Pei-wên-yun-fu" was given. This is one of the largest dictionaries and cyclopedias of reference ever published, but its usefulness is impaired by slovenly, inaccurate quotations. It should always be used with caution and its statements verified where possible. Ten years after it appeared a supplement was found necessary. This was compiled by the Emperor's orders and published with the title "Yun-fu-shi-i" (韻府拾遺), Yun-fu gleanings. As an index to the "Pei-wên-yun-fu" a very compendious little dictionary was compiled and published in 1821 by Chêng Chang-kêng (鄭長庚) *al.* Hsüe-t'ing (雪亭). This is the "Ssŭ-yin-shi-i" (四音釋義), a work which gives the characters of the "Pei-wên-yun-fu" according to the 214 classifiers with their spelling and the chief meanings. The "Ssŭ-yin" are the "four tones," and for each character explained a reference is added to the tone and final under which it is to be found in the "P'ei-wên-yun-fu." This little dictionary is very popular with native students and it seems to be much needed. Another index to the great thesaurus is the tonic vocabulary named "Yun-hsio-chĭ-nan," A guide to the learning of the pronunciation of words. This work has a systematic arrangement of the characters under the four tones, and according to the Sanskrit initials and the finals of the "P'ei-

[1] 正字通, reprint of Liao's edition.

wên." The compiler was Wang Chên (王 溱), a native of Ch'ang-lo in Fuhkien, and the work was published in 1848. It has been reprinted several times and is very popular with the numerous students of that province.[1]

In the year 1700 a small but important work was published, the "Wu-fang-yuan-yin," the genuine words of the Empire. This thesaurus was compiled by Fan T'êng-fêng (樊 騰 鳳) *al.* Ling-hsü (凌 虛) of T'ang-shan in the south of Chihli. In 1710 there appeared a revised and improved edition with a preface by Nien Hsi-yao (年 希 堯) *al.* Yun-kung (允 恭), its editor. The work was further enlarged and published in a new form in 1780, and there have been several reprints of the 1710 edition. In this dictionary the characters are arranged according to a new system. There are twelve finals and twenty initials, the former being in two classes, each of six finals. The first six are called "light and clear" and they do not admit any *ju-shêng* words. These last are all lodged in the second class, the words of which are "heavy and indistinct." There are five tones, the *p'ing* being divided into upper and lower, corresponding to the *yin-p'ing* and *yang-p'ing* of Chou Tê-ch'ing. It is acknowledged by native students that the system of the "Wu-fang-yuan-yin" is not a good one, and the work is not regarded as an authority. The 1710 edition, however, forms a convenient book of reference and is largely consulted by provincial students learning Mandarin. It has also been used by Dr. Williams in compiling his Dictionary, and an account of it will be found in the introduction to that work. Dr. Williams has there given what he calls a translation of Yao's preface, and it is about as bad a specimen of translation as could be produced.[2]

We next notice the contributions to the study of the language made by Chiang Yung (江 永) *al.* Shên-hsiu (愼 修). Chiang (Kiang) was a native of Wu-yuan in Anhui and lived from 1681 to 1762. He was a man of great learning and ability,

[1] 四音釋義 (ed. 1843); 韻 學 指 南. My copy of the "Pei-wên-yun-fu" is a recent reprint, and is perhaps an unusually bad one.

[2] 增 補 五 方 元 音 (reprint); Williams' Dictionary, Int., p. xiv.; Ed. Man. Gr., p. 38.

archæologist, astronomer, musician, and philologist. In this last capacity he was the author of the "Yin-hsio-pien-wei" (音學辨微), the "Ssŭ-shêng-ch'ie-yun-piao" (四聲切韻表) and the "Ku-yun-piao-chun" (古韻標準). The last is the most important and the only one of the three which is well known at present. It was composed in order to correct and supplement the teachings of Ku Yen-wu, though the latter was evidently Chiang's master. The date of its first publication is 1771, and it was carefully edited by Lo Yu-kao (羅有高). The work is devoted entirely to the discussion of the ancient sounds of certain characters. It gives only thirteen classes of finals, under the three tones *p'ing, shang, ch'ü,* and eight under the *ju* tone, and the author regarded this as the proper system for the sounds of words in the old poetry. He held that in the "Shi-ching" the distinction of tones was not observed in the rhymes, a *shang* word rhyming with a *p'ing* word if the two approximated in sound. The old rhymes, he thought, represented the speech of the people at the time and in the places of their original composition, and an important matter was to keep old and new pronunciations quite distinct. The forms of characters have changed in the course of time, and so also have the sounds attached to them. The "Ssŭ-shêng-ch'ie-yun-piao," which was published at the same time as the above and by the same editor, is a very short treatise. Chiang left it unrevised and so it has not the full authority of a finished work. It presents a series of tables in which a large number of characters are arranged under the 36 Sanskrit initials and the orthodox finals according to the four tones; the *fan-ch'ie* spelling is given, and the physical characters of the sounds, as dental, lingual, etc., are indicated.[1]

To the eighteenth century belongs also the "Chung-chou-ch'uan-yun," the complete rhyme-words of China. This work was compiled by Chou Ang (周昂) *al.* Shao-hsia (少霞), of Soochow, who lived in the second half of the century. It was based on the treatise by Chou Tê-ch'ing noticed above. But the nineteen finals of that work are rearranged and their number

[1] 古韻標準: 四聲切韻表.

increased by three. The introduction gives a considerable amount of information about the sounds of words classified by the organs concerned in their formation, and about previous writers. The author specially criticises some of the teachings of P'an Lei (潘耒), who lived from 1646 to 1708 and wrote the "Lei-yin" (類音). Chou divides the *p'ing* tone into *yin* and *yang p'ing*, and in his treatment of these he follows Chou Tê-ch'ing. After these come the *shang* and *ch'ü*, the *ju* tone words being appended to the other classes according to their natural affinities. A characteristic of this work is the attention paid to the physical processes by which words are uttered, and a minute description of these is attempted. The work has been revised and reprinted, but it cannot be said to be popular.[1]

A peculiar feature of the course of modern learning on our subject falls to be noticed here. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we find a revived interest in the philological works of antiquity. This is shewn in various ways, but chiefly by the desire to obtain old copies and to reproduce these accurately with needful additions and suitable commentaries. There was a "return to antiquity" which some took up moderately and discreetly while others carried it out to excess. It may be of use to notice a few of the more important revivals which occurred during the above period.

The old-fashioned little treatise the "Shi-ming" was taken in hand by the illustrious scholar Chiang Shêng (江聲), famed for his labours on the "Shi-ching," who lived in the second half of the eighteenth century. Chiang composed three treatises on the "Shi-ming," supplementing the deficiencies and verifying the statements of that work. A few years after his death the "Kuang-shi-ming," edited by Chang Chin-wu (張金吾) was published (1814). In this work we find several additions made to the old book and references given for the original explanations.[2]

The learned Tai Chên (戴震) took up the old "Fang-yen" and produced a new edition with proofs and illustrations. He

[1] 新訂中州全韻; Ed. Man. Gr., p. 39.

[2] 廣釋名 (reprint).

was also one of the three scholars who prepared the Imperial reprint of the "Fang-yen" with the commentary of Kuo Po which appeared in 1779.

Then the "Urh-ya" was edited carefully by Lu Wên-chao (盧文弨), who devoted to it two treatises. This old thesaurus was studied also by P'u T'ang (浦鏜), who published an edition with many changes in the text. His treatise did not find much favour and his corrections of the current readings are not generally accepted. A better edition is that by Shao Chin-han (邵晉涵), a very learned official who lived in the second half of the eighteenth century. Shao gave to his treatise, which was published in 1775, the title "Urh-ya-chêng-i." In preparing it he adopted the text which he thought the best, and Kuo Po's commentary. To the latter he added illustrations and references drawn from other commentaries and from classical literature generally. It is stated that this edition of the "Urh-ya" has superseded all others with students. Further, in 1815 appeared the edition brought out by Yuan Yuan in his thirteen *Ching*, which gives the commentaries of Kuo Po and Hsing Chi with comparisons of texts and other useful information. As a sort of supplement to the "Urh-ya," Hung Liang-chi (洪亮吉), who lived from 1746 to 1809, compiled the "Pi-ya" (比雅), a work which follows the divisions of the "Urh-ya." But most of the terms and phrases which it gives and for which it supplies references are not in the "Urh-ya."[1]

The "Yü-pien" and the "Kuang-yun" were reprinted and published together in 1704. Great care was taken in the editing of these works, and the veteran philologist Chu I-tsun (朱彝尊) contributed prefaces. It is this edition of the "Yü-pien" and "Kuang-yen" which seems to be the popular one among students of the present time. The "Chi-yun" also found an editor and was reprinted in 1814.[2]

But none of the other ancient treatises on the language has received so much attention as the "Shuo-wên." This book had

[1] 國朝經師經義; Yuan Yuan's "Urh-ya" (13 ed.); 比雅 (reprint 1857).
[2] "Yü-pien" and "Kuang-yun," ed. 1704.

almost gone out of fashion and fallen into neglect during the period of the Ming dynasty. But in the seventeenth century scholars turned to it again, and the interest then awakened in it produced several reprints and commentaries. One of the first of these was an edition with notes by Chiang Yung, mentioned above. Another edition with a learned introduction was published about 1772, the author of which was Chu Yun (朱筠). He reproduced the text of Pao Hsi-lu (包希魯) which had been published in 1420, and followed the arrangement introduced by Li Tao. A few years later Kuei Fu (桂馥) *al.* Wei-ku (未谷) finished his labours on the "Shuo-wên," though his treatise was not published until long afterwards. Kuei, who was a native of Chü-fu (曲阜) in Shantung, and lived from 1736 to 1806, was a scholar of wide reading and a true lover of learning. He put out all his talents in the production of a new edition of the "Shuo-wên," a labour on which he was employed for thirty years. The name which he gave to his work, "Shuo-wên-chie-tzŭ-i-chêng," or verification of the meanings of the "Shuo-wên," indicates its scope. The text of the original treatise is given in separate columns and in large characters. The commentary is full and gives the student nearly everything that could be desired to substantiate and illustrate the short paragraphs of Hsü's text. With this last as commonly received he did not interfere, for he had a genuine reverence for the words of the "Shuo-wên." The doubts he had on the subject and his views as to the purity of the texts in use were put in writing, but he did not live to publish them. It is probable, however, that many of them are embodied in his commentary as his views of readings found in various previous editions. His "Shuo-wên" was not published for more than fifty years after it was finished, and it was not until 1870 that it became generally accessible. In that year it was edited by Ting Kên-shan (丁艮善) and published under the auspices of the distinguished living scholar and official Chang Chĭ-t'ung.[1]

In the meantime two other editions of the "Shuo-wên" had

[1] 說文解字義證, ed. 1870.

appeared. One of these was by Tuan Yü-tsai (段玉裁) *al.* Jo-ying (若膺) who lived from 1735 to 1815 and was an enthusiast in the study of the old language and literature. He produced an edition of the "Shuo-wên" which is regarded as supplementary to that by Kuei Fu. Tuan devotes himself to the sounds rather than to the meanings of the characters, and his notes are few but generally good and useful. He gives the syllabic spelling of the characters, and refers these to their places under his seventeen classes of finals for old poetry. In some parts of China students prefer Tuan's edition of the "Shuo-wên" to all others, though there are who say that he published it rather to glorify himself than to instruct others.[1]

The other edition, which is in many respects better than Tuan's, is that by Chu Tsun-shêng (朱駿聲) *al.* Yun-ch'ien (允倩). This was finished in 1833 and published in 1852. Its title, "Shuo-wên-t'ung-hsün-ting-shêng," explains the aim of the compiler, which was to give a historical account of the meanings and sounds of the characters in the "Shuo-wên." But instead of the old arrangement of the characters, these are given according to their sounds, which are grouped under eighteen phonetics. The final according to the current system is also given for each character, the old form is appended, and to the original explanations of the "Shuo-wên" the editor adds instances from various authors of early times. The introductory chapters by Chu are also valuable, and he has done good service by collecting numerous examples of characters omitted by Hsü Shên whether by chance or design.[2]

In addition to the above, Hsü Hsüan's edition of the "Shuo-wên" has been several times reprinted within these two centuries; and in 1839 all the extant writings of his brother on the old dictionary were collected and published in one treatise.

Turning back to the eighteenth century we find, in addition to those already mentioned, several treatises worthy of mention on

[1] 說文解字注, ed. 1808.

[2] 說文通訓定聲; Chalmers in "Ch. Rev.," vol. ix. p. 297, and Lockhart in "Ch. Rev.," xii. p. 63. Chu Tsun-shêng's work is known as the "Phonetic Shuo-wên" and it is referred to by that name in the present work.

subjects connected with the language. Of these one of the most important is the "Liu-shu-yin-chün-piao." The author of this was Tuan Yü-tsai, noticed above, a native of Chinkiang Foo in Kiangsu. The work, which is now often published as an appendix to the author's "Shuo-wên," is a series of five essays on the relations of the ancient to the modern language. It gives the author's seventeen classes of finals, under which he groups all the rhymes of the "Shi-ching" and the old poetry generally. Tuan maintains that the rhymes in the "Shi" are generally correct, that at the time of its composition there were three tones, the *p'ing*, *shang*, and *ju*. These three he finds to be kept quite distinct. The *ch'ü-shêng* he considers to have arisen about the fourth or fifth century of our era. But words, he thinks, have been all along changing their sounds and passing from one tone to another. The "Liu-shu-yin-chün-piao" is prefaced by contributions from the author's literary friends Tai Tung-yuan, Ch'ien Ta-hsin, Ch'in Ch'ung (欽 沖) *al.* Chĭ-fu (之 甫), all scholars of repute in this department of study.[1]

Tai Chên (戴 震) *al.* Tung-yuan (東 原) *al.* Shên-hsiu (愼修) has been already noticed for his labours on the Fang-yen. He was a native of the Hui-chow Prefecture of Anhui and lived from 1723 to 1777. In addition to many other works on various subjects he composed the "Shêng-yun-k'ao" (聲 韻 考) in four *chuan*, the "Shêng-lei-piao" (聲 類 表) in ten *chuan*, and the "Hsü-yen" (緒 言). Tai's studies in the language embraced the forms and sounds of characters and also their uses and history. He had great natural abilities, which he improved by a wide range of reading. Of a sceptical disposition he always wanted to know the how and the why of the statements he was taught to accept. This spirit gives a value to his writings and makes them of more than common interest. Thus the "Hsü-yen" examines the different uses made of such words as *tao* (道), *li* (理), *hsing* (性) by various writers and various schools of religion and philosophy.[2]

[1] 六書音均表 (reprint).

[2] 國朝漢學師承記, chap. v.; 緒言 (reprint).

Ch'ien Ta-hsin (錢大昕) *al.* Chu-ting (竹汀), who lived from 1728 to 1804, was the author of the "Shêng-lei." This useful little manual was edited by Ch'ien's friend Wang Ên (汪恩) and first published in 1825. It deals with the written language and gives the peculiar meanings of words and phrases in the old literature. It also corrects mistakes in early treatises in the use of characters, and shows how words are used for other words because of a likeness to them in sound or way of writing. The philological information which this little book gives is of much interest to the student of the language. Ch'ien was a giant in learning, well read not only in all the literature of his own country but also in Western learning as taught by Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest. The "Shêng-lei" was composed very gradually, the materials for it being collected while the author was engaged in preparing his historical and other treatises. It was intended for the use of students and accordingly it was made easy to consult and of a practical character.[1]

One of the best and most comprehensive works on the language is that by Li Ju-chên (李汝珍) *al.* Sung-shi (松石). This treatise, named "Li-shi-yin-chien" or Li's mirror of words, was first published about 1806 and it has passed through several editions. Li Sung-shi was a scholar who loved learning for its own sake, not using it as a means for worldly preferment. He had the command of a large library and enjoyed the society of pleasant friends who had similar tastes. The Mirror of Words is mainly in the form of question and answer, contained in thirty-three sections. In these the origin and history of the written characters, of the tones, finals, initials, modes of spelling, and other subjects, are treated in a pleasant but learned and scholarly manner. Dr. Edkins in his Grammars has quoted from and given some account of this book, and it is not necessary to dwell on it further in this place.[2]

Another recent work on the language quoted from and

[1] 聲類, ed. 1852; "Kuo-ch'ao-han-hsio," etc., chap. iii.

[2] 李氏音鑑 ed. 1808; Ed. Shanghai Gr. (2nd ed.) p. 51, etc.; Ed. Man. Gr. (2nd ed.) p. 38, etc.

described by Dr. Edkins is the "Yen-hsü-ts'ao-t'ang-pi-chi" (衍緒草堂筆記) by Pi Hua-chên (畢華珍). This author is one of the very few native writers who have treated of "the parts of speech and construction of sentences." The book seems to be rare, and the present writer knows of it only through Dr. Edkins' Grammars.[1]

A recent treatise which deserves to be better known than it is at present is the "Ku-chin-wên-tzŭ-t'ung-shi." The meaning of this title, to be gathered from the book itself, is Historical explanations of written characters from ancient to modern times. It was compiled by Lü Shi-i (呂世宜) of Hsi-tsun in the same Prefecture as Amoy. The work was finished in 1853 but it was not published apparently until 1879, long after the author's death. It was then printed at a private press with an introduction by Lin Wei-yuan, the great landlord of North Formosa, who had been a pupil of Lü. This latter was noted, at least in his native province, for his great learning, and specially for his knowledge of the language. He was a follower of Tuan Yü-tsai, and took the "Shuo-wên" as edited by Tuan for the basis of his work. The characters given in the "Shuo-wên" are printed at the head of the page in large type. The spelling of each is given after Tuan; next comes a short account of the meanings and uses of the character, and then the old forms of writing. The author intended his treatise, which is in fourteen *chuan*, to be as it were a supplement to Tuan's "Shuo-wên," correcting the mistakes and supplying the deficiencies of that great work. It does not display much originality, but it gives in a terse, methodical manner important information about the characters treated of in the "Shuo-wên."[2]

The natives of parts of Kuangtung and Fuhkien speak dialects which are very different from Mandarin. These dialects are from certain points of view distinct languages, and they have their own phonetic dictionaries, which are often re-edited and republished. Two at least of these dictionaries have been

[1] Ed. Sh. Gr., p. 58.

[2] 古今文字通釋 ("Ku-chin-wên-tzŭ-t'ung-shi").

compiled with care and are much used. But since the time of Kanghsi, efforts have been made to substitute the standard language for the local dialects. That Emperor issued an edict commanding the institution of schools in Fuhkien and Kuangtung for the teaching of Mandarin, and he repeated his commands afterwards. These instructions led to the establishment of certain schools, and in course of time books were published to aid scholars in acquiring the national language. Thus, for the natives of Fuhkien a work named "Kuan-yin-hui-chie-shi-i" was published in 1748. Its compiler was Ts'ai Shi (蔡奭), a native of Chang-p'u in the Chang-chow Prefecture of that province. Ts'ai had travelled to Peking and other cities, and he had made it his business to observe the peculiarities of speech at the capital and the other places he visited, having first learned Mandarin. When old, he retired and compiled this book, which he published in the eighty-fifth year of his life. It is a classified vocabulary of simple terms and phrases such as are in common use. The sounds of characters are sometimes given, and occasionally a short note of comment or explanation is added. The book was intended chiefly for the use of those natives of Fuhkien who had to travel as mandarins or merchants. It has evidently been found by these to be of some use, for it has been often reprinted, and it is cheap and portable.[1]

Several treatises have been published at Canton also with the view of teaching the people of that city and the surrounding districts the standard language. In 1785 was published a book the short title of which is "Chêng-yin-hui-pien." This was composed by Chang Yü-ch'êng (張玉成) *al.* Ch'ang-ch'i (唱期) of Pao-an in the Prefecture of Canton. The aim of the author was to provide a guide to the use of Mandarin—the *chêng-yin*—for the people of his own province specially. The book is a classified collection of Mandarin terms in common use, with the vulgar or provincial equivalent often added. In a short introduction the author gives the general characters of the four Tones. He next explains the five *yin*, which correspond to the five

[1] 官音彙解釋義 (a poor reprint).

Elements. Then he gives a five-fold classification of characters according to the five Regions and five physical organs. Thus under the categories of South and Tongue he gives the characters for *ting, ti, ning.* There is also another classification of words according to the physical acts required in uttering them. This yields sixteen classes, which are distinguished by names such as "opening the lips," "closing the mouth."[1]

A more popular work of this kind is the "Chêng-yin-tso-yao" by Kao Ching-t'ing (高靜亭). This book was originally published in 1810, and it has been often reprinted. It is much used by the Cantonese and by the Hoklos and Hakkas of the Canton province in acquiring a knowledge of Mandarin. Western students know the work through Bazin, who made use of it in the preparation of his Chinese Grammar, and Thom, who used it in making his Chinese Speaker. The compiler was a native of Canton, but he left that city in early life and lived first at Peking and afterwards at other places where Mandarin was the language of the people. His little work is very useful but it is not considered so good as the books composed by So I-tsun.[2]

This man So I-tsun (莎彝尊) was a Manchoo resident at Canton. For the people of that city he composed the "Chêng-yin-pien-wei" and the "Chêng-yin-tsü-hua."[3] The former was published in 1837 and the latter a few years afterwards, and both have been several times reprinted. They also are largely used by the inhabitants of Canton who desire to learn the standard language. These books give excellent vocabularies of Mandarin terms in common use, rules for the standard pronunciation of characters, the Thousand Character Classic with the correct sound of each character, and minute instructions as to the physical acts to be performed in making the various utterances. The "Chêng-yin-tsü (or *chü)* hua" is perhaps the best of all these works and of the most practical utility. It not only

[1] 正音彙編 (ed. 1863). There seem to be several editions of this book with slight variations of detail or arrangement.

[2] 正音撮要 (Chêng-yin-tso-yao), a reprint.

[3] 正音辨微; 正音咀華; Ed. Man. Gr., p. 277.

distinguishes between Cantonese and Mandarin but also between the latter and the Court dialect.

A later treatise than the above is a small one named "Chêng-yin-t'ung-su-piao," published first in 1872. The author was P'an Fêng-hsi (潘逢禧), of Anhui extraction but born at Foochow. He also aimed at ascertaining and diffusing the *chêng-yin* or Mandarin language, so that it might displace the local dialects and become the one language of all the Empire.[1]

A review of the sketch here given of the cultivation of their language by Chinese scholars shows that generally they confined themselves to the sounds, meanings, composition, and history of their written characters. The sketch, however, is necessarily very imperfect, and a more thorough examination of the native literature would perhaps reveal many works bearing on other departments of Chinese philology. But it must be admitted that the investigation of the language is seldom pursued by native scholars as an independent study. It is always an "inferior science," and gains importance only as a help to the understanding of the orthodox canonical literature. From the "Shuo-wên" down to the latest dictionary, all etymological treatises have been composed with the expressed design of aiding in the settling of texts, clearing up the meaning, or ascertaining the sounds of characters in the old Confucian writings or in the works composed to teach, illustrate or continue those writings. One of the best of the late treatises on etymology is that by Wang Yin-chĭ (王引之) published in 1798. This is devoted to the particles found in the ancient orthodox classics, and in some degree it performs the part of a grammar.[2] But there probably is not any native treatise, at least of authority, which can properly be called a grammar. The language, indeed, wants what we understand by that term. Or perhaps we should say of it what Sir Philip Sidney says of our own language in reply to those who object that it "wanteth grammar"—"Nay, truly, it hath that prayse,

[1] "Chêng-yin-t'ung-su-piao" (正音通俗表).

[2] The title of the book is "Ching-chuan-shi-ssŭ" (經傳釋詞), see L. C. C., vol. iv., Proleg. p. 178; Julien Synr. Nouvelle, etc., T. i. p. 153.

that it wanteth not Grammar: for Grammar it might have, but it needes it not: beeing so easie of itself, and so voyd of those cumbersome differences of Cases, Genders, Moodes, and Tenses, which I think was a peece of the Tower of *Babilon's* curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue."[1] The primæval Chinese, as we know from several excellent authorities, left their original seat in Mesopotamia before the "second general curse" passed on the human race, and so their descendants have not to "reintegrate" themselves in the divine benediction.

[1] An Apologie for Poetrie, p. 70 (Arbeir's reprint).

CHAPTER III.

CHINESE OPINIONS ABOUT THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE.

Let us now go on to consider some of the views held by the Chinese about the first beginnings of their language. And the question of the origin and development of their own language is for most native writers that of the origin and development of human speech generally. Now it must be owned that, so far at least as their literature is known to us, Chinese philosophers have not treated this subject with any degree of full or accurate thought. Yet it were rash to say, as some have said, that the problem of the origin of speech never occurred to them, for we have reasons neither few nor slight for thinking that it did occur to them, and that they have had on it, at times at least, decided opinions. On the one hand we know that the Chinese hold their own language in very high esteem, and on the other that they have composed, as we have seen, many works treating of the history, structure, sound, and meaning of its written characters. Thus there is at least a certain amount of probability in favour of the assumption that the question of the origin of speech had also occurred to them. And not only this, but moreover we do actually find scattered here and there in Chinese literature various and independent statements of opinion on the subject, though there is not, so far as the present writer knows, any treatise devoted to it specially. It is the aim of the present chapter to bring together a few of these native statements of opinion about the birth and early growth of language spoken and written, and specially such as may be compared with the theories of western authors on the same subject.

To begin at the beginning, the theory that the first human beings who lived on this earth were speechless does not seem to have ever prevailed in China. The books and common traditions of the country generally represent those unknown creatures as a *turpe,* but seldom or never as a *mutum pecus.* They are supposed to have herded together in dens or caves, living on the natural fruits of the earth, knowing nothing and caring little about anything beyond their daily round of wants as they arose and were satisfied. They were not, however, like the beasts among which they lived and which they hunted for food and clothing, mere dumb animals. On the contrary, most native authors who have written on the subject expressly maintain that man spoke from the beginning, that speech arose when human life began in the world.[1] Han Wên-kung, however, says that people, that is the Chinese, were at first like birds, and beasts, and barbarians. They did not know how to grow grain, and build houses, to love their parents and honour their superiors, to nourish their living and bury their dead, until sages arose to teach them.[2] Here we find barbarians classed with birds and beasts which have not the faculty of speech. But from all time the Chinese seem to have regarded foreigners as little above the brute creatures, and some authors expressly state that barbarians—the *I* and *Ti* (夷 狄)—are as birds and beasts. Hence we find the character for Dog often used as the classifier of characters which represent the names of foreign tribes. The speech of these also is compared to the shrill scream of the shrike and the calls of other birds. The people of Yang-shan in Kuangtung were said by Han Wên-kung to have the speech of birds and the faces of barbarians, and they were to him barbarians. In like manner to other nations, for example the ancient Greeks, the speech of foreigners sounded like the utterances of birds and beasts. Herodotus explains the legend of the doves at Dodona by the supposition that Egyptian

[1] See *e.g.* the Preface to the 檢篇韻貫珠集; *cf.* also Sung Lien's Preface to the "Hung-wu-chêng-yun."

[2] Collected Works, chap. xx. This opinion is found also in the works of other authors and is based on semi-historical legends.

women had at one time been brought over. The speech of these was unknown to the Greeks, to whom the strangers appeared to be chattering like birds—talking like doves. When the women learned to talk Greek they were said to utter human speech. The same author says of the swift-footed, reptile-eating Troglodytes, that they did not use a language like any other but cheaped like bats. So also Æschylus makes the Greek Clytemnestra say of her words to the Trojan Cassandra, "But if she has not, like a swallow, an unknown barbarous voice, I, speaking within her comprehension, persuade her by speech." We are told, moreover, that the Greeks, to whom also all foreigners were "barbarians," did not speak of the "dialects" of barbarians but only of their "tongues."[1]

The chief reason, perhaps, why Chinese philosophers have not discussed the origin of speech in special treatises and of set purpose, is that they regard the faculty of speech as the natural result of man's existence, as inherent in his constitution. What may be considered as the orthodox and national opinion on the subject is that man speaks, just as he eats, and drinks, and sleeps, and loves, and fears, from an instinct which forms part of his nature. "That man speaks is nature's work," the Chinese would repeat. There is nothing divine or superhuman in the fact, nor anything which shews that the faculty was one attained by slow degrees and after many vague attempts. One native philosopher describes man as speaking by breathing forth the air contained in the mouth and throat by movements of the lips and tongue. The act of speaking is like playing a flute. Man's mouth and throat are the musical instrument, and the movements of the tongue are the play of the fingers on the holes. The power of speaking grows and fails with the growth and decay of man's vital powers, and these need food and drink for their maintenance. Hence it cannot be that the dead speak or that ghosts wail and cry by night.[2] Another philosopher explains sound as

[1] Herod., B. ii. 55, 57; B. iv. 183; Æsch. Agam. l. 1017–9; Clem. Alex. Str., L. i., chap. xxi., sec. 142.

[2] Wang Chung in the 論衡, chap. xx.

the result of the violent friction of air and solids. Two kinds of air in violent collision make sounds such as echo and thunder; two solids make noises like the beating of a drum and the clapping of hands; a solid acting on the air yields a sound such as that made by a fan or an arrow; and the air working on a solid gives the human voice and the sounds of wind instruments.[1]

Hence we find the vocal utterances of man classed with those of other animals, with the song of the bird and the cry of the wild beast; and sometimes even with the sounds yielded by lifeless matter, with the roar of the thunder, the prattle of the brook, and the ring of the struck rock. These all are the results of natural capacities moved by outward influences. They are merely the audible results of the impact of the formless essence of matter on body of definite shape; they are the call or cry of the elemental air, for the "air itself whistles and roars."[2] Hence we find such a term as *ming* (鳴), for example, used for all kinds of noises. It is properly and originally, as the character indicates, the call or song of birds. But it is used for the roar of thunder, the wind's whistling, the noise of rushing water, the sough among the pines, the ring of a bell, the tones of a lyre, the cricket's chirr, the crow of the cock, the dove's coo, the ass's bray, the neigh of the horse, and the manifold voice of man.

There is only, says the Confucianist philosopher, a minute difference between man and the lower animals, and even that is lost by common people. The wise man keeps that which makes the difference and so gains moral and intellectual perfection. But at birth there is only this difference between all human beings and the lower animals, that the former have a perfect and the latter an imperfect material organisation.[3] The first vocal utterances of man are those made from instinctive feeling, and are the natural universal sounds of humanity and living beings generally. The means which man has for expressing his feelings

[1] 性理大全, chap. v.

[2] 六書故, introduction; 文心雕龍, chap. i.; *cf.* Geiger Ursprung u. Entwickelung d. Men. Sprache. Ein., p. 9.

[3] See 孟子集註本義匯粲, chap. viii. and chap. xi.; Legge, C. L., ii., 201.

are briefly described by an early author. Poetry, he says, is emotional thought expressed in language. The feelings are moved within man and find vent in words. The deficiencies of the latter are supplied by ejaculations and sighs, the defects of which call for utterance long drawn out in song, and, this not sufficing, the hands wave and the feet move to and fro.[1] As we know, the cries and gesticulations of children and animals are the spontaneous expression of their emotions when stirred. From such cries arose rhythmical vocal utterances which afterwards developed into poetry. In general, writes Han Wên-kung, objects produce sound only when disturbed. Plants and trees are mute until they are agitated by the wind, when they yield sound, and so is it with water. Metal and stone are mute, but they give sound when struck, and it is the same as to man with speech. When he cannot get his own way he speaks; he sings his anxiety and weeps his sorrow. All the utterances which proceed from his mouth are the result of his being disturbed. Speech is the quintessence of human sounds, and literary composition is the quintessence of speech.[2] It was perhaps from the perception of the emotional nature of early speech that some Chinese writers were led to the theory that their spoken language had its origin in music. By this, however, nothing more may be meant than that man's emotions expressed themselves first in inarticulate musical cadences, and that from these he gradually proceeded to articulate significant utterances.[3] One author, at least, states the above theory without bringing forward any argument in its support, but others base it on arguments derived from tradition and probability. With it we may compare that of Darwin on the origin of spoken language, stated in his wonted clear and suggestive manner. In the "Descent of Man" he writes, "I cannot doubt that language owes its origin to the imitation and modification, aided by signs and gestures, of various natural sounds, the voice of other animals, and man's own instinctive cries.

[1] "Shi-ching," preface; Legge, C. L., iv., p. 34 of Prolegomena.

[2] Collected Works, chap. xix.

[3] See, *e.g.*, the 正音辨微, Int.; *cf.* also the 古韻標準, Int.

When we treat of sexual selection we shall see that primeval man, or rather some early progenitor of man, probably used his voice largely, as does one of the gibbon-apes at the present day, in producing true musical cadences, that is, in singing; we may conclude from a widely spread analogy that this power would have been especially exerted during the courtship of the sexes, serving to express various emotions, as love, jealousy, triumph, and serving as a challenge to their rivals. The imitation by articulate sounds of musical cries might have given use to words expressive of various complex emotions."[1]

But on the other hand there are also Chinese writers who suppose that music had its origin in speech, the latter having passed from untoned to toned utterances, and thence to tunes made after laws sought out from nature. This recalls the similar theory which Mr. Spencer expounds and developes with his usual power in one of the most interesting of his Essays.[2]

Whatever be the immediate origin of speech, however, it is in its earliest stage natural and spontaneous, the embodiment of the original tones of Heaven and Earth. The first men spoke just as the wind blows, without any conscious effort. The feelings find vent in sounds which spring from man's mind, having their source in his constitution. Articulate utterances come from man's mind, others tell us, and are natural; their form cannot be altered by any conscious exercise of an individual's power. Not even a king can change a word, and of course no one of less influence can avail to do anything whatever in this respect. The fashions in words as in other things change from age to age, but no one can by taking thought alter the fashions. For example, the people of a place may have once called a river *kong* whereas their descendants may now call it *kiang*, but the one is as good as the other, and each is right as the working of a natural law. With these statements we many compare the emphatic declaration of the great expounder of language as a natural product. Professor Max Müller tells us "that although

[1] Vol. i., p. 56; see also his "Expression of the Emotions," p. 86.

[2] 毛詩注, the 詩疏, chap. i.; Spencer's "Essays," vol. i., pp. 210 to 238.

there is a continuous change in language it is not in the power of any man either to produce or prevent it. We might think as well of changing the laws which control the circulation of our blood, or of adding an inch to our height, as of altering the laws of speech, or inventing new words according to our own pleasure. As man is the lord of nature only if he knows her laws and submits to them, the poet and philosopher become the lords of language only if they know its laws and obey them.[1]

Chinese opinions differ as to what is the first articulate sound made by the human baby. Some tell us that it is *huang-huang*, but this is only an *a priori* theory. To each of the five elements a certain sound is assigned. Thus water has a *ssŭ* sound, and that of metal is *huang* (鍠). Now in man's constitution the element metal is represented by his voice, and hence an infant, as soon as it can, cries *huang-huang*.[2] But other native writers tell us that the first sound uttered by a human being is *a* or *ya*. Hence the letter called *a* is said to be rightly placed at the head of Western alphabets, and some even go so far as to declare that in every sound uttered by man's opened mouth there is an *a* element. It is considered, however, that *a* sounds are natural to male, and *ei* or *i* sounds to female infants, and that the distinction continues in after years. This, according to the Chinese, is the spontaneous result of the human constitution. Our forefathers seem to have had similar notions about the distinctions made by male and female babies in their first utterances, though they accounted for the fact of the distinction in a different manner. In an old poem—Hampole's "Pricke of Conscience"—we read that a child as soon as born begins to "goule and cry." The author says that by the cry may be known

"Whether it be man or weman,
For when it es born it cryes swa;
If it be man, it says '*a*, *a*,'
That the first letter es of the nam
Of our forme-fader Adam.

[1] 李氏音鑑, chap. i.; 庭訓格言, p. 50; "Lectures on the Science of Language," vol. i., p. 40 (9th ed.) With Professor Müller's teaching compare the criticism on it by Professor Whitney in his "Language and the Study of Language," Lecture ii.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the 唱道眞言, chap. ii. The character is also writen 喤 with the same sounds as 鍠.

> And if the child a woman be,
> When it es born, it says '*e, e*,'
> E es the first letter and the hede
> Of the name of Eve that began our dede."

It is a pity that the Chinese do not know the historical explanation of this interesting fact. But a different explanation is given by Webbe, who did not take notice of the sexual distinctions. He, it will be remembered, thought that Noah settled in China after the flood, and he says:—"Wherefore it is not unobservable that the very first utterance that an Infant at his birth yeeldeth is *ya, ya, ya;* as if the Lord had ordained, either that we should be born with his name *Jah* in our mouths, which name is generally ascribed to him, when some notable deliverance or benefit, according to his former promise comes to pass, because he is the beginning and *Being* of beings, and *giveth to all, life, and breath, and all things*—Acts 17. v. 25—or else, that in our swathling clothes we should have something of the Primitive Language, till afterwards confounded, as we are taught to speak. But, by *ya* the Chinois intend *Excellens.*"[1]

This may not give the true explanation of the first utterances of all babies over all the world. The Chinese own that these utterances are only cries, and of a class with those of birds and beasts. The infant has no language but a cry, and in this respect it is not better than other animals, perhaps not so well supplied as other creatures. Nor is the capacity for uttering articulate sounds the possession of man alone among mortal beings. The ape-like Sing-sing and several other animals, according to Chinese opinion, are able to talk and understand human speech. As regards the Sing-sing, the statement that it can speak is doubted by some and denied by others, while of those who agree to it not a few think that the animal has the power of speaking only when it is drunk. That it can laugh and cry, however, seems to be the opinion of all authorities. It is a creature of uncertain appearance, and is described as having a body like that of a pig, or as like a dog, a badger, or an ape. The last is the form in which it is usually represented in pictures, but the face is always

[1] Essay, etc., p. 62.

supposed to resemble that of a human being. Another ape-like creature supposed to be able to talk and laugh is the Fei-fei (狒狒—and other ways). It also assumes various forms, appearing sometimes as a bear or an ape, and often as a man or woman. It has a wicked laugh and by this it lures unwise wayfarers into the wood, where it eats them. The wise, however, can distinguish between the Fei-fei's voice and that of a human being by the shrill squeaking character of the former. The Tortoise, ancient and mystical, which inhabits the fifth stage of the fabled Sumeru Mountain, is also credited with the possession of human speech. Among birds, the mainah, parrot, and others, are known to the Chinese as able to talk. In the country of the Tiao-chĭ (條支), near the Caspian sea, is a monstrous bird called the Chĭ-chio (鳷鵲), that is, perhaps, the Tiao-chĭ Magpie. This bird is said to understand human speech but, we are not told that it can talk. There is no doubt, however, that the mainah can talk, but its tongue must first be cut or pared down, and it is of great importance that this should be done on the 5th day of the 5th moon. So also the parrot should have its tongue cut in order that it may make the mimicry which our pious poet calls, "That odious libel on a human voice." The parrot can speak, it is true, without having this operation performed, but his power of speaking is not persistent, and he can be made dumb by rubbing him gently down the back.[1]

Now though the above creatures can use man's words they cannot be said to have the faculty of speech. The parrot, as one author says, can speak but he cannot carry on a conversation, because he has only the capacity to speak, not the faculty of speech; he follows the lead of others and cannot take the lead himself. As another author puts it, the parrot learns man's speech but cannot originate new expressions, because it has not any high intelligence. It learns the words which man utters, but not the

[1] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. li., 下; 拾遺記, chaps. vi. and x. In the "Poh-wu-chih" we are told that the Sing-sing is like a yellow dog with a man's face, and that it can speak (猩猩若黃狗入面能言), chap. iii. Another way of writing Sing-sing is 狌狌.

thoughts of his mind.[1] That is, the parrot has the physical organs and imitative faculty but not the intellectual capacity for speaking. Nor does the mere fact that they talk raise the Sing-sing and parrot, for example, from the rank of brute creatures. Birds and beasts having an inferior organisation cannot develope their nature at all points. They may in some respects shew good moral qualities, the germs of which are in them at birth by heavenly appointment, but they do not advance in moral and intellectual culture. The crow has filial piety and the wild duck is true to its mate; the fox does not forget the place of his birth, and the ant helps all of its kin. But does a crow bury his mother or a fox give way to his elders? Do the wild ducks wait for the go-between before they pair, and have the ants any form of worship? The parrot and the starling may talk but they have no sense of the fitness of time and place, and so are no better than other birds. A featherless biped, as a native writer says, may speak, but without *li* (禮) he is not man. It is this sense of order and of doing what is right and becoming in the family and in society, and the code of obligations thence resulting, this *li* which lifts man above the other creatures.[2] Some of these can indeed produce articulate utterances, after having learned them, by imitation, as an infant learns its first words by imitating its mother. But it is human sounds, not human speech, to borrow an expression from Dante,[3] which these creatures imitate, and they are not "capable

[1] Huai Nan-tzŭ's Works, chap. xvi.; 頓悟入道要門論, chap. ii. On the other hand we read of men in former times who understood the language of the lower animals. See, *e.g.*, the Supplement to the "Poh-wu-chih" (續博物志), chap. iii. There are also instances on record in which the parrot is not merely an imitator but also initiates a conversation and shows tender feeling. So also a mainah when sold to a barbarian committed suicide, saying that he was a Chinese bird and would not go among barbarians (邵氏聞見前錄, chap. xvii.) Some tell us that the mainah (秦吉了 or 吉了 or 了哥) in its wild state cannot speak, and it is only when domesticated it learns to talk.

[2] 淵鑑類函, chaps. ccccxxi. and ccccxxxii.; "Li-chi," chap. i., and Confucian writers generally. Of the term *Li* (禮), Callery, an excellent authority, writes as follows: "Autant que possible, je l'ai traduit par le mot Rite, dont le sens est susceptible d'un grande étendue; mais il faut convenir que, suivant les circonstances où il est employé, il peut signifier 'Cérémonial, Cérémonies, Pratiques cérémoniales L'étiquette, Politesse, Urbanité, Courtoisie, Honnêteté, Bonnes manières, Egards, Bonne éducation, Bienséance, Les formes, Les convenances, Savoir vivre, Décorum, Décence, Dignité personelle, Moralité de conduite, Ordre social, Devoirs de société, Lois sociales, Devoirs, Droit, Morale, Lois hiérarchiques, Offrande, Usages, Coutumes.," "Li-ki," introduction, p. 16.

[3] See his "Della Volg. Eloq.," L. i., chap. ii.

of language." As Lyell says, "It was a profound saying of William Humboldt, that 'Man is Man only by means of speech, but in order to invent speech he must be already Man.' Other animals may be able to utter sounds more articulate and as varied as the click of the Bushman, but voice alone can never enable brute intelligence to acquire language."[1] Yet perhaps because the power of speaking is supposed to belong to the Sing-sing and parrot, these animals are also credited with the possession of other extaordinary endowments, for the Sing-sing knows the past and the parrot the future. This bird can even understand and interpret dreams, and it has some notion of piety, for it has been heard to recite Buddhist prayers, and it has been seen sitting in ecstatic meditation seeking to attain that supreme supernatural intelligence which all true Buddhists seek finally to acquire.

But the faculty of speech in its full meaning is the property of man only. It is his characteristic possession, that which makes him man.[2] The first men spoke as they were moved, without aim and without effort, but their speech was only the air made vocal. It was, indeed, the music of an "œolian flute," the free whistling of heaven. Still it was only whistling, and, as an old philosopher says, human speech is not whistling. He who speaks says something, and though in what he says there is nothing absolute, yet there is a difference between his speech and the chirp of a chick.[3] In man, writes a practical statesman,[4] speech is the handle of the moral nature, the lord of action, the motive power of the mind, and the visible expression of the body, and with man alone words are capable of communicating ideas. The object of speech is to give expression to the feelings and thoughts. But that it is not a perfect instrument was long ago seen and acknowledged by the Chinese. Thus we are told that as writing does

[1] "Antiquity of Man," p. 518; M. Müller, Lectures on the Sc. of Lang., vol. i., p. 394.

[2] Ku-liang's Commentary on the "Ch'un-ch'iu" (穀梁傳註疏), chap. ix. (人之所以爲人者言也).

[3] Chuang-tzŭ in the "Nan-hua-ching," chap. i.

[4] See "Hsin T'ang-shu," chap. cxiv.

not fully represent the spoken language so this latter does not fully express the mind.[1] Speech is, indeed, classed with seeing and hearing, but as it is not the material organ which sees or hears, so also it is not the mouth which speaks. It is the spiritual principle by some called *hsing* (性) and by some *li* (理), which goes through all the body, seeing in the eye, hearing in the ear, and speaking in the mouth.[2] In the Great Plan which Heaven gave to Yü, the second division was on the "Reverent use of the five faculties" (敬 用 五 事), or, as Legg translates, "The Reverent Practice of the Five Businesses." These were demeanour, speech, seeing, hearing, and thinking. These five, another philosopher tells us, are all natural to man, but they need education to keep them right. Without this, by which man acquires *li* (禮), he is little better than the beasts which want discourse of reason, and he may even be found to lack the faculty of speech.[3] Thus we read of tribes who did not know language (不 知 言), and the "black slaves," once much used by rich Cantonese, are said to have understood human speech, but to have been unable to talk. This, however, probably only meant that they could not speak Chinese.[4]

Now, though the faculty of speech developed itself in primeval man without conscious action or reflection on his part, the first language must have been poor and rude. But even in its earliest stage this language began to receive enlargement and cultivation from the higher intellects of the time. Hence human speech as we now know it has a twofold origin, in the muddy source whence man emerges into existence with all the myriad creatures of the world, and in the mind—the spiritual principle which he alone knows to cultivate and develope. From the former spring cries of fear and calls for food, shouts of joy and notes of alarm, and much of that stock of speech which is common property. From the mind proceeded such terms as those for Filial Piety, Justice, Law, Humanity. Man must have always had some idea

[1] "Yi-ching," the 上 傳, chap. xii.
[2] 孟 子 集 註, etc., chap. viii. p. 25, Commentary; 三 魚 堂 集, chap. i.
[3] Chinese Classics, vol. iii. p. 323; "Fa-yen" (法 言), chap. i.
[4] "Huai-nan-tsŭ," chap. iv.; "Kuang-tung-sin-yü" (廣 東 新 語), chap. vii.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of these virtues, for their germs existed in him from the beginning. But it was not until the germs were developed in thinking men that terms like the above were invented. These and the correct names of objects generally, say the Chinese, were fabricated by the first teachers of mankind, by those kings and sages who taught in the first uncertain twilight of human life. The Chinese theory on this subject is well expressed by Renan when he says, "It is certain that we do not understand the organisation of language without une action d'hommes d'elite, exercising a certain authority around them and capable of imposing on others what they believed best. The aristocracy of sages was the law of nascent humanity; the leaven which produced civilisation could ferment at first only in a number almost imperceptible of predestined heads." In some native treatises we find the work of "correct naming" ascribed to the semi-mythical Huang Ti, who is supposed to have lived about B.C. 2600. He is said to have observed and studied the heavens and earth and all the then-existing objects and institutions, and so elaborated the real names of things, the modes of expression which corresponded with the actualities of nature and the mind. But more usually the glory is given to old sages generally, the "enlighteners of the people." In either case the correct language thus made was produced by degrees and as the result of observation and study. It had been preceded by a language awkward and uncertain, for the first savages must have had, though only to a limited extent, names by which they were wont to denote the articles they used and the events of their lives. But this language of theirs was neither correct nor fixed, and it was very meagre, for the rude forefathers of humanity had few wants and little thought. Hence the founders of social order had to seek out and communicate a fuller and more perfect phraseology; they invented, or rather discovered, set forms of language by which they could give a symbolical character to the sounds of their voice, their thoughts and feelings —"verba quibus voces sensusque notarent nominaque invenere." Chinese authors will have us believe that all this was done with a view to the introduction of good and settled government, and the

improvement of society. They are not content unless they see a moral or political motive prompting all the actions of their early sages.[1]

But if speech is nature's gift to man how comes it to vary from place to place? That it changes from place to place has been declared to be the working of natural law. It is nature's, not man's doing that the accent and pronunciation of words alter, that one term rises and another falls out of use as generation follows generation. But how is it that not only has the language of China been always unlike the dialects of the barbarian tribes in her midst and on her frontiers, but also that this language itself varies from district to district? The answer is that here too we have the work of nature. The "wind air" and the "soil and water," that is, the natural conditions of a place, affect the physical constitutions of the inhabitants, and thence gradually influence also their moral qualities. Then in course of time the character and conduct of the people react on the climatic conditions of a place, over which they exercise a mysterious but undoubted influence. Thus "wind air" (風 氣) means not only the physical qualities of a district, but also its moral character. It is the differences in climate, physical constituents, and moral character which make the variations of dialects. "People differ in the quality of their natural dispositions and in the language they speak; this is the spontaneous result of climate, and the product of continued practice." So writes one native author who knew by experience something about the varieties of human speech. That the inhabitants of one place, a popular writer tells us, are firm and manly while those of another place are the opposite, that people here are smart and there slow, that the language of this district is not understood by the inhabitants of that, all result from the assimilation of the local climatic influences by the people. The children of barbarous tribes (戎 夷), writes another, all make the same noises when they are infants, but speak differently when they grow up, and the

[1] See 六書故, chap. xi. and introduction; 性理大全, chap. vi.; Renan, "De L'Origine du Lang.," preface, p. 25 (4th ed.)

difference is the result of education, that is, of the circumstances in which they develope. As it is by having *li* (禮) that man is higher than the bird and beast, so also it is this *li* which distinguishes between the Chinese and the foreigner (barbarian), and between the gentleman (君子) and the cad (小人) among Chinese. This *li*, however, depends for its existence and devolopment mainly on external circumstances (所受於外), on the kind and degree of education or training which children receive.[1]

Without this *li*, or sense of what is right and becoming in his social relations, man could never have produced what is called a language. To invent this, to find out and fit on the due names of the objects and phenomena of nature and of the feelings and thoughts of the mind, was a great achievement. As Hobbes writes, viewing the subject from a different stand-point, but expressing in clear direct words what Chinese writers have stated though not so well:—"But the most noble and profitable invention of all other was that of Speech, consisting of *names* or *appellations*, and their connexion; whereby men register their thoughts; recall them when they are past; and also declare them one to another for mutual utility and conversation; without which there had been amongst men, neither commonwealth, nor society, nor contract, nor peace, no more than amongst lions, bears and wolves."[2] But spoken words are air, and live a vague, uncertain life. They fade too and die from memory like an echo in the hills or a roaring of wind in the forest. So even in very early times men must have sought for a visible lasting record and evidence of their events and transactions, a way of perpetuating spoken words and saving them from the fate of dark forgetfulness. And how do Chinese think men arrived at this? Let us take for answer the words of one of their students of this branch of learning. In the introduction to the "Liu-shu-ku" the author says: Visible representation (文) proceeds from spoken

[1] Yuan-tsang in "Hsi-yü-chi." chap. i.; "Sacred Edict," Art. ix. Ampln.; Kang-hsi's Dict., preface; the 新論, chap. i.; "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. xi.; 楊園先生全集, chap. xxxiii.; "Li-shi," etc., as above, chap. i.; "Li-chi," (禮記), chap. xii. (十三經 ed. Yuan-yuan).

[2] "Leviathan," chap. iv.

sounds, that is, these precede and their delineation follows. The combination of meaning and sound is not the product of this visible representation. There is no means of investigating the origin of mankind, but we may reasonably infer that men at first were naked and unkempt. They killed wild animals, skinned them and tore up their carcases for food and clothing. Their emotional natures were fierce like those of birds and beasts, and their intellects were undeveloped like those of infants. They could only by howling and shouting then make known to each other their likings and dislikings, their joys and angers. Then as their intellects developed they gradually acquired the ability to give names to things, and so they had a supply of sounds for shouting and calling. Writing had not yet arisen, and as classes of objects increased and their arrangement became more complicated, men could not do without some evidential record. So in time there arose the institution (or arrangement) of knotted cords. Then as cunning increased and regulations became more complicated, engravings were made on bamboo and wood to form records. At the present time, barbarians (蠻 夷) and rustics ignorant of characters apparently use such engravings, which are called *ch'i* (契), that is, tallies or indentures. When these proved insufficient for all the vicissitudes of affairs the forms of material objects were pictured and the essential features of immaterial objects were indicated. Thus engravings were made for the names of all objects material and immaterial, and thence arose the knife-inscribed tablets called Writings (書). The author goes on to shew how the first writing, which was only pictorial and indicative (or suggestive), came to be followed by other developments until the wealth of characters equalled human demands. The whole of this introduction, in spite of not a few faults, is interesting and worthy of perusal.[1]

It was necessity, the Chinese own, which first struck out the art of recording, the necessity of aiding memory and keeping

[1] 六書故, introduction, p. 14. Mr. Hopkins in "The Six Scripts" has given an excellent translation of the whole of this introduction. His rendering of the text from which the above passage is taken will be found at p. 5. Mr. Hopkins will see that his remarks on the rendering given in the "China Review" have led to some alterations for the translation given in the text here.

evidence. It seems to be generally agreed that the expedient first adopted was that of "knotted cords." The inventor of this expedient is of course unknown, but the prevailing tradition points to Sui-jen-shi (燧人氏), a fabulous ruler in the mythical past. Some writers ascribe the invention to Shên-nung (神農) and some to Fu-hsi. In the commentary on the "Yi-ching," attributed to Confucius, it is simply stated that in the earliest times cords were knotted for purposes of regulation (or government). And in other old books, such as the "Tao-tê-ching," we find reference to the use of knotted cords for official and private purposes. This use prevailed also among the ancestors of the present Manchoos, and it is said to exist still among some tribes of the Miao-tzŭ. In China it was instituted, some tell us, for purposes of Government. Hence we have such proverbial expressions as *Chie-shêng-chĭ-chêng* (結繩之政), the government of knotted cords, to denote that purely mythical time the golden age of the world's life. Others, however, suggest that the knotted cords were instituted and used for purposes of counting, and for preserving records of transactions where number was concerned, and records of dealings generally. A matter of importance is said to have been signified by a large knot (or knotted cord) and a small affair by a small one. But whatever may have been the purpose for which this expedient was invented, and whoever may have been its inventor, it is certain that the expedient did not succeed. It served only so long as people were simple and free from guile, and the requirements of society were neither numerous nor important.[1]

It seems to have been for purposes of counting and recording matters which involved numbers that those very primitive and simple combinations called *Ho-t'u* (河圖) and *Lo-shu* (洛書) were invented. There are certain diagrams of these accepted as the orthodox arrangements and, according to some, giving the original figures. These are to be found in certain editions of the "Yi-ching," and in various other treatises. The *Ho-tu*, or plan

[1] 鳳洲綱鑑, chap. i.; "Yi-ching," 傳下; 庭訓格言, p. 54; the 字學; the "Lun-hêng," chap. xviii.; Tao-tê-ching, chap. lxxx.; Preface to "Shuo-wên" (chap. xlix. in the 說文解字義證).

from the Yellow River, as shewn in these diagrams, is an arrangement of 55 circles, of which 30 are dark and 25 blank, in numbers from one to ten, both inclusive. The *Lo-shu*, or writing from the river *Lo*, is an arrangement of 45 dark and light circles in numbers from one to nine, such that the number fifteen is made up by the circles counted in a perpendicular, a horizontal, or a diagonal manner. According to certain old testimony, the River plan and *Lo* writing appeared as a supernatural phenomenon to Fu-hsi, who used them as models or hints. Setting out from these he produced the mysterious wonderful *Pa-kua* and its combinations. By these he shadowed forth the dark influences of all heavenly and earthly powers in a manner abstruse beyond all understanding. The figure known as the Pa-kua is greatly venerated by the Chinese, who regard it as the lineal ancestor of their writing, and also as a potent Drudenfuss. What purpose it first served or was meant to serve cannot perhaps be now ascertained, for all record of its primitive use seems to have been lost long ago. It represents, according to one statement, the primitive division of creation into male and female, and gives illustrations of odd and even. In its trigrams also is the hidden spring from which writing had its origin. Some native authors think that the combination of the two kinds of lines were meant to represent a system of counting. So also the Jesuit Missionaries Bouvet and Leibnitz were convinced that the broken line represented O and the unbroken line I. Leibnitz says that instead of philosophic mysteries having been hidden by Fu-hsi in the combinations of these lines, "it was the Binary Arithmetic which, as it seems, the great legislator possessed, and which I have rediscovered some thousands of years afterwards." The "Yi-ching," which interprets the mystical meanings of the *Pa-kua* and its permutations and combinations, is regarded by the Chinese as a sort of divine inspiration and as containing the secret possibilities of all wisdom.[1]

[1] Mayers, Ch. R. M., No. 177; "Yi-ching," 傳 下, chap. x.; 易 學 蒙 啓; Wuttke Geschichte d. Schrift, etc., p. 247; Leibnitz op. vol. iv. p. 208 (ed. Dutens). With Mayers' account of the *Ho-t'u* and *Lo-shu* compare the statement of Tsai Yuan-ting in the introduction of the 周 易 本 義.

But, according to some Chinese, the next step towards writing, after knotted cords, was the use of carved sticks to serve as tallies. These do not seem to have been merely sticks notched or indented. They are described as having also some kind of inscription or engraving, even from the earliest time of their use. The expedient was, however, a rude and simple one common to the Chinese with other tribes. Thus the chiefs of the ancient Tungus gave warrant to their commands by means of such sticks, and the Man (蠻) tribes in Chinese are said to have used them in making agreements. Carving in wood seems to have been practised in China from a remote period, and to have been employed for various purposes. In the seventh century B.C. the projecting beams of the roofs of temples and palaces were sometimes elaborately carved and coloured. The use of carved tallies also arose at some early period, but there is no record of its beginning. It too was apparently first confined to matters of numbers, and afterwards extended to business dealings and acts of government. From these *ch'i* (契), or carved tallies, some derive the immediate origin of writing, while others regard the *ch'i* and *shu* (書) as coæval. One of the eight kinds of characters—the *Pa-t'i* (八 體)—appointed for use by Ch'in Shi Huang Ti, was that called the *K'ê-fu* (刻 符) or carved tally, noticed already.[1]

But such rude appliances as knotted cords and carved sticks could not long suffice to meet the requirements of a growing society. The Chinese, accordingly, represent themselves as having at an early period of their history learned to cut and afterwards paint, in wood and stone and metal, figures or outlines of objects. These were practically the first beginning of writing for them. All the earliest characters seem to have been either pictorial representations or rough symbols of natural objects and phenomena. That is, they were either drawings which presented an outline of an object, or drawings which by their composition pointed to the meaning intended. In Chinese language they were *Hsiang-hsing* (形 象), Likeness-form, or *Chĭ-shĭ* (指 事),

[1] "Hou Han-shu," chap. xc.; "Sui-shu," the *Nan-man-chuan*; 和漢三才圖會 (also called 倭漢, etc.), chap. xv.; 檢篇韻貫珠集, chap. iv.; Legge, C. C., v., p. 106; "Kuh-liang-chuan," chap. vi. (十三經); "Mê-tzŭ" (墨子), chap. i.

Indicating-quality. But it is scarcely correct to call them pictorial writing, for so far as surviving records of or about them shew, they did not so much reproduce as merely symbolise. They were "marks" by which the names of things could be known and remembered, and hence they were first called "names." This term, however, was applied properly only to the words or phrases denoting the objects represented. The symbols or figures were called *Wên* (文), a term of very wide signification.

The origin of this symbol-writing cannot perhaps be discovered. Its invention is by some ascribed to Fu-hsi, and by some to Shi Huang-shĭ (史 皇 氏), a mythical ruler who preceded Fu-hsi. Of this latter it is expressly recorded that he "drew the *Pa-kua* and invented writing"—literally, "writing tallies" (契 書). Here, as in previous steps, the useful point of view is taken and Fu-hsi is said to have instituted writing to replace the administration by knotted cords. But it is to Tsang-chie (倉 頡) that the invention is most usually ascribed. This man has an uncertain personality. He has been identified with Shi Huang-shĭ, with Huang Ti, and with others. He is also said to have been one of Huang Ti's Ministers of State, and to have had four eyes. Not only did he make the first characters, but he also, according to some accounts, greatly developed the art of writing. Thus he is said to have arranged the characters under the six classes called the *Liu-shu*, or six writings, though this is also said to have been done by Fu-hsi, the "nose-ancestor," or first beginner of the art of writing. But there is a glamour on all Chinese writers when they attempt to describe the origin and early history of their written characters. The first artificer of these can never be known, but he must have been far above everyday men. To him, whether Tsang-chie or another, moved by the secret force of fate, appeared the mystical eternal tortoise. Its back was marked by lines which formed quaint devices to the eye of the sage, and stirred his mind to think and wonder. He took the hints, as it were, and devised a system of writing. This invention was fraught with great consequences, and put the universe in commotion. The heavens rained millet, ghosts wailed

by night, and dragons went into hiding. There are also Chinese writers who regard pictorial or symbolical representation as coæval with speech. They think it was quite as natural for man to depict as to talk. This unfortunately reminds one of Dogberry's assertion that "to write and read comes by nature." The representation of objects passed gradually, such writers think, to the use of characters. Then the pictorial gave birth to the phonetic characters, as a mother gives birth to a child. These characters, strictly so called, are *tzŭ* (字) as if 孳, bearers of children, or as if 子, sons, begotten and begetting. Hence it may be concluded that the origin and growth of writing followed a natural course.[1]

For the Chinese will not have it that Tsang-chie, or whoever first devised their characters, invented symbols which were purely arbitrary or artificial. On the contrary, he proceeded with aim and rule throughout. He studied in the heavens above their starry clusters and all their charactery, the changing moon, the unvarying sun, and the endless succession of all the elemental phenomena. Beneath the sky he noted the bird's flight and its footprints in the sand, the tortoise's carapace, and the varied forms of nature in general. These he tried to figure forth with knife and brush; but how was he to carve or paint an outline or symbol for such words as *mind*, and *law*, and *love* and *righteousness?* There was nothing in the material world to which the ideas represented by these words could be likened. Not even in such cases, however, did the Father of Writing make arbitrary signs, for those which he instituted were the natural product of the pre-existing spiritual facts and principles. He cannot properly be said to have invented such characters, but rather to have in their discovery only given direction to the spontaneous tendency of man's genius. It does not seem, however, that in the early period of writing many spiritual or abstract terms were represent-

[1] 通鑑綱目, chap. i.; 通鑑外紀, chap. i.; 鑑撮, chap. i.; 檢篇韻, etc., Preface; Mayers, Ch. R. M., No. 756; 論衡, chap. iii.; 李氏音鑑, chap. i.; 試策箋註 chap. iii.; the 尙書序 (in the 十三經 ed.); Preface to "Shuo-wên;" Supplement to "Poh-wu-chih," chap. v.; "Ho-kuan-tzŭ" (鶡冠子), chap. 上, last pages.

ed. At first only material objects and their relations, dealings of business, and affairs of government, were depicted in outline or symbol. The chief aim which the inventors and first improvers of the graphic art had in view was to make a record which could be appealed to as evidence. It was in matters of government, according to some native writers, that the use of writing began, the design of the inventors being to facilitate intercourse between the ruler and his servants, and between these and the people, and to register transactions of importance. Thus, when in old times the prince of one state invaded the territory of another, slew the inhabitants, and carried off booty, he caused the event to be recorded. It was written (書) on bamboo or silk, and engraved in metal and stone to be inscribed on sacrificial vessels for the information of posterity. Tsang-chie, says another author, made the first writing in order that distinct instructions might be given to officials, and for the efficient regulation of general affairs, that the stupid might be able to remember and the wise extend their thoughts.[1]

The primitive writing, whatever it was, seems, as has been stated, to have gradually passed into a somewhat artificial system, from which the present ways of writing are descended. In the process of development it had to pass through several intermediate phases, of which that called the Tadpole was one of the first. But some doubt whether there ever were any *bonâ fide* characters so called. Before the time of the Han dynasty (B.C. 200), we are told the old styles of writing had become practically unknown. When in that dynasty the tablets of several of the Canonical and other old works were discovered, the writing was unknown to the people. So they called the strange characters of the tablets Tadpoles, and this became the name of a certain whimsical style of written characters. The specimens given in some books are not unlike imitations of tadpoles and not very like significant characters. It is also stated that the kind of

[1] 性理彙要, chap. xvi.; "Lun-hêng," chap. xviii.; "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. xx.; "Li-shĭ-yin-chien," chap. i.; "Ho-han-san-ts'ai," &c., chap. xv.; "Mê-tzŭ," chap. xiii.

writing known as the "Tadpole characters" was that invented by Fu-hsi, and again that it was the kind communicated by Tsang-chie. Of the other old styles those known as the Great and Small Seal are perhaps the most important.[1] The written characters long since ceased to be in any degree pictorial, and they have become chiefly a means of denoting sounds as names of objects, sensations, or ideas. And it has been the opinion of some that this was their original and proper intention. Writing, we are told, was born of sound, that is, it was instituted to continue and perpetuate spoken language. Again, writing is said to be the woof and speaking the warp into which the former is woven. Elsewhere the written characters are described as the product of the reciprocal action of sound and visible representation; and another author regards "dots and strokes" as the lodging place of human speech when bodied forth in visible form. Dr. Edkins also has stated that "the phonetic characters appear to belong to the same era as those that are hieroglyphic. They are found together among the earliest remains of Chinese literature. According to the uniform national tradition, they must, therefore, be dated about B.C. 2700." But this can scarcely be set down as the prevailing opinion among native students of the language. It may be true, however, of written characters, strictly so called. The earlier transcript of language, which was called *wên* (文), is defined as the visible representation of objects arranged according to categories (or classes). It is also stated that *wên* is the source of object-picturing or delineation. But whatever may have been their primitive function, all characters now merely give visible representation to man's speech. And though the spoken words may be said to have called into being the written characters, yet these latter have exercised a great and lasting influence on the former. The origin and history of Chinese writing are described at great length in the learned treatise of Wuttke on the History of Writing. The sources from which Wuttke derived his information are, of course, all Western, but he has compiled conscientiously and judiciously,

[1] "Li-shê," &c., chap. i.; "Ho (or Wo)-hon-san-ts'ai," chap. xv.

and his chapter on the present subject, notwithstanding mistakes, will repay a careful reading.[1]

The Chinese do not yield to any in their appreciation of writing and its developments. They long ago deified the inventor, and his supposed tomb is still a place of pilgrimage for enthusiastic scholars. From the practical, beneficial point of view the invention has been the subject of much praise. Let us hear one man, a Manchoo by origin, but a Chinese scholar of rare attainments, and a man of culture and wide sympathies. Writing, says Kanghsi, is the most precious thing in the world. As to great matters, it has transmitted the philosophy which the ancient sages wished to transmit; and as to small matters, it keeps on record the miscellaneous items which man's memory cannot retain. It can bring together people separated by a long interval of time, and allow them to hold intercourse; and by it scholars of all the world, though living far apart, may take hands and talk their minds together. It makes a man's good repute, and aids him in his profession, expands his intelligence and supplies him with evidence. By it man learns without study and teaches without speaking.[2]

With the Chinese scholar generally it is his own language only which is in his mental view when he speaks of language, and the native writing only when he speaks of writing. The Chinese, as every one knows, are very proud of their language spoken and written, but specially of the latter. Yet they are by no means insensible to the defects of the written language, especially when considered as the intended transcript of verbal utterances. It is square and insufficient, says an author already quoted, while speech is round and complete. There are also very many terms and expressions in common use for which no characters are known to exist, and this is true not only of the uncultivated dialects but also of the general language. For the

[1] Kanghsi's Dict., Int.; "Liu-shu-ku," etc., as above; Wuttke, "Gesch. d. Schrift," etc., S. ccxli. to ccccxxi.

[2] 庭訓格言.

most part, however, Chinese speak of their characters as sufficient for all the needs of human life and thought, as full and complete, wanting nothing. In their six-fold classification, writes one author, the written characters embrace all the topics with which man can be concerned, the visible phenomena of heaven, the unseen laws of earth, human affairs, and the rules appointed for lower nature.[1]

For many ages the Chinese knew little of other peoples and other tongues, and thought and spoke of all that was not Chinese with undisguised contempt. But intercourse with foreign nations introduced at least a partial knowledge of other languages, and the Chinese had to compare their own perfectly harmonised speech with the shrike-tongued cries of barbarians, and their own matchless characters with the mere imitations of bird and beast footprints used by the undeveloped savages who had never been blessed with divine philosophers. One of the marks whereby a barbarian is known is that he writes from left to right, another being that he takes his food without using chop-sticks. When Buddhism came into the country its missionaries taught the Chinese a new language with sages and writings which they could not despise. They could not put this new language in the same class with the rude dialects of their unlettered neighbours; and they went so far as to learn from the strangers how to cultivate and improve their own language. Thus the Buddhist scholars, whether native or foreign, taught moderation and even modesty in the comparison between Chinese and Sankrit. One author tells his readers that there are three original or primitive systems of writing. The earliest is that invented by Brahma, which proceeds from left to right; the second in antiquity is that invented by Kharoshta, which is written from right to left; and the third and latest is that invented by Tsang-chie, which goes from above downward. But one of the most interesting native opinions on this subject is that given by Morrison, taken from a treatise well written and scholarly, but defaced by blunders and marred by a spirit sometimes illiberal. "It appears to me,"

[1] "Liu-shu-ku," etc., as above.

says the author, as translated by Morrison, "that the people of Fan (*i.e.*, India) distinguished sounds; and with them the stress is laid on the sounds, not on the letters. Chinese distinguish the characters, and lay the stress on the characters, not on the sounds. Hence in the language of Fan there is an endless variety of sound; with the Chinese there is an endless variety of the character. In Fan, the principles of sound excite an admiration, but the letters are destitute of beauty; in Chinese, the characters are capable of ever-varying intelligible modifications, but the sounds are not possessed of nice and minute distinctions. The people of Fan prefer the sounds, and what they obtain enters by the ear; the Chinese prefer the beautiful character, what they obtain enters by the eye."[1]

Within the last few years Western writing has received consideration from at least one native scholar. This author has given a short comparison of it with Chinese, and written of it in a liberal spirit in his little essay, A Plea for the Preservation of Foreign Writing.[2]

[1] 法苑珠林, chap. ix.; Morrison's Dict., Part i., vol. i., Int., p. vi.; 試策箋註, chap. iii. This comparison of Sanskrit and Chinese is curtailed from the 5th chap. of the "Liu-shu-liao," by Chêng Ch'iao. The passage occurs near the end of the chapter.

[2] The 惜洋文說, by 陳孝基.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE INTERJECTIONAL AND IMITATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

The faculty of speech, as we have seen, is regarded by Chinese philosophers as a part of man's natural endowment. But this faculty needs the guidance and control of the most highly endowed men for its proper application and right development. These men give fit names and correct forms of expression for the various objects of sense, the processes of thought and feeling, and all the outward acts of life. There are, however, expressive sounds made by the human voice with which the king and the philosopher do not interfere. Such sounds are prompted by nature and own no law save that of use and wont. The curious scholar may note them down as he hears them from the lips of the people. He may tell also with explanatory theory how the common speech of one district has a set of natural sounds which differs from that in the speech of another district. But more than this neither ruler nor philosopher will attempt, or, attempting, will achieve.

The naturally expressive sounds here referred to are the cries, calls, mimicking noises, and all the picturesque expressions which we are wont to have classified as Interjectional or Emotional and Imitative Language. It will be seen as we proceed that in Chinese as in other languages some of the involuntary and inarticulate ejaculations are adopted into the family of words, and that mere mimicking sounds may come to be used as names or epithets. Until lately such utterances as these were treated by grammarians and philologists with contempt and neglect, and it is only since the impartial and methodical study of language arose that they have come to acquire dignity and importance.

The old writers on grammar could not away with these ejaculations and imitations, which had no accidence whatever and could not properly be counted among the "parts of speech." Even their place in a sentence could not be defined. Nay more, they could not properly be called articulate human speech, but were rather of a kind with the calls and cries of the brute creation,—as though that were aught to their shame. Now, on the other hand, they are in danger of being raised to an importance beyond their merits, and of having to bear too heavy a burden. For some will have it that in these rude cries and mimicking sounds all human speech had its root and beginning, maintaining that man passed from a mute condition to this stage of ejaculations and imitations, and thence by a gradual improvement to artistic speech of various degrees. But whether we take this view, or hold rather with those who teach that the origin of language is to be found in a few abstract roots created by reflection, or adopt a theory intermediate between these, we cannot deny that Emotional and Imitative utterances are important elements in the formation and development of language. It must at least be conceded that they are the immediate source from which a large part of the vocabulary of most dialects flows, and that they yield these some of their most noteworthy and forcible expressions.

The Chinese language is very rich in these nature-sounds and "vocal-gestures" which abound not only in the common talk of the people but also in the popular literature and in the writings of poets and philosophers. They are, however, regarded by the native scholar generally as worthy of nothing more than a passing notice or a terse definition. When he meets one in a book on which he is commenting, he is content to give merely a short explanation of what he conceives to be or what he has been taught is its use or meaning in the passage. He has certain loose classifications for these natural vocal expressions, and distinguishes them somewhat fitfully as "empty characters," as aids to expression, as popular terms, or as sounds indicative of, or imitating or otherwise recalling natural phenomena. The

nature-sounds and vocal gestures vary greatly from time to time and from place to place, and, moreover, they are often unnoticed in dictionaries and other works bearing on the language. Consequently we cannot easily gain a just conception of their number, the extent to which they are used, and the precise mode of their application. Many of them, however, are apparently of little or no importance, and can scarcely be said to enter into the composition of the language, using this word with a liberal interpretation. Others are interesting to the Western student from their use, their form, the relation they bear to other elements of Chinese speech, or on account of the analogy they have to the resources of other tongues for performing like functions. A brief and necessarily very imperfect review of some of the most common and some of the most important or interesting of these Chinese nature-sounds is attempted in this chapter. The examples given have been culled from the speech of the people at various places and from a few books by native authors. Some of the Vocabularies and Dictionaries compiled by foreigners have also been laid under contribution.

Describing the material or "*elements* of articulate speech," Canon Farrar writes—"Now, the natural sensuous life expresses itself in three kinds of natural sound, viz., Interjections, Imitations, and those sounds, expressive of some desire, which in imitation of the German *Lautgeberden* we may roughly designate as vocal gestures. Aspirates and vowels are generally sufficient to express the mere passing emotions of the natural life; consonants are more the expression of the free intelligence. *Interjections* are the arbitrary expression of subjective impressions; *Imitations* advance a step further, spontaneously reproducing something which has influenced the senses from without; *Lautgeberden*, though, like interjections, they have their source in the subject, are not a mere utterance of passive sensation, but an energetic expression of will, though as yet only in the form of desire." Long before Farrar wrote the above, Endlicher in his Chinese Grammar had devoted a section to the Interjections. Under this head he includes Sensation-sounds and Exclamations

or Interjections proper, Imitations of natural sounds, and cries of calling and driving away.[1]

Beginning then with Interjections, which are words or "parts of speech used to express some passion or emotion of the mind," we find the Chinese using these on all kinds of occasions. Some of them are to be heard now in nearly every part of the empire, while others do not travel beyond certain limited districts. Few of these exclamations can be written out in letters so as to give a fair idea of the way in which they are uttered, for they are made up not only of vowels and consonants but also of tone, emphasis, and other elements. The characters used to represent them in writing, moreover, are not constant, and in most cases little importance should be attached to the characters employed. As these ejaculations are in many cases well known, we need not do more here than merely notice a few.

One that may be heard every day is the *ai-ya* of Mandarin, with its variations *oi-ya* and *hai-ya*. This is an exclamation of surprise, or pain, or admiration, according to the circumstances in which it is used, and sometimes, when uttered slowly, it is expressive of great suffering. It may also be used as a noun or verb, as when it is said of a man that he *ai-ya-liao*, that is, shouted *ai-ya*, literally *ai-ya-ed*. We sometimes find this exclamation heading the burden of pathetic and other songs. Thus we have *Ai-ya-i-hu-hai* (printed 哎 呀 咊 呼 咳) which makes the sad refrain of a song in which a disconsolate wife mourns the departure of her husband on a fighting expedition. So also *wa* or *wa-wa* is a very common exclamation of surprise or delight or great distress. It also forms part of the refrain of some melancholy songs, as in the *Wa-hu-i-wa-hu* (printed 哇 呼 一 哇 呼) of the pitiful "Ten Flowers." The character used to represent the sound *wa* has several other uses which seem to be mainly imitative in origin. It also stands for other sounds, such as *wō*, *ho*, and it is of very old

[1] Farrar's "Language and Languages," p. 74; Endlicher's Ch. Gr., S. 350. For much information and guidance in connection with the subject of this chapter the author is much indebted to the two works here quoted, to Lect. xiii. of Prof. Marsh's Lect. on the Eng. Lang., and to Tylor's "Primitive Culture, vol. i., chaps. v. and vi.

date in the language. While being beaten or otherwise tortured or punished before a mandarin, or while suffering severe bodily pain of any kind, a Chinaman will sometimes groan, uttering a low prolonged sound like *hêng-hêng.* And so *hêng* became a word which is generally represented in writing by 哼 and denotes a *moan,* or *sigh,* or *groan,* and *to utter a moan or groan.* An instance of this last use of the word will occur to those who have learned the Hundred Lessons. In one of these a friend relates to another how he went to see a certain man about an affair of a common friend, and describes the bad treatment which he received. At the interview, however, the horrid creature *(k'o-wu-ti-tung-hsi)* was allowed to "pay out" all his stock of abuse, while the visitor listened patiently without uttering a single groan—"did not *hêng* a single sound." In books, however, and in official documents we often find the double form *hêng-ho* (or *ha*) used in this way, as in expressions like *Ssŭ-pai-pan-tzŭ-mei-ko-hêng-ha,* that is, he received four hundred blows without uttering a moan of pain. This *hêng-ha,* or a similar sound, is made, morever, by workmen while pounding earth or engaged in any labour of a like nature. They also moan or sigh out a sound which is expressed as *han* or *na-han* while doing work which requires vigorous exertion. This sound resembles somewhat the French workman's cry of *han* or *ahan,* and this last is used also as a legitimate part of speech. The Chinese hum, or moan, or groan, or chant at nearly every kind of work which calls for continued or united exertion. They sometimes even shout and howl, as their soldiers, for example, when tilting in their mock military combats. To yell in this way is generally denoted by the *han* or *na-han* (吶喊) already mentioned. This term is also used to denote the loud shout or war-cry with which Chinese soldiers attack an enemy or make an assault. It is possible that the cries and groans of the Chinese soldier and workman are to be explained as Cicero explains those made by the Roman athletes. The latter, he tells us, groan not from pain or lack of courage, but because in making the ejaculations all the body is kept on the stretch, and the stroke comes with more force. A

common interjection is the exclamation *hü*, with the variations *hsü* and *yü* (written 吁 and occasionally 于). This expresses alarm, terror, or mental anguish, and comes to mean *to sigh* or *grieve*. It also often indicates merely displeasure or dissatisfaction, but the sound which it gives is an uncertain one. Hence it frequently needs the help of another interjection to render its use distinct and precise. With it, for example, we find the sound now *tsie or chie* (嗟) but formerly *tso* or *ts'o* or *cho*. Thus *Hü-tso-ming-pu-shu* (吁嗟命不淑) is, "alas for the premature death!" This *tso* or *tsie* is also originally only an exclamation, and in the mouth of an emperor it is a mere Lo! or Ah! to call attention or head an utterance. Then it becomes an exclamation of pity or distress, sometimes used singly, and sometimes repeated, and sometimes with *hü*, *tsǔ*, or some other interjection preceding. So we find such expressions as *Tsie-wo-fu-tzŭ* (嗟我婦子), "Ah! our wives and childen." Then it is verb meaning to pity, as in *tsie yuan-shĭ-nü* (嗟遠士女) "I pity the wife of the far-off warrior." In the line *tsie-tsie-shi-yü-shên* (世與身) it means to sigh or grieve for. "I sigh sadly for the world and myself."

As an example of the heaping up of interjections for the sake of force, let us take the first line of a celebrated poem on the Hardships of travelling in Ssŭchuan. The poet says of the road, *I-hü-hi-wei-hu-kao-tsai* (噫吁嚱危乎高哉), He hie-hu! how perilous, how high! But let us take the old sigh expressed in sound by *ei*, *ai*, *wa*, and represented in writing by the character now read *ai* (哀). In the fortunes of this word we seem to be able to trace the ideal progress of language from the brute cry to the speech of civilised man. We find it as a mere exclamation, an interjection of pity or pain or sorrow on the part of the speaker, like the *ouai*, *guai*, *wo* of other languages. Thus *ai-ai-fu-mu* is "alas! alas! my parents!" Here the repetition of the sound serves to express the subjective feeling of deep distress, as the commentator says, it "emphasizes the sad affliction of the person" (重自哀傷也). Then *ai* is used in the sense of a sighing, a sadness, as in the phrase, *Wu-hu-yu-ai* (於乎有哀 said to be *i* here), "Oh! alas," in Dr. Legge's translation. Here *yu-ai* means, "It is sad, it is de-

plorable." As a noun, *ai* denotes sorrow, distress, affliction, and so used it is of very common occurrence. One name for the staff or rod borne by a son at a parent's funeral, as will be seen presently, is *ai-chang*, the staff of sorrow. And in the "Shi-ching" we find the statement "Our hearts are sorely distressed and *mo-chih-wo-ai*, no one knows our sadness." As an adjective, *ai* means sad, mournful, to be pitied, compassionate. In this use it sometimes has the adjectival particle *cho* added, as in *ai-cho*, the compassionate. The particle is not needed, however, and we find *ai-t'ai* (駘), a "sorry jade." So also *ai-ko* (歌), are woeful ditties, sad songs which *sung-k'u-yen* (送 苦 言), "go with words of misery." It will be remembered also that Confucius characterised the first poem in the "Shi-ching" as "joyful but not licentious, sad but not painful" (哀 而 不 傷). To those who die young this word is given as a posthumous epithet by way of reverence. So used it means "the regretted," *desideratissimi*. The phrase *ai-tsai* is sometimes simply equivalent to wo! alas! or some such exclamation. But it has also the force of "to be pitied," "it is hard with" or "ill for." In the "Shi-ching" we find it contrasted with *ko* (哿), which means "to be well with." Thus the rich are said to be well off while the desolate are *ai-tsai*, in a pitiable plight. Then *ai* becomes a verb, and it is now explained as a synonym for *shang* (傷), to be afflicted, or *min* (閔), to mourn for or with. So the expression *jen-chie-ai-chih* (人 皆 哀 之) means "everybody mourned for him." It is laid down also that in the religious services to one's parents the mourner must *ai*, and in this connection the word is interpreted as meaning "to weep aloud." Hence comes the expression *ai-hsiang* (響), the noise of wailing, that is, in a house of mourning. It was perhaps from being used in this way the word came to have the meaning of *death*, or *to die*. For reporting to Peking the decease of a tributary ruler, the prescribed term is *kao-ai* (告 哀), to announce mourning. The word is further used in the sense of *to pity*, as when it is said of an emperor that he *ai-wu-ku* (無 辜), pities the innocent. It is also applied to a horse, and we read in a popular poem of a good horse *pei* (悲) *ai*, neigh-

ing woefully. Then *ai* is used as an adverb in such common expressions as *ai-k'u* (哭), to weep sadly, *ai-ch'iu* (求), to beseech mournfully, pray for earnestly, and *ai-ai-kao-kao*, very piteously to call and call for mercy. It also becomes an abstract noun meaning the emotion of sorrow. Thus *ai* and *lo* are often mentioned together as sorrow and joy; and the Emotions are classified as joy, anger, sorrow *(ai)* and delight.[1]

From the Interjections, properly so called, we pass on to the vocal-gestures. These may serve at times as calls or requests like our *hush! hallo!* or they may denote assent or dissent, but they always have reference to other objects. They are often accompanied by facial expressions and bodily gestures, which may be used as substitutes for them if occasion so requires. There is, for example, the Foochow exclamation *hai* or *hai-hai!* An angry woman scolding another woman too far off to hear, scrapes her own face with her fore-fingers. This action means *faciem perfricuisti*, you are a shameless quean, you have scraped off the modest powder. When she can be heard by her victim, the virago cries out *hai-hai*, usually accompanying the exclamation by the scraping of the face. The *hai-hai* intensifies the meaning of *shame!* or *shameless creature!* which the gesture is intended to convey. So also the cry of *tsü* or *ch'ü* often accompanies the scornful, insulting gesture of pointing the middle finger at one.[2]

The cry *hsü* or *hü* has been already noticed. It is often a call to attention, and often a *whew!* of dissent, distrust, or disbelief. An exclamation which is in common use over at least a great part of China is that which sounds like *t'ssŭ*. When this is uttered in a gentle, smiling manner it signifies admiration or pleasure, but when it is uttered in a loud tone and repeated with emphasis it expresses dislike or disgust. In this latter use it resembles our *hiss*, and it is sometimes heard as such in theatres and other places of public resort. It can be employed as a noun

[1] L. C. C., iv., pp. 350, 520, 328, 261: "Shi-ching," chap. v., pp. 46, 31: L. C. C., i., p. 25, and "Lun-yü," chap. iii., p. 29; "Ku-shi-yuan" (古詩源) chaps. iv. and xi.; "Li-pu-tsê-li," chap. clxviii. See also Stent's Vocab. s. v. *ai* (哀).

[2] See "Manual of the Foochow Dialect," by Rev. C. C. Baldwin, p. 40.

or verb, and we may occasionally hear the expression *ni-t'ssŭ-shen-mo,* meaning, at what are you hissing? This phrase is common about Tientsin, where the use of it may constitute the second step towards a fight. Then we have *p'i* (sometimes represented in books by 呸, which means *get out, avaunt thee!* It is used, as Premare says, contemptuously and in abusing a man as it were to his face. The *p'ei* or *p'ui* of Foochow and other places is perhaps only another form of this *p'i.* Foochow people generally utter the *p'ui* with great emphasis, and sometimes it is used like *fie,* in "Fie, fie, for shame." "Of all swiche cursed stories I say fy." Sometimes *p'ui,* like *p'i,* is used in the sense of *begone! out of my sight!* Another remarkable and well-known vocal-gesture is the Cantonese *ch'oi* or *ts'oi,* which may mean, according to the circumstances in which it is uttered, *hush! shame! nonsense!* or, *don't, though I wish you would!*

Some of these seeming inarticulate sounds are in reality actual words or the ruins or changed forms of words. Thus we hear *ei* in the sense of *yes, quite so,* but this *ei* is perhaps only a corruption of *wei* (唯) with a similar meaning. This *wei* (or *yei*) as an exclamation of assent or attention is to be found in early Chinese literature. It is to be used in acknowledging the call of a parent or teacher, and corresponds to *yes, Sir.* It also implies prompt and respectful attention to the call, while *no* (諾) is *anon, anon,* and conveys no hint of immediate answer. Another old particle of assent is *a* or *aw* (阿), the use of which was formerly regarded as very discourteous. But it is not always employed to denote *Yes!* or *Here!* and often it merely serves to indicate that the person addressed has heard the speaker. The shout of applause heard in a theatre or at a public meeting is only the word *hao,* good, uttered loud and emphatically by the audience. But the *hist* sound, which is employed as among ourselves to order silence, is a true vocal-gesture. It is like the *wheest!* of provincial English.

Let us now go on to notice some of the Sound-imitations in Chinese, beginning with a few of those which are attempts to reproduce or recall the sounds made by inanimate nature.

Though with us these utterances cannot properly be called *words*, yet in Chinese they often do the duty of a verb, noun, or other "part of speech," and in such cases they may claim to be regarded as words. These expressions have been little attended to by Western students of this language, and Edkins, who gives ten examples in his Shanghai Grammar, apologizes in the following terms: "Words of this sort occur so frequently in conversation, that at the risk of their being thought too amusing for a serious book, they are here noticed."[1] In the present treatise mention is made of only a few of the more striking of these imitations, or of those which are met with frequently.

The common word for *wind* in Mandarin is *fêng*, but older forms of this word are preserved in *hung*, *hong*, *pong*, varieties of it which occur in several dialects. These seem to point to a primitive attempt to imitate one of the many noises made by the wind. There are also several names for particular varieties of storm and wind, and these, too, seem to be imitative in origin. So also apparently is *kua* (颳) the common term used with *fêng* to denote *there is a storm, it blows.* And *ch'ui* (吹), which means "to blow into sound," and then "to play on any wind instrument," is perhaps similar in its origin. Then for the ways in which the wind blows, and the various noises it makes, there are specific imitative terms. Thus *hsi-hsi-ku-fêng* (習 習 谷 風) is *hsi-hsi*, that is, gently breathes, the east wind. So also *liu-liu* expresses the blowing of a moderate wind, and *ch'ên-ch'ên* (陳) that of a gentle breeze. Then *hu-la-la* (颮 颲 颲) is the noise of a fierce sudden gale, and *sa-sa* is a name for a sudden storm. Again, *tsê-tsê* imitates the noise made by the breeze among the dry leaves of a forest in autumn, when "Es Saüselt der Wind in den Blättern." The whistling of a gale is expressed by *sak-sak*, and *kuah-lah-kuah-lah*, given by Edkins, is "the wind blowing on reeds," while *mu-mu* is the moaning of a breeze in the shrouds of a vessel.

There are also several picturesque expressions for rain, descriptive of the ways it comes down. Thus we find *pa-ta-pa-ta* for the pattering of the rain-drops; *shua-shua* for the sound

[1] Shanghai Gr. p. 137.

of a shower; *p'ang-t'ê-p'ang-t'ê* expressing a heavy downfall; and *ping-pang* or *pin-pak* for the rattling of rain on the tiles, but according to Edkins *ping-pang* is also the noise made by hail. The term *ch'ên-ch'ên,* which, as we have seen, is used of wind, is applied also to rain. In each case it is not so much the sound that is indicated as the fact that there is a series, as it were, of little breezes and soft showers. The drizzle is *mêng-mêng;* the drip drip of the hesitating shower is *tien-tien;* and *siao-siao* expresses heavy driving rain. This same sound *siao-siao* is used also to express the neighing of horses heard afar, and the susurrus of wind among trees.

The thunder makes *hung-hung,* and sometimes it is said to make a great *hung.* This sound *hung* is also used for any rumbling, rolling noise, such as that made by a number of carriages or waggons, and hence the character now used to represent it (轟) is made up of that for carriage with two repetitions. This term *hung* is also used to denote the thunder of a company of horsemen galloping. Another term for the rattling, rumbling noise made by a carriage on a road is *lu-lu.* Thus "the noise of his carriage continued to be heard when he had gone far past the palace," is expressed by *kung-ch'ê-kuo-ye lu-lu-yuan-t'ing* (宮車過也轆轆遠聽).

Other sounds made by inert matter when acted on from without are also fruitful subjects for imitation. Thus the sound made by the falling of a large stone or other heavy object on the ground is expressed in the Foochow dialect by *pong-pong.* Hence any dull, heavy sound is often spoken of by the Foochow people simply as a *pong-pong.* In like manner *p'êng-p'ong,* in the same dialect, imitates the noise made by timber and other materials cracking and splitting. So we find that a Foochow man will often speak of a *p'êng-p'ong* instead of saying *crack* or *split.* The sound *pêng,* like our *bang,* is used generally to represent the noise made by a gun or cannon. Hence a *pêng-pêng-ping* (or soldier) is an artillery-man, and a *pêng-pêng mandarin* is pidgin English for an artillery officer. *Têng-têng* and other expressions are also used to imitate the noise made by the firing of cannon. A drum

is *ku*, and the name was perhaps given to represent the sound made by the primitive drum when beaten with a stick. The Chinese do not commonly say that the drum "sounds" or "rolls," but they say it *t'ong-t'ong*, or *kiai-kiai*, or *pêng-pêng*. "Bang-whang-whang goes the drum, tootle-te-tootle the fife." In Chinese the fife is called *ti* (笛), and this name also is perhaps derived from its sound.

Let us now pass on to notice some of those words and expressions made to imitate or suggest the calls, cries, and other sounds produced by birds, beasts, and insects. These, it will be seen, are often the rude matter out of which true speech is formed, and not seldom they are themselves actual grammatical terms. In Chinese, as in other languages, such expressions often give their names to animals, especially to birds and insects.

The old popular poetry found in the "Shi-ching" and the "Ku-shi-yuan" affords many examples of these attempts to imitate or recall in language the inarticulate utterances made by the brute creatures, and these in many cases are still well known and used in common literature. The first poem of the "Shi-ching" begins, *Kuan-kuan* the *chü-chiu*. Dr. Legge renders the line rather funnily by "*kuan-kuan* go the ospreys," where the word "go" is not needed. The *chü-chiu* are rather wild duck or wild geese than ospreys, and the poet says, "The wild duck *quack-quack*." By this he means to express that in the flock every drake has his duck, that they pair for life, and that drake and duck quack and dilly in loving harmony. In the same treatise we find *yao-yao* (or *yu-yu*) as the noise made by locusts or "grass insects," and the harmonious call of deer; *huang-huang* the noise made by a swarm of locusts; *ao-ao* (or *gao-gao*) as the melancholy cry of wild geese; *suh-suh* the rustling of the geese's wings; *ying-ying* and *mien-man* as the notes of certain birds. We find the same imitative sounds applied to different creatures, including man, and we find the call or sound made by one animal represented by several different sounds. The songs of birds and the stridulations of insects do not sound alike to all ears. In England, for example, to one the nightingale sings whit, whit,

whit, and to another jug, jug, jug; at least a part of his song is to some *ocy, ocy,* and to another "Fie, fie! fie! now would she cry; Tereu, Tereu! by and by." So in Chinese also, to denote the call of one bird, for example, we find in several cases a number of very different forms of expression.

The magpie calls (*ming* 鳴) *cha-cha*, or, as others hear, *k'ah-k'ah.* This bird is called in Mandarin *hsi-chio,* which is interpreted as meaning Bird of Joy (喜 鵲), but it is probably imitative in origin. In Foochow the magpie is called *k'ah-ch'iu,* the bird which *k'ah-k'ah*'s. The Cantonese hear the owl hoot *lum-lum* and so they call him *lum-lum* or the *lum-lum-tseuk* (bird), the Ulula. It is probable that *lum-lum,* which is purely colloquial, is extended to other birds which also make night hideous. The oriole's call is *li-liu* uttered slowly and repeated *ad lib.*, and hence comes one of the bird's names, *huang* (yellow)-*li-liu* (黃 栗 留). But some reproduce his call by *kiao-kiao,* and others by other sounds. Further, the learned say that the Bamboo Partridge *(Bambusicola)* cries *ni-hua-hua, ni-hua-hua* (泥 滑 滑), and from this fact it gets one of its names. But to the country people this bird says in its call *hing-pu-té-ko-ko* (行 不 得 哥 哥), *hing-pu-té-ko-ko,* that is, "can't get on, elder brother," and this term is used as a familiar name for him. Man brings an ear for all he hears in the world of nature. So according to his mood he finds pleasure or sorrow in the chirruping and chattering of creatures which chirrup and chatter from an inner impulse. But we also know that the children of nature have been taught by her to utter distinct and different sounds when excited by fear, pain or delight.

> Cum pecudes mutæ, cum denique sæcla ferarum
> Dissimilis soleant voces variasque ciere,
> Cum metus aut dolor est et cum jam gaudia gliscunt.

To one man, or at one time, the swallow may "pipe and trill and cheep and twitter twenty million loves." To another, or on a different occasion, it may chatter (*tsap-tsep*) as it wheels airy circles in an agony of despair. To the Chinese also the swallow, or rather the house-martin, is sometimes distressed, and chatters *chiao-chiao* or *chow-chow;* or it merely twitters *yi-yi,* and so tells its proper name *yi* or *yi-yen* (鳦 or 乙 燕).

The cricket is called *si-su* (蟋蟀) in Mandarin, *sik-sut* (or *sik-tsut*) in Cantonese, and *ssŭ-tszê* in the Ningpo dialect. Another name for it, common in North China, is *ch'ü-ch'ü* (蛐蛐). These sounds are plainly attempts to imitate the call of the cricket, what we call its *chirr*, as in the expression "not a cricket chirr'd," and the French call its *cri-cri*. The cicada is properly called *ch'an* (蟬) or *shan*, and the old pronunciation was apparently *tzan* or *zhan*, thus evidently imitative. It is also known as the *ki-liu*, from the *ki-ri, ki-ri* it repeats with painful iteration the whole long days of autumn. This hoarse creature's din is to the Chinese a melancholy monotony, for it calls the hoar frost and warns them that the summer is past, the autumn going, and the winter at hand. A field cricket, as long as its mouth is above ground, screams *la-la-la-la*. From this arose its name *la-la-ku*, a name which seems to be given also in some places to a cicada. The cricket has also local names in several dialects, as *mei-hi* in that of Amoy, and these, too, are generally intended to imitate its chirring. The domestic goose has never had a character for tact or voice, and as to the latter, an old poet has said truly, "The goose but gaggelith in her gate." This gaggling is represented in Chinese by the sound *ni* (or *gyi*) repeated, and hence we find the goose called, for example in Mencius, the *ni-ni-cho* (鶂鶂者) or "cackler."

The crow of the domestic cock is expressed sometimes by *kiu-kiu*, but men also crow, and so *kiu-kiu* comes to mean *to brag* or *boast*. And sounds imitative of the twittering, chirruping chattering of birds are made to denote the prattling of children, the babbling of small-talkers, and the wrangling of the angry. Sounds like *ni-nam, nan-nan, nang-nang*, imitate the tedious twittering of various small birds. Hence they were taken to represent the chitter-chatter of small voices and the endless talk (語不了) of those who "chronicle small beer." The crows caw *kua-kua*, and hence they are called *lao-kua*, "old cawers." Fond of his name, the crow calls it out with wearisome repetition, and, like him, the cuckoo and and the poet each *kua-kua*'s his own name (詩人如布穀聒聒自名). As we speak of "Chough's

language," so the Chinese have "swallows' talk" (燕語) as a name for idle tittle-tattle. The chitter-chatter of noisy children is *chih-cha*, the noise of a flock of sparrows; and *chio-ts'ao* (雀噪) is the "cheatering" of sparrows first, and afterwards of human babblers. One cannot imagine any ghostly adviser in China saying to a house of nuns, "Cheatereth ouwer beoden evere ase sparuwe deth thet is one"—chirp your prayers always, as does the sparrow that is alone. When is a sparrow alone? Then we have the word *t'i* (啼), which perhaps was made to imitate the crying of a little baby. But it has come to have a very wide application, and it is now used of the calls of several birds very unlike in character, of the warbling voice of young maidens, and of the noise of weeping. The word *hou* (吼) denotes the roar of a lion, or the howl of any fierce wild beast. Thence it came to be applied to the roaring and bellowing of people in a passion.

The next group of imitative utterances to be considered is that which contains the expressions used to denote the cough, sneeze, laugh and other vocal noises made by man himself, and which are chiefly automatic and instinctive. Such expressions are perhaps in all languages purely imitative, at least in the beginning, but many lose the traces of their origin under the influences of time and place. The Chinese language is rich in these terms also, and as they show us something of the material of the language and of its origin and early growth, it may not be useless to notice a few of them. As the language preserves much of its primitive simplicity, most of these natural expressions in it have come down either in their original forms or with only slight alterations.

The term for *to breathe aloud* is *hu-hi* (呼吸), and this is expressly said to imitate the noise made. Of the two syllables which make this term, *hu* is said to denote the noise made by inhaling air; while *hi* is the sound made by exhaling it. Then *hu-hi* came to be used for the process of breathing generally, and hence the expression *ssŭ-fang* (四方)-*hu-hi* which means *all that breathe*, all living creatures. So also nature (Heaven and Earth) has a *hu-hi*, a respiration which sinks and rises in unison with man's acts and thoughts. The syllable *hu* we have already seen

in the exclamation *wu-hu,* alas! It is also used as a verb in the sense of *call,* as to call a servant. Hence it came to be employed generally with the meaning of *to call* or *address,* and also as a noun denoting style of address. So also *hi* came to be used as a verb meaning to inhale generally, as in the expression *hi-shi-ya-pien-yen* (吸食鴉片烟), to smoke opium, to take opium by inhalation. The noise made by breathing in air is also expressed by *hsü* (呴), and that made by breathing out air by *ch'ui* (吹). The former also means to breathe hard, and the latter, as has been seen, is used of the wind blowing, and of playing on wind instruments.

The term for to cough, *k'o-sêh* (咳嗽), is generally acknowledged to be only an attempt to reproduce the sound made in the act. The general term for to laugh is *hsiao* (or *sio* 笑), a word which was at the first apparently imitative or suggestive. There are, however, in addition to this word various sounds for representing different kinds of laughter. Some of these are merely exclamations or interjections. A hearty, jolly laugh is *ka-ka,* or *ha-ha,* or *ho-ho,* or *k'o-k'o,* and such expressions are often used with *hsiao* as a kind of gloss, *hsiao* being taken to denote the facial expression chiefly. Occasionally we find full statements like the *hsiao-yen-ya-ya* (笑言啞啞). These words seem to mean "laugh, saying *ya-ya,*" and the "Shuo-wên," with reference to this passage, gives *hsiao* as the meaning of *ya.* From it perhaps were derived statements like *ya-jen-hsiao-yue,* "he said, laughing." Then there is *hi* or *hi-hi,* used to express a quiet laugh, sometimes with the implied meaning of derision. In the "Shi-ching" we find a deserted mistress singing of herself, "My brothers, not knowing, laugh at me,"—*hi-ch'i-hsiao-i* (咥其笑矣). Here the word *hi* is explained by some as meaning *hi-hi,* that is, in derision. The character read *hi* is also pronounced *ti,* and it is used to imitate a loud laugh. So also we have *p'u-chih-ti-hsiao,* laughing with a *p'u-chih,* that is, exploding in laughter. But in this sense *p'u-p'u-chih-chih* may be used without the addition of any word for "to laugh." The word *hai* (孩) denotes a child, but written 咳 it means to smile as a child, and then to

smile and laugh generally. These two characters are often interchanged, and the former is apparently only an older form of the latter. Then *hai*, with *t'i* added, is used to denote a baby, from the expression *tzŭ-shêng-hai-t'i* (子 生 咳 啼), "when the baby was born and could laugh and cry."

For "to weep" the common term is *k'u* (哭), a word apparently of imitative origin. But there are many other terms to express or denote the various kinds and degrees of weeping; and it is interesting to observe that the same sounds may serve at one time to denote grief and at another time laughter. Thus the *hsi-hsi (hi-hi)* noticed as a term for laughter, is used also to express a grief too great for tears. Then there are several terms for the blubbering, crying, screaming, howling of babies. Such are *huang-huang, i-i, wa-wa, ku-ku.* Some of these, perhaps all, are more than mere imitative noises. Thus *i-i*, or *i* (娩 or 嫛) simply, is not only the puling of an infant, but also a puling infant, properly a female baby. So also *wa-wa* is the crying of an infant, and *hsiao-wa-wa* is a small child. With us it is only the wise children who know their parents, but among the Chinese all children are supposed to possess this remarkable faculty. And hence comes the common saying, *Ku-ku-chih-tzŭ-ko-chih-ch'i-ch'in* (呱 呱 之 子 各 識 其 親),—every puling child knows it parents. The term *ku-ku-chih* here expresses what we can only represent by *youngest;* it denotes a child in the first or crying stage of life. "To sob" is expressed by *yin* or *gyin* (喑); and *ti-ti* or *t'i-t'i*, already mentioned, is to shed tears drop by drop, *lacrimas stillare.* The *t'i-t'i* of the falling tears is compared to the falling of pearls from a broken necklace, reminding us of the words, "Ah, but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds." Then we have *t'i-k'u*, used of the wailing of an infant; and *k'u-k'u-t'i-t'i* or *k'u-t'i*, used to express any sad and bitter weeping. Further, *p'u-su-su* is the noise made by a gushing flood of tears; and *ya-t'i* and *ma-ma* are to cry as babies, and then to cry and howl generally. A Chinaman of my acquaintance, who is more than forty years old, when suffering from rheumatism cries *ma-ma, ma-ma* with much weeping and groaning. As the man's

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

mother is dead he can scarcely be calling for her, like the negro and the Indian of Upper California mentioned by Mr. Tylor.

"To sneeze" is in Mandarin *t'i* (written 嚏 and otherwise), a word which seems to represent a lisping sneeze. It is an old and classical word, and is given in the "Shuo-wên." But there are several vulgar terms the nature and meaning of which cannot be doubted. Such are *ha-yi*, and *ha-ch'i*, a sneeze, and *ta-ha-ch'i* (打哈氣) to sneeze. So also *ch'i-chih* (written 乞痴) and *ta-ch'i-chih* are respectively a sneeze and to sneeze. There are also several other expressions of a like character and of local range.

In books and in the speech of the educated, the act of snoring is denoted by *han* (鼾), the noise of breath emitted during sleep. In the rude dialects, however, and in the talk of the people generally, this word *han* is not very much used. It is replaced by such purely imitative expressions as the *no-no* of the Foochow people, the *hu-hu*, *ka-ka*, and *k'a-ka* of other provincial districts. Other terms are *hou* (齁) and *ta-hu* (打呼), which, like some of the other terms here given, are used of a loud continuous snoring, like that which the poet describes when he says of the drunken sleeper,

> "And thurgh thy dronken nose semeth the soun,
> As though thou saidest ay, Sampsoun, Sampsoun."

We read of a man *hou-ju-lei-hou* (齁如雷吼), "snoring like thunder roaring," and Han Wên-kung, in one of his poems, makes a friend snore loud enough to make an iron Buddha frown and a stone man tremble with fear.

For defects and peculiarities of utterance of all kinds and degrees, the Chinese in their familiar speech have appropriate terms. Such peculiarities are generally regarded as fit subjects for good-natured banter and even for nicknames. Thus the deaf mute is called a *ya-tzŭ* (啞 or 瘂子) or *ya-pa*, because he seems to be always trying to utter something like *ya-ya*. But many a man is called a *ya-tzŭ* who is not dumb but only much embarrassed in utterance—a Balbus. And *ya* or *ya-ya* may be used to express a hesitation in speech or a difficulty in expressing oneself. In the Mandarin and book language, the expression for stammering and stuttering is *noh-noh*, and another term for a trouble in speech is

ki-ki. But each dialect seems to have at least one or two peculiar expressions for a difficulty of utterance. Such are the Foochow *tih* (or *tah* or *chih*)-*ma-ch'ok*, and the *tih-tih* of Amoy.

There are also expressions which are purely descriptive or explanatory, as "to speak biting the tongue," "to speak with a stiff tongue." But terms like those mentioned above are the names commonly employed both in speech and writing. The work *ki* (*chi* 吃) is explained by "hesitation in speech" and "trouble from the limping of speech," or stuttering. By the term *nah-nah* or *noh-noh* (written 吶 吶 and 訥 訥) various kinds of impediments in speech are indicated. An early use of it is found in the "Li-chi," where it is recorded of Wên-tzŭ (文 子) that his speech was *noh-noh*, like as if it could not get out of his mouth" (其 言 吶 吶 然 如 不 出 諸 其 口). Here *noh-noh* is explained as meaning low and slow, but it is generally understood as denoting a hesitating in speech, or stammering. The words here quoted have become almost proverbial, and one may see them used in the native newspapers. Then the word *yin* or *gyin* (喑), already noticed in another use, sometimes denotes an inability to speak, or at least to talk distinctly. So also *wa* (哇) pronounced *huo*, which has several other meanings, is used in the sense of a choking impediment in speech. These terms, it will be noticed, are still, or were in their early forms, purely imitative. So also are the common *k'o-k'o-pa-pa* and the *kie-kie* (*chie-chie*)-*pa-pa*. These terms may be used as verbs, as in the expression *tsui-li-k'o-k'o-pa-pa* (嘴 裏 磕 磕 巴 巴), "he stammers," lit., in his mouth he *k'o-k'o-pa-pa*'s. They may also be used as adjectives, the particles *chih* (之) and *ti* (的) being sometimes added, and they may be nouns or adverbs also according to the context. The individual and the local peculiarities of utterance among the Chinese are worthy of more attention than they have received. These must have had, and must still have, some effect in the formation and maintenance, not only of dialects but also of variations in the written language. There are some Chinese who cannot pronounce *sh*, and say *sa* and *san* for *sha* and *shan*. One man of my acquaintance could not pronounce words like *pu*

and *su* and *tu*, but turned these into *pü*, and *sü*, and *tü*, and his children are reported to have inherited the peculiarity. Many Chinese cannot distinguish between *h* and *f*, calling a *fêng* a *hung*, and a *huan* a *fan*. To the people of Foochow their neighbours of Fu-ch'ing seem to make excessive use of the gutturals and the *Fu-tsing-keh-k'eh (Fu-ch'ing-ko* 福 清 謌?) bewrays the man from that district. So also the Pekingese make fun of the Tientsin talk, and speak derisively of the *Wei-tsui-tzŭ* (衛 嘴 子) or Tientsin mouthers.

The next group of imitative expressions to be briefly noticed is that which is composed of *child's language*, comprising under this designation not only the *infracta loquella* made by the baby, but also that used to the baby by nurse and mother. The utterances in this class also may be said to flutter about the line which divides speech from inarticulate language, as sometimes they seem to be the link connecting mere cries with words, and sometimes they have all the appearance of actual speech. As the Chinese baby-language has not received much attention hitherto, a few remarks on some specimens of it may be useful; but it must be premised that the acquaintance with it is very limited.

Voltaire says:—"Experience teaches us that children are only imitators, that if nothing was said to them they would not speak, they would content themselves with crying." This is perhaps a little overstated, but it is a recognised truth that little children are great imitators. But their mimicking tendencies may have a value and an interest to students of language. Thus the Chinese baby says his whistle makes *pi-pi*, and so he calls it his *pi-pi* or pipe. Hence in Foochow, for example, *pi-pi* and in Amoy *pi-a*, become names for the child's whistle. This sound *pi-pi* is also applied to other peeping, squeaking instruments and the noises which these make. The child does not say that the dog barks but that it *ou-ou*, and so *ou* (or *ngao*) becomes a word for the bark of a dog, and the dog is called the *ou-ou*, or simply the *ou*. So also the cat makes *mi-mi* or *bi-bi*, and hence these are baby-names for the cat and kitten. Then as mothers in China often give animal-names to their

children to save them from boy-hunting demons, we find *mi-mi* or kitten used as a personal name. Further, the child says the hen *t'ê-lo,* that is, clucks or cackles, and this in some places is a child-term, not only for the cackle but also for the hen. At Foochow the horse is known to children as the animal which makes *kak-kak* in trotting. Now the man who personates another at one of the State Examinations has long been called the *ma,* or horse, of the man for whom he appears. But at Foochow the term came to be well known, and so it is there often replaced by *kak-kak,* to the utter mystification of all strangers. Another Foochow child-word is *nu-nu,* or a sound like that. When a fat baby is rounding "to a separate mind" he distinguishes himself as *nu-nu,* and his seniors allow him the designation. It must be owned that often an infant "see-saws his voice in inarticulate noises." He finds much difficulty in imitating certain sounds, and hence he, like his elders, often makes utterances which convey no meaning. To these, as not being articulate speech, disparaging epithets are often applied. Among the Amoy-speaking people one name for them is *li-li-la-la,* and this is also used to denote the infantile prattling of grown-up people. In Mandarin the terms *ya* (啞) and *ou* (嘔) are used separately or together to denote the sounds made by a child beginning to talk. Then *ya-ya* comes to mean, not only the *a-a* of a baby, but also "to prattle nonsense," to babble like a baby.

One of the first accomplishments of a baby is expressed in English by *suck,* "a word imitative of the sound." So a Foochow mother calls her baby to *sauk-sauk* (variously given also as *soh-sah, siah,* etc.), and thence we have the verb *sauk* in such an expression as *suak-neing,* to suck milk. In Tientsin the thirsty infant cries for *tsa-tsa.* In Shanghai the baby calls for *ma-ma,* and this is the name for a woman's breasts there, and the name, for the same reason, is used in other parts of China. Again, at Tientsin a baby cries for food by whimpering *pei-pei,* and so the mother uses this expression to call the little creature to his food. The actual feeding of the baby is called *pu* or *pu-pu,* from the noise made by it during the process, and hence arose

the word *pu* (哺 also read *p'u* and *fu*), which came to mean *to feed* or *support.* It is said of a mother and her child that the former *i-nai-pu-chih* (以 奶 哺 之), feeds her child with her breast. The child is also said to *pu-kuo,* munch fruit. Then *pu* came to be used in other senses, such as "a morsel in the mouth." A well-known instance of this use is found in the celebrated saying about Chou Kung, that *i-fan-san-t'u-pu* (一 飯 三 吐 哺)—at one meal he thrice put out the food in his mouth. In the sense of *feed,* or *give nourishment,* the word occurs often in the saying *ao-ao-tai-pu* (嗷 嗷 待 哺), "with sad whining waiting to be fed." The terms *tie-tie* and *ko-ko* are perhaps originally child-names for father—dada—and elder brother respectively, but *tie* is a recognised term for father, and *ko* for elder brother.

It remains to notice a few specimens of terms which are imitative only by metaphor. Even of those already mentioned there are several which are not strictly imitative, but only suggestive. These, and the forms of expression now under consideration, mimick to the mind, as it were, or give an idea or picture of the effect produced by certain sights or sounds or feelings. Expressions of this kind are to be found in all languages perhaps, and they are usually of a striking and picturesque character. They are generally formed of a word or syllable once repeated, or of a double word the second part of which is a modification of the first. Thus we speak of "the deep, deep sea" and the "red, red wine," and we have terms like pell-mell, pit-pat, zig-zag. The Chinese language luxuriates in suggestive or descriptive terms of this kind. The ancient classical poetry is especially rich in them, but the daily talk of the people is also largely made up of such material. A few examples of the more noteworthy among the expressions of this kind will suffice for our present purpose. Sometimes one word or sound is repeated, and the doubling is made to intensify or emphasize the meaning of the single word. But often the double form of the word is the only one, and does not necessarily bear the meaning of plurality or intensity. The second part of the term also is frequently not a repetition of the first, but a variation of the sound made for euphony, or ease of

pronunciation, or for some other reason. One name for these compound and quasi-double words is *tie-tzŭ-yü* (疊字語), repeated-character locutions; and they are also known by the somewhat poetic name *tzŭ-yen* (字眼), character eyes.

As our first example of these expressions, let us take the one pronounced like *i-i* (薿薿). This term is used in old literature, for example in the "Shi-ching," to denote a luxuriant appearance, as of young millet crops. It is thence transferred to the glossy green foliage of trees in spring. But the syllable *i* of this compound is seldom, if ever, found alone, at least in the sense of luxuriant, which the "Shuo-wen" gives as its meaning. Another term like *i-i* is *ch'i-ch'i* (萋萋), which means "luxuriant looking," dense or abundant. In the "Shi" it is said of the *ko* plant, *wei-ye* (維葉) *ch'i-ch'i,* which Dr. Legge translates: "Its leaves were luxuriant." He adds in a note: "*Ch'i-ch'i* expresses 'the appearance of luxuriant growth.'" This repetition of the character is constantly found giving intensity and vividness to the idea. Often the characters are different, but of cognate meaning. The compound seems to picture the subject of the sentence to the eye in the colours of its own signification. This term *ch'i-ch'i* came to be applied to various kinds of objects collected in great quantities, as to clouds when massed together. In a poem of a celebrated author we find a passage to be read as follows: *ch'iu-feng-yi-p'ei-pu-shu-shu-ming-pu-i* (秋風一拔拂策策鳴不已), "Once the autumn breezes blow over the trees the rustling of the falling leaves does not cease." This poem, to which reference has already been made, contains several other illustrations of this kind of expression.

Then we take the expression *kai-kai* or *kiai-kiai* (喈喈) with which we have met before. This term is applied to the call of the oriole, but it is not meant to reproduce the note of that bird. It only denotes the harmonious sounds of the orioles calling to each other as heard at a distance. And *kiai-kiai* is used in a similar way of the songs of the Fêng Huang, cock and hen phœnixes. It is applied also to the whistling and howling of the wind, and the single word is used in this way, as in the

line "The north wind whistles" (北風其喈). A tadpole is called by the Hakkas of Chia-ying-chou, *kuei-ⁿyem-ⁿyem,* in which the *ⁿyem-ⁿyem* is meant to indicate the wiggle-waggle of the tadpole's tail. A dumpling is called *po-po* (餑餑) or *pa-pa* in some places, from its rolly-polly appearance, perhaps. Then *pa-pa,* an apparently meaningless sound, gives the force of earnestly, *eagerly,* to the word with which it is used. Thus *yen-pa-pa* (眼巴巴) and *wang* (望)*-pa-pa* mean to watch or look for "with all your eyes," with great interest and attention. The Swatow people denote great fear by saying that their heart leapt *po-po—po-po-ti'u*—and this, like the corresponding expression with us, is used for any violent mental agitation. Hard and constant working of all kinds is expressed by the term *k'u-k'u* (矻矻): and hence, not only in common speech but also in literature, *k'u-k'u* is used to mean toiling and labouring. Thus *k'u-k'u-ch'iung-nien* (矻矻窮年) is, *to work hard all the year.*

We have now to take one or two of the picture-expressions in which the second part is not a repetition of the first. Such is *san sa* (毿毸) used in the sense of *long and shaggy,* as applied to fur and hair. The term *t'i-t'a* (踢蹋) is used to denote slipshod, as in the direction to wear shoes properly and not have them draggle slip-shod (不可拖鞋踢蹋). The Amoy people speak of a very bad road, or a broken bridge, or a roofless ruined house as being *tap-tap-lap-lap,* that is, having quite fallen down or subsided in ruin. Douglas says the expression is used also of an old hat—a dilapidated tile. The term *ch'i-ch'ü (ki-kü)* is used in the sense of rough and zig-zig. Thus the expression *shan-lu-chi-ch'ü* (山路崎嶇) means "the ascent of the mountain was a rugged zig-zig."

Here we have to end our notice of the Emotional and Imitative Language of the Chinese. One department of this has been of necessity altogether omitted, viz., that which contains the calls and cries to domestic and other animals. These also are interesting in themselves and for the relations they bear to the standard language and the varieties of dialects. The treatment of them is left for some one more fit for the work and with better opportunities.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORD TAO (道)

It has been seen that different opinions have been held by Western scholars as to the material resources of the Chinese language. Some regard this as poor, and others consider it to be rich in its vocabulary. But a liberal study of the language will shew that it is, as to terms, well supplied in some respects and poorly furnished in others. So also are all other languages known to us, and, as has been said, their vocabulary is considered to be a sort of index to the character of a people. But in the case of the Chinese, the judgments of foreign writers on this subject should be received with great caution. The words of the language are spread over a vast field of space and time, and the means of research are even now very imperfect. Nor can the opinions of native students be taken as authoritative, for they are based either exclusively on a knowledge of their own language, or on that and a slight acquaintance with some others, and they have seldom, if ever, given special study to the subject. The right course is to make a careful examination for oneself of the contents of the language as used in the literature of the country and the conversation of the people, to collect facts respecting its means for denoting material objects and spiritual conceptions, and the manner of employing particular terms and phrases.

In the present investigation, a single word, *tao,* is taken, and an attempt is made to shew the chief of the many ways in which that word has been used. No pretence is made to trace the historical development of these uses, or to shew how they are connected or related. To do these things thoroughly would require a knowledge of all the early literature of China and of the modes of the people. Even with this it is doubtful whether the task could be accomplished in a satisfactory manner. In what is

done here the reader will often find renderings given to which he may feel disposed to object, or which he may regard as quite wrong. Even native scholars take at times different and irreconcilable meanings out of a passage, and one can often only guess at what was in the mind of the author. But the student who cares to investigate the subject will be able to correct errors as to matters of fact and mistakes as to interpretation. The authorities quoted to substantiate or illustrate the uses and meanings assigned to the word are not always the highest that could be given; often they are at best only doubtful. They were not examined with a special view to this investigation, nor were they read in any methodical manner. It will be seen also that, though few, they are mixed up in a manner which is perhaps not warranted.

The word selected, *tao,* is perhaps one of the best that could be found in the language to illustrate the variety of meaning with which a single term can be burdened. But no other word apparently has so many and so different uses, and thus it does not give a fair specimen of the way in which the Chinese employ their vocabulary. The vagueness and uncertainty attached to phrases in which this word occurs are not to be attributed to the language generally. With these prefatory words of caution we may now proceed to the investigation of our term.

The character for *tao* is at present written 道, which is composed of *cho* 辵, to go, a classifier of characters relating to motion, and *shou* 首, meaning head or leader, but here, according to Chalmers and others, phonetic. In the old styles we have the word written 衟 and 䢜, the former composed of *hsing* 行, to go, and an archaic form of the above *shou;* and the latter, of the same character and *ts'un,* an inch. The pronunciation of the written symbol has varied from time to time and from place to place. It was originally perhaps something like *su* or *tu,* and afterwards *t'ao, tao.* In the time of the T'ang and Sung dynasties it was read in the *shang* tone; the "Wu-fang-yuan-yin" puts it in the *ch'ü;* and Kanghsi's Dictionary assigns it to the *shang* with one set of meanings, and to the *ch'ü* with another.

In the Ningpo and Shanghai dialects the character is read *dao,* and in the various dialects of Fuhkeen and Kuangtung it is read *tu,* while in Japan it is read *du* generally.[1]

One of the earliest meanings of the character, and that from which many of the others are derived, is that of Way or Road. Thus used, the word is nearly or quite synonymous with certain others, such as *ti* (迪), *t'u* (途 also written 塗), and *lu* (路). Of these, the first and second are often met with in the classical literature, but are not much used at present. *Lu,* however, is still a very common word, and it is often added to *tao* as a defining suffix. Thus *tao-lu* is a road, as distinguished from *tao-li,* a principle. But *lu* is also very commonly used alone and is interchanged with *tao.* It is properly any road or path in common use, while *tao* is a recognized highway, but the distinction is not by any means strictly observed, and the "Shuo-wên" explains *lu* by *tao.* The difference between the uses of the two words is shown in the ninety-second of the Hundred Lessons in the "Tzŭ Erh Chi." There the speaker says that his party went astray having left the proper highway *(tao),* but that by making inquiries as they followed the path *(lu)* they were in, they at last reached the lock. A *tao* is said to be a way for one to take,—it is to be *tao* (蹈), or walked on; while a *lu* is so called because it is made apparent, (*lu* 露), by having been trodden; the former is made to be used and the latter is made by use. When combined, the two words, *tao-lu,* sometimes mean simply a road, and sometimes they denote highways and byways, as in the "Chou-li," where Biot translates "routes et chemins."[2]

In this sense of way or road, *tao* is often found preceded by certain words which particularise its application. A few of the combinations of this kind are here given, and specially of those which are used in more ways than one. The term *chou-tao* (周道) denotes the main road to the Chou State, as *lu* (魯)-*tao*

[1] "Yü-pien" (玉篇), 上, chap. x.; "Kuang-yün," chap. iii. p. 35; "Wu-fang-yuan-yin," 上; "Ku-chin-yün-liao" (古今韻略), 下, chap. iii.; Tuan Yü-tsai's "Shuo-wên," s. v. 道.

[2] "Shih-ming" (釋名), chap. i.; "Chou-li," chap. xxxvi.; Biot, "Tcheou-Li," T. i. p. 413.

is a highway to Lu. In this sense *tao* is sometimes replaced by *hsing* (行), and we find *chou-hsing* also used to denote a highway to Chou. Then *chou-tao* comes to mean any long, wide road, and a poem in the "Shi-ching" begins, "Riding on and on in my four-horse chariot, the highway *(chou-tao)* winding a weary distance." The term *chou-hang* (周 行) is sometimes used, notably in the "Shi-ching," as equivalent to *chou-tao* in the sense of highway, and is so interpreted. There are also other terms for a highway *(via)*, such as *ta* (大)-*tao* and *k'ung* (孔)-*tao*, each meaning simply *great road.* Thus we hear of *nan-pei-wang-lai-ta-tao* (南 北 往 來 大 道), a highway for travellers northwards and southwards. A *ta-tao* is not of necessity a great, wide road. It may be only a narrow path, but it is the chief one, and the right road to a place—the path by which everybody goes. With it are contrasted the *hsiao* (小)-*tao*, and the *ching* (徑), the by-way or *semita.* In the popular language at present, a common term for a highroad is *kuan* (官)-*tao*, official road, the recognized one by which officials travel.[1]

The term *t'ung* (通)-*tao* denotes a thoroughfare, an open passage between two places or objects, and thence it comes to mean also to make such a passage, to open a tunnel. It is often used to signify a trade-route, as between China and barbarian peoples, and also to express the opening of such a route, or clearing it of obstructions caused by brigands or otherwise. A long, narrow, winding road over mountains is called a *yang-ch'ang-niao* (羊 腸 or 脹 鳥)-*tao*, "Sheep's entrails bird way," that is, a mountain so bad and intricate that it is to be flown over rather than walked along. Such a path is also often called shortly a *niao-tao* or bird-way. A term with a somewhat similar meaning is *chü* (曲)-*tao*, which is used to denote any narrow, winding road. The sloping passages by which city walls and like structures are ascended are called *ma-tao* or "horse-way." This term, which will appear again, is also applied to the channel along which horse-archers gallop when practising or exhibit-

[1] L. C. C., iv., pp. 218, 247, 336, et al.; "Shi-ching," chaps. iii., iv. and v.; "Li-chi," chap. i. p. 40.

ing, though *chien* (箭)-*tao,* arrow way, is perhaps used more commonly. This latter, however, is also used for an archery course generally, and another name for the same is *hou* (侯)-*tao,* a shooting course. A jetty or landing-place is also often called a *ma-tao,* and the name is extended to a mart or trading centre; for these latter, however, *ma-t'ou* (馬 頭) is a more correct expression.

There are generally three parallel walks or passages in Chinese imperial and official premises. Of these, the middle one is always the chief, and is called the *chung* (中)-*tao,* or middle way, This in imperial premises is reserved for the use of the emperor, and hence *chung-tao* comes to mean Imperial road, the Emperor's passage. Another term which also means middle or imperial way is *yung* (甬)-*tao,* but this is extended also to the raised walk which in a mandarin's yamen leads from the great outer gate to the middle of the principal hall. The paths reserved for the emperor are also called *yü* (御)-*tao, yü* being a term applied to all things imperial. In old times a course was reserved for the emperor to ride or drive in at or near the capital, and it was kept clean and clear except in bad years. This course was called *ch'ih* (馳)-*tao,* or "riding road;" and the *ch'ih-tao* of Ch'in Shi Huang Ti was famous for its length. The term, however, is now used simply as equivalent to *chung-tao,* and signifies the *t'ien-tzŭ-tao,* or Emperor's way; and it is also sometimes used in a sense still less restricted to denote a post-road. Again, the term *lien* (輦)-*tao* denotes certain walks or passages within the palace inclosures, which are supposed to be carriage roads. When the emperor goes to his harem or other place of amusement, he is, according to some accounts, conveyed along these in a sort of perambulator drawn by his eunuchs. This name was, however, early transferred to the heavenly regions, and accordingly *lien-tao* became the designation of a cluster of stars at the "east foot" of the constellation Lyra, one function of which is to preside over the festivities of the Chinese emperor. A *ch'ing* (淸)-*tao* is a clear route, that is, one free from people, as when the emperor and certain high officials are passing. The routes prescribed for tribute bearers going to the capital and returning

thence are called *chêng* (正)-*tao*, correct ways. In popular use, however, they are generally called *kung* (貢)-*tao*, or Tribute roads; and *chêng-tao* is, in common speech, simply the highway to a place. It is contrasted which *ch'a* (歧)-*tao* and *hsie* (邪)-*tao*, byways and wrong ways; but the last term is mostly used in a figurative manner.

A flight of steps or a stairway is *chie* (階)-*tao* or *têng* (磴) *tao*. The latter term, however, is used only of stone steps, and it is applied to the spiral stairways of pagodas, to steps cut in rocks, and to the stone pathways made up mountains. A suspension bridge which connects two precipices or two sides of a river is sometimes called *chan-fang-kou* (棧方鉤)-*tao*, or chain-bridge. Another name for the same is *chan* (棧)-*tao*, or plankway, which is also used to denote the wooden bridges laid across streams. This term is well known from the expression *shao-chüeh-chan-tao* (燒絕棧道), to burn and cut away the wooden bridges, that is, over which one has crossed. The phrase dates from the coming of Han Kao-tsu, and denotes an irretrievable committal to a certain course, conduct which shews that there is a determination not to go back. As a synonym of *chan-tao* we find *ko* (閣 or 閤)-*tao* often used, and *ko-tao* is also the name of a cluster of stars in Cassiopeia. It is applied, moreover, sometimes to a gallery which spans a court or square and connects the upper chambers of two opposite houses. But the more common term for such a passage is *fu-tao*. The word *fu* is found written 椱, 復, and 複. Of these, the first points to the wooden structure of the passage, and the others to the fact that it is additional and parallel to one already existing. The third character, which is by some considered to be the correct one, denotes originally a wadded or lined garment, and so a *fu-tao* is described as one passage above another. The Ming-t'ang and the A-fang palaces of old times had *fu-tao* which are celebrated in Chinese literature. This term is applied also to the winding, cork-screw paths which seem to return on themselves, made on the slopes of mountains and leading to their summits. The poet Su Tung-p'o speaks of those on Mount Li as connecting the clouds and reaching to the

golden gates of Heaven (複道連雲接金闕). A long, winding passage below ground is called *sui* (隧)-*tao,* or in common speech *yen* (延)-*tao,* the former denoting a winding, revolving passage, and the latter a long burrow or tunnel. The term *sui-tao* is also loosely applied to any covered passage or invisible channel, and it is used specially of tunnels made to graves. A road well known and worn by long use is called a *kuei* (軌)-*tao, kuei* denoting the rut or groove made by a wheel. The rut in such a road is called *tao-kuei,* and this is, or was, a local name for a wheel used in reeling silk. Verandahs or covered passages under the eaves of houses are called *p'an* (盤)-*tao,* or winding ways, as in the expression *miao-yü-pan-tao* (廟宇盤道), the temple verandahs. A *wu* (午)-*tao* is a place where one road cuts another at right angles; and a *chih* (軹 or 枳)-*tao* is a trivium or meeting of three roads properly. There was once a well-known *chih-tao-t'ing* about three miles from Chang-an to the East.[1]

It is common in language to find the word for road transferred to the journey which is made by road. Thus "mecum inter vias cogitare" is "to think with myself while walking," while on the journey; and Griffith says of Cardinal Wolsey, "At last, with easy roads, he came to Leicester." In like manner, *tao* also comes to denote a journey or voyage. So we find the phrase *i* (易)-*tao* used to denote, along with other things, an easy road and an easy journey. Thus also *tao-yuan* (遠) is "the way was long," and *yuan-tao* has as one of its meanings a long journey, its opposite being *chin* (近)-*tao,* a short journey. A safe, pleasant journey is expressed by *p'ing* (平)-*tao,* level road, and this is also the name of a pair of stars which preside over roads and travellers. The phrase *chung* (中)-*tao* now means "half-way," or, more loosely, "on the way" simply.

[1] "Han-shu," chap. xlix. and chap. i.; "Li-chi," chap. i.; "Shih-chi" (史記), chaps. vii., vi., viii.; "Shuo-yuan" (說苑), chap. xx.; Kanghsi Dict. s. v. 馳; "I-li" (義禮), chap. xviii.; "Kuang-shih," chap. i.; "Liao-chai, etc., chap. i. (second story); "Ma T. L.," chap. lxxiii.; "Fang-yen" (方言), chap. v. The word *fu* (復) means to repeat, do again, return, and the phrase *fu-tao* is used in senses like "return passage," "journey back." Such an expression as, "he never will come back," is in Chinese *wu-fu-tao* (勿復道), used of soldiers going on distant expeditions.

Thus *chung-tao-êrh-fan* (中道而反) is to turn back when half way (or, on the way). So "in mediâ viâ" means "in the middle of the way," and we find similar forms of expression in old English. Thus one poet says,

> "First sweare by thy best love in earnest
> Thou wilt not leave me in the middle street."

Another says of the unfortunate Olinda,

> "After that hapless nymph had heard her doome,
> As shee was led to th' rock, i' th' middle way,
> Perindus flying fast, calls out, stay."

But *chung-tao* also means "to take the middle of the road," as when it is said of a son that when walking with his father he does not go in the middle of the road (行不中道). To be on a journey is expressed by *yü* (于 or 於)*-tao,* and *pu-tê-yü-tao* (不得于道) is "not to make progress on a journey." This phrase *yü-tao* denotes also a wayfarer, or a casual acquaintance picked up on the road. Another term of similar meaning is *tsai* (在)*-tao,* on the road, and we read of soldiers having their *tsai-tao-jih-liang* (在道日糧), daily rations while on a march or journey. The phrase *tang* (當)*-tao* is also used in the sense of "to be on a journey." It also means to obstruct a road, as a man may do, or stop a journey, as a serpent may do; and it has several other applications. In this use of *tao* to denote a journey we sometimes find it distinguished from kindred words such as *lu* and *t'u;* just as we find words like *iter* and *via,* journey and path, distinguished, the differences not being very great. Cicero tells Atticus of writing a letter to him "in ipso itinere et viâ," while on his journey and on the road, that is, not in an inn. So we have such expressions as *yü-chu-tao-pi-yü-lu* (遇諸道辟於路), meeting him on the journey he avoided him on the road. To go or be on a journey is *hsing* (行)*-tao,* and this phrase comes to denote travelling continued from day to day. The *hsing-tao-chih-jen,* or men who are [always] making journeys, are the common wayfaring people of the world who may be fools; they are the ordinary men and women of everyday life, who mostly follow the promptings of their emotional natures. Used alone, also, *tao* often has the meaning of "being on a journey." Thus *t'ien-tzŭ*

(天 子)-*tao* means "the emperor while travelling;" and *ssŭ* (死)-*tao* sometimes denotes "to die while on a journey." The expression *tao-t'ing* (聽) means "to hear by the way," to learn while travelling, and *t'u-shuo* (塗 說) "to talk on the road" of what one has so learned is to throw it away. To begin a journey is *tsu* (祖)-*tao,* and this is also a literary designation for a farewell entertainment, the common name for which is *chien-hsing* (餞 行). The word *tsu* in this use is often written *tsu* (俎), and these two characters convey an allusion to the religious services performed at the commencement of a journey. This again suggests the mention of a peculiar and perhaps now rare use of our word. We find it employed in the sense of "to offer worship," that is, to the *dii viales,* or gods of the road. In the regulations for the feudal chiefs under the Chou dynasty, we find that before setting out on certain journeys these chiefs were required to perform various ceremonies. One of these was to *tao,* to worship the gods of the road when leaving (道 而 出).[1]

We may next notice a few of the many phrases to be found which are connected with some of the meanings of our word which have been already given. Among these are the common expressions *pi* (避)-*tao* and *chuang* (撞)-*tao.* The former means to avoid or escape meeting an official, especially a superior, while on a street or road, and the latter means to encounter an official or one's superior authority in an unwished-for manner. *Pi* is to avoid and withdraw, and *chuang* is to bump against, to have a sudden and undesired meeting. A very common expression also worthy of notice is *chia* (夾)-*tao,* to double flank a passage, to make two parallel lines with an open space between them. To build walls on each side of a lane or street is to *chia-tao;* so also is to plant rows of trees on each side of a walk or passage. We find in literature statements like *chia-tao-chiao-tzŭ-pien* (夾 道 交 輜 軿), his passage was flanked by mingled waggons

[1] L. C. C., iv., p. 52; "Hsing-ching" (星 經), chap. 上; "Li-chi," chap ii.; "Lie-tzŭ," chaps. ii., viii.; "Faber Licius," pp. 45, 208; L. C. C., iv., p. 261, 331: ii., p. 288; "Mêng-tzŭ," chap xi.; "Li chi," chaps i., ii., ix. and chap. iv. (for "to worship"); "Hou Han-shu," chap lxiv. (祖 道) and "Ku-shi-yuan" (古 詩 源) chap. v. p. 15, where we have the line 祖 道 魏 東 門.

and carriages. But the phrase *chia-tao* is perhaps best known as used of men. Thus we often find such expressions as *wan-jen* (萬 人)-*chia-tao,* that is, a myriad people lined his way; and *lao-yu-chia-tao* (老 幼 夾 道), old and young stood on each side of the road, that is, to testify their respect for a good prince or a just official at his departure or at his funeral. Then the phrase *chia-tao,* or *chia-tao-tzŭ,* is also used sometimes to denote a lane, alley, or other passage between two rows of houses or trees, or between two banks. When thus used, it is explained by *shên-hsiang* (深 巷), a deep alley. The name *chia-tao* is also given to the top of a city wall which is flanked by the perpendicular walls projecting upwards. Another idiomatic expression is *chü* (取)-*tao,* which means "to take by the way," as to take Pao-ting-foo on the way to the capital. This phrase is found often in memorials from the provincial authorities, and in other state documents. We may also take note here of the phrase *fên* (分)-*tao,* which means, literally, to part or divide a road. It is commonly used in the sense of taking different courses or directions, each going his own gate, literally and figuratively. One occurrence of the phrase in early literature may be said to be classical, viz., the expression *chih-shou-fên-tao-ch'ü* (執 手 分 道 去), "they clasped hands and went their ways," one in this and the other in that direction.[1]

The Chinese language does not make much distinction between nouns and verbs, and so *tao* is used to denote not only a journey but also "to journey or travel." Thus *kuei* (跪)-*tao* is to advance on one's knees, as in the presence of the emperor; and *hsien* (先)-*tao* is to go before. So also *tao-t'u* is to walk along a road, as Browning says, "If it should please me pad the path this eve." In old English a poet could also say "On a time as they together way'd."

We next notice *tao* used like *via* in the sense of right of way, liberty of passage. Thus for one prince to obtain from another the right of passing with troops through the territory of the latter, was called *chia* (假)-*tao.* *Chia* means to borrow, and *chia-tao*-

[1] "Han-shu," chap. viii.; "Yün-fu-ch'ün-yü," chap. iii.; "Ku-shi-yuan," chap. iv. p. vii.

yü-Yü (於 虞) is to borrow, that is, obtain, from Yü the right of crossing the state. It also means to lend or grant such right, but the correct term for this is *yü* (與)-*tao*, to give a passage. In popular language, however, *chia-tao* has come to mean simply to get out or escape, as in the expression *chia-tao-yu-hou-mên* (假 道 由 後 門), to escape by the back-door.[1]

The notion of a journey suggests that of the point of departure, and the next use of our word to be noticed is that in the sense of "from." The expression *fêng-tao-pei-lai* (風 道 北 來) means "the wind is from the north." So also we find persons spoken of as *tao-Ch'ang-an-lai* (道 長 安 來), that is, having come from Ch'ang-an. In Colloquial Mandarin the word *ta* (打) is very common in the sense of "from," and it is not improbable that the word so used is a phonetic corruption of *tao*.[2]

This word has the further meaning of "district" or "region." The Sanskrit word *patha* in like manner means a road, and also a country, as in *udakpatha*, the north country. So also the Greek *ὄιμος*, a path, is also used for a tract of country, as in *Σκύθηνες ὄιμον*, to "the Scythian region." We are expressly told that *tao* is a synonym of *kuo*, which means kingdom or country; and *yao* (要)-*tao* is an important district—one to be well defended. The phrase *yuan-tao*, which has been mentioned as having the meaning "long journey," is also used in the sense of a distant region, or far away places, and *chin-tao*, its opposite, is now a near district. The term *tao* was formerly used to denote a large extent of country generally subdivided into smaller districts. Thus a commentator on the "Chow-li" says of the nine political divisions of the kingdom there described, that they were all to be referred to three *tao*, and Biot translates this word by "zones." In the Han period all those political divisions which marched with savage territory or included barbarians (蠻 夷) in their jurisdiction were called *tao*. Thus the *ch'iang* (羌)-*tao* was a district attached to Lung-hsi, and had a mixed population of Chinese and *Ch'iang*. The word appears also in many other names of

[1] "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. xviii.; 聞 見 錄, chap. i.

[2] "Shan-hai-ching," chap. xvi.; "Han-shu," chap. xliv.

political districts, and it was also the name of a country. The terms *nan* (南)-*tao* and *pei* (北)-*tao* denote respectively the south and north countries, that is, outside of China. A word for "barbarian" is generally understood before *tao* thus used, but sometimes we have it expressed as in the phrase *chih-nan-i-tao* (治南夷道), to reduce to order the south *I* country. The Chin (晋) dynasty divided the empire into fifteen provinces, which were called *tao*; the T'ang dynasty divided it into ten *tao*; and the Yuen divided it into eleven *shêng* and twenty-three *tao*. The use of the word in this last manner, as designation of a circuit or subdivision of a province, still continues. A *tao* is now a district or department of a province composed of two or more prefectures, and under the administration of one mandarin, a Tao-t'ai. Traces of the older use of the word are still to be found in official documents and in the titles of the censors. These officials are distributed according to certain *tao*, and, so used, a *tao* is in some cases a province and in some cases more than one province. The *ching-chi* (京畿)-*tao* is a special circuit, the censors for which watch over the administration of the capital and of Manchuria and Mongolia. The *chi* was originally the sovereign's private domain, and something of that idea appears to survive in the present use of the term. The whole province of Chihli is called in literary style *Ching-chi-tao*, and this name is applied also to the province of Corea in which the capital is situated. Then we have the expression *tao-li* (道里), that is, the miles *(li)* of the road, used to denote the geography of a region, the directions and distances of places with reference to the capital and to each other. But *tao-li* also often means simply distance, especially measured distance. Thus *tao-shih-li* is "ten *li* away," and *tao-li-yu-yüan* (道里悠遠) is "the distance is very great." It even comes to be used as a verb, as when Huai Nan-tzŭ tells us that the world's area cannot be told in miles (八極不可道里).[1]

[1] Po-ya (博雅), chap. iv.; "Han-shu," chaps iii., v., xxviii. 下, lvii., lxxix. (There were in all twenty *tao* in the empire under the Han dynasty, that is, twenty frontier district magistracies. We read also of thirty-two *tao* as existing under this dynasty); 宸垣識略, chap. vii.; 大清會典, chap. lxxxi.; 衛藏圖識, chap. i.; 昌黎全集, chap. ii. p. 1; 古詩源, chap. i., the 白雲謠 poem; "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. xx.

By a natural process the idea of way or road is transferred to the course which inanimate objects are seen or are supposed to follow. And so *tao* becomes the equivalent of such terms as orbit, course, channel, and other words of like meaning. A river has its course, "proprio cammino," and *ho* (河)-*tao* denotes the way of a river,—its course. This may become changed, the river taking a new direction, and the deserted course is then called *ku* (古 or 故)-*tao*, the old way, as in the expression *wan-kuei-ku-tao* (挽 歸 古 道), lead the river back into its old channel. When not preceded by any qualifying term, *ho-tao* denotes specially the course of the Yellow River, the observation and control of which form the anxious care of many officials. Further, the current of a river or other body of water is called *shui* (水) *tao*, the water's way. This is the course which the water takes in obedience to natural laws, for we can see how "sciat indociles currere lympha vias." So *hsia* (下)-*shui-tao* is to follow the current, to go with the stream. But this term, *shui-tao*, denotes also a sea-route, or a journey by water as opposed to one by land; and it will come before us again in other uses. The term *yun* (運)-*tao*, transmission road, denotes the course, by land and water, assigned for the transport of the grain contributions from the provinces to the capital. Then we have the term *kuei* (軌)-*tao*, already noticed in the sense of a well-travelled road, applied also to the heavenly bodies. The sun, moon, and stars revolve of necessity in their proper orbits, their grooves—*kuei-tao*—the paths which they have followed from the beginning of their existence. Again, *jih* (日)-*tao*, sun's way, is the "Solar road," the course of the sun from east to west; and *yue* (月)-*tao* is the path of the moon, that is, the succession of her phases. The ecliptic is usually called the Yellow Way, *huang* (黃)-*tao*, and as this is a symbol of the predominance of the *yang* influence, the term *huang-tao* has come to mean good luck, and a lucky day; but there is another explanation which will be given below. Other names for the ecliptic are *chung* (中)-*tao*, the middle way, and *kuang* (光)-*tao*, "the bright ecliptic road." The equator is the *chih* (赤)-*tao*, or vermilion way; and there are white, black, and

azure *tao* in "the Heaven's wide pathless way." The term *t'ien-tao*, or Heaven's way, is sometimes used in the sense of the way pursued by celestial bodies seen in the processes of sun and moon, in the succession of day and night, and the revolutions of the seasons. Even used by itself, the word *tao* seems to have occasionally this meaning. Thus Dr. Legge translates *tao-ping-hsing* (道並行) by, "The courses *of the seasons, and of the sun and moon,* are pursued without any collision among them." These words, however, have received also another interpretation, and one more natural perhaps than that adopted by Dr. Legge. Then in the human body, and in the bodies of other creatures, we have *hsie* (血)-*tao*, or "blood courses." But this term does not refer so much to the flowing of the blood as to its action in certain definite parts of the body. The name *hsüe* (穴)-*tao*, or "cavity-way" literally, is one of frequent occurrence, specially in the writings of doctors and necromancers. Chinese doctors distinguish in man's body, and in the bodies of other creatures, real and imaginary, a large number of points or parts which they regard as of importance. These are technically called *hsüeh* (穴), that is, cavity or lurking place; and the spaces between two of these are called *hsüeh-tao*. This term is then used to denote the places where the vital principle is supposed to lurk—fatal spots. To be wounded in a *hsüeh-tao* is to be mortally, or at least dangerously wounded. In the "Tzŭ-erh-chi" the term is thus defined: "In anatomy the space between the joints; the points at which in acupuncture the needle is introduced; applied in geomancy to the features of ground." The liver, which is the source of the blood, is somtimes called *tao*, and, so used, the term corresponds to the *hsüan* (玄), dark colour of heaven. The term *shui* (水)-*tao*, noticed above, in the body denotes the ureter. Under the term *ye* or *i* (液) are included the various secretions of the body, and these are connected with the organs of sense each by a separate channel, called *i-tao*. This term reminds us of the statement of Cicero, "viæ quasi quædam sunt ad oculos, ad aures, ad nares a sede animi perforatæ," and of a curious passage in the "De Natura Deorum." The courses of a meal are also called

tao, and *san-tao-ch'a* (茶) does not mean "three cups of tea," but "a three-course" tea. It is the name given to a slight refreshment consisting of a decoction of lotus-root, one of almonds (or apricot seeds), and a cup of tea, and is served as a token of respect to a guest. So also the succession of crops in a year is in some places spoken of as *tao*, the first crop being called *t'ou* (頭)-*tao*, and the second one *êrh* (二)-*tao*.[1]

The notion of resemblance or analogy to a road is extended to many objects. The lie of the fur of a skin is called the *mao* (毛)-*tao*, or hair-way, and comes to stand for our word quality. A ray or stream of light is *i-tao-kuang* (一道光), one way brightness; and a golden sunbeam, or any ray of brilliancy, is *i-tao-chin-kuang*, a way of golden brightness. So a modern poet says, "From the rock where I stand, to the sun, is a pathway of sapphire and gold." The term *tao-kuang* is used of the long bright streams of glory which proceed at times from a Buddha or one of the Genii, and the phrase *hsiang-kwang-wan-tao* (祥光萬道), a myriad rays of auspicious brightness, is of frequent occurrence when such beings are mentioned. A stream or current of air is called *i-tao-ch'i* (氣); a wreath of incense is *i-tao-hsiang* (香); and a bank of cloud is *i-tao-yün* (雲). The bands or bars seen athwart the sun near the time of setting are called *tao*; and we read of *jih-chung-yu-ching-sê-ssŭ-tao* (日中有青色四道), the sun having four bands of dark colour. A wreath of smoke rising from a chimney or a pipe is *i-tao-yen* (烟); and hence the expression *i-tao-yen-tsou-liao* (一道烟走了), he went off like smoke, that is, he quickly disappeared. The term *huo* (火)-*tao* denotes the course of a fire, the line of direction which it takes. Even flavour is spoken of as having a way or course, and is spoken of as *wei* (味)-*tao*, that is, the good and proper flavour. It is praise to say of an article of food or a literary composition that it has *wei-tao*, there is some taste in it; and *tao-wei* has quite an opposite meaning.

Then this word is applied to all kinds of things which have much length and little breadth. A road is represented on a map

[1] L.C.C. i., p. 291; Chung-yung, chap. vi. p. 26; the 素靈樞, etc., chap. i.

by a line, and *tao* comes to have the meaning of a line. Thus to draw a line on paper or other substance is *ta* (打)-*tao,* literally to strike a line. The lines of the *Pa-kua* and their combinations in the "I-ching" are often called *tao,* but there is generally also a deeper meaning attached to the word when so used. Coolies who supply water to houses in the north keep a score by drawing lines on a wall. These scores are called *tao,* and the use of the name and expedient extends to other affairs. A split or chink in wood is called a *tao.* A row of trees or shrubs is a *tao,* and a gardener speaks of *mei-hua* or *mei-kuei-hua* (玫瑰花)-*tao,* that is, a row of red roses, as Virgil uses *via* for a row or avenue of trees. A stripe or band on clothes is also in some places a *tao.* Thus the corporals among our soldiers were in the north called *êrh* (二)-*tao,* or Two stripes, and the sergeants were *san-tao,* or Three stripes. This latter came to be the designation of the Consular constable, who was actually in some cases a sergeant *emeritus.*

The word *tao* is sometimes used in a peculiar way like our word *time,* in such expressions as three times, four times. This meaning may have been derived from the use of the word in the sense of a score to keep tally. Our word "way" is used in a manner somewhat similar in "always," which in old English was "alne way" and "alles weies." In Chinese, "twice" and "thrice" are in certain cases expressed by 二 道 and 三 道 respectively, and so with the other numbers. There is a kind of torture or punishment which consists in tightening a cord round the neck or other part of the body. The act is repeated a certain number of times, and the technical phrase is that it is done so many *tao.* So also we read of barbarians like the Hsiung-nu *shu-tao-ju-sai* (數道入塞), coming several times within the frontiers—boundaries; but the term also means "by several ways." Then we find this word discharging the humble functions of what Sinologues call a Numerative or Classifier. Thus used it cannot properly be said to have any meaning, but only to point to some quality of the object indicated by the word with which it is associated. So it is often prefixed to, or combined

with, the terms for wall, bridge, river, wound, eyebrow, wales on the back, and splits in stone or timber. A river is *i-tao-ho* (河), and the milky way is *i-tao-t'ien-ho* (一 道 天 河). So also *tao* is used in this manner with the words for Imperial Edict, Proclamation, Despatch, and various other written or printed documents. Thus *i-tao-chao* (詔) is an Imperial order in writing, and *lu* (錄)-*i-tao* is to make a copy, to transcribe one copy of a document. A charm drawn up in writing is *i-tao-fu-lu* (符 籙), and *san-tao-pei* (碑) is three stone tablets with inscriptions. When associated with such words as wall and river, *tao*, for which *t'iao* (條) may in such cases be substituted, may point to the line-like appearance of the objects indicated. With the words for Edict or Proclamation it may have been suggested by the rows or columns of characters which form the document. Edkins calls it a "significant numerative," and regards it as such in the phrase *i-tao-kuang* (光), noticed above, which he translates, "a stream of light." There is certainly only a vague narrow line of separation between the use of the word with such meanings as line, ray, stratum, and its employment as a numerative, or classifier. The expression *liang-tao-chou-mei* (兩 道 箒 眉), literally, two lines broom eyebrows, denotes a pair of long bushy eyebrows. Here *tao*, though perhaps only a numerative, must be regarded as having a meaning, and there are many instances of a similar nature.[1]

Like the corresponding words in other languages, *tao* comes to be used in the sense of means or manner. Thus employed, it denotes the way in which an object acts, and the mode or process of attaining or accomplishing anything. The phrase *wang* (王) *tao*, which has several other meanings, is often used in the sense of "the way to the attainment of kingly power," the right and peaceful way to become sovereign of a country. In like manner Confucius says that *chün-tzŭ-yu-ta* (君 子 有 大)-*tao*, that is, there is a grand way to become sovereign; and he also says, *shêng-ts'ai-ya-ta* (生 財 有 大)-*tao*, there is a grand way to the attainment of national wealth. This last sentence has passed into

[1] Mand. Gr., p. 136; Cf. "Tzŭ-êrh-chi," part viii. sec. iii.

common use, and it may be seen written up over doors of small shops all over the empire. But they who so appropriate it mean no more by it than that they desire to make money honestly if they can. In the present application of the word *tao*, it is said to be the equivalent of such words as *fa* (法), or *fang* (方)-*fa*, which denote a means or method. Thus in the question put to Mencius, *pu tung hsin yu tao hu* (不動心有道乎), "Is there a way to a resolved state of mind?" *tao* is explained by *fang-fa*, means or method. The term *shêng* (生)-*tao* has, in addition to several other meanings, that of "way of life," that is, means of preserving life; and *ssŭ* (死)-*tao* denotes "a way of death," or a means of killing, a course which ends in death. So we read in Proverbs of the "path of life" and the "ways of death." In the Introduction to his "Liu-shu-ku" Tai T'ung tells us that "for the prosecution of research, writing is the most important means" (格物之道莫博於書), that is, the means which affords the most material. The phrase *chin* (金) *tao* is the way of gold, the golden means, as in 解之金道以爲之神, set free for him the golden way of becoming a god.[1]

With the above is closely connected the use of our word in the sense of art, device, expedient. It is now said to be a synonym of *shu* (術), originally also a path or road, and the common term for art or artifice. The two words are sometimes combined, and *tao-shu* denotes plans or expedients, good or bad, specially political. In the administration of government there are seven *an* (安)-*shu*, "peace arts," devices which tend to make and preserve a settled state of affairs; and there are six *wei* (危)-*tao*, arts which tend to produce disorder in the state. The term *tao-jen* (人) is used in several ways, some of which fall to be noticed below. Here it comes before us in the sense of *yu tao shu chih jen* (有道術之人), that is, a man who has arts and devices, specially those which pretend to give long life and supernatural knowledge. In "Lie-tzŭ" we find the terms *tao* and *tao-shu* interchanged, and Faber translates the latter

[1] L. C. C., i., p. 242; "Ta Hsio," chap. iii.; L. C. C., ii., p. 62; "Mêng," chap. iii.; 六書故 Int. p. 20; Hopkins' "Six Scripts," p. 18; "Hsin-shu" (新書) chap. iv.

by "Geheimes Verfahren," or secret procedure, and the former by "Mittel," means, or "Geheimniss," secret. There is often a suspicion of wickedness or impropriety about the term *tao-shu*, and even *tao* by itself in this use is not always above suspicion. One of the meanings of *yu* (有)-*tao* is to have an art, a method, whether for catching crickets, committing robbery, or ruling a country. A clever device is a *ch'i* (奇)-*tao*, but this rather hints at trickery. Then *tao* comes to mean one's occupation or means of living; and the phrase *t'ung* (同)-*tao* denotes, along with other things, to be of the same occupation, the same way of living. Some professions are considered low or base, and these are called small arts—*hsiao* (小) *tao*—such as those of doctors and fortune-tellers. Music, on the other hand, is ranked high, as we learn from the old saying, "Among the arts of the people music is greatest" (生民之道樂為大). In the expression *shih ching tao ye* (示敬道也), teach him the art of reverence, *tao* is explained as *tao i* (藝), art or means, *i* denoting also ability, cleverness.[1]

Loosely connected with the above is the use of our word in the sense of "abilities" or "attainments." In the common list (道德仁義), *tao* is sometimes said to denote natural abilities. It is then said to be the equivalent of *ts'ai i* (才藝), genius, natural endowments. So also the expression *fan-yu-tao-cho* (凡有道者), "all who have *tao*," is interpreted to mean "those who have great natural abilities" (多才藝者), and Biot translates "des hommes instruits." Again, we learn that "great genius is not a utensil" (大道不器), or, as Callery explains the phrase, "une grande capacité ne doit pas être (bornée á un seul usage) comme un ustensile." Again, the term *tao-ta* is used of one having broad views, and means "a large or liberal way of thinking," but it also denotes the possession of great abilities or

[1] Kanghsi's Dict. s. v. 術; "Han-fei-tzŭ," chap. viii.; "Han-shu," chap. lxxv. The term *tao-shu*, however, is often used in a good sense. Thus *pu chih tao shu* (不知道術), is "not to know the right way," the proper means; and *yu-tao shu cho* denotes also "men of expedients," that is, men of practical abilities. "Shuo-yuan" (說苑), chap. xvi.; "Hsin-shu," chap. v.; "Lie-tzŭ," chap. viii.; Faber's Lic., p. 197; chap. ii.; Faber, pp. 8, 18, 55; L. C. C., i., p. 204; "Lun-yü," chap. xix.; "Li-chi," chap. vii. p. 22; chap. vi. p. 74.

attainments. The word *tao* is used in this sense of attainments specially moral or spiritual very frequently, but one or two examples may suffice. In the "Lun-yü" Confucius says to Tzŭ-lu, with reference to the self-respect and the unoffending but independent spirit of the latter, "These attainments fall short of high virtue" (是道也何足以臧). In another place Confucius is represented as saying, "There are three attainments of the Model man (君子道者三) which are beyond me,—to be virtuous without anxiety, wise without scepticism, brave without fear."[1]

We next notice the use of our word in the sense of "characteristics." It must be admitted, however, that in some of the passages in which it has been so rendered, some term like "attributes" or "qualities" would perhaps suit better. Thus of the statesman Tzŭ-chan, Confucius says, 有君子之道四, he has four of the characteristics (or attributes) of a Model man. Of Yen Hui and others the Master spoke in similar terms, in each case stating the characteristics or attributes of the Model man which the individual possessed. Used in this sense, the *tao* of the Model man are said to be inexhaustible, but it is something to have even three or four of them. Again, of a simple, good man (善人) it is said to be a characteristic *(tao)* that he does not merely keep in the footprints of others, and that at the same time he does not become a disciple. Here the word *tao* is used somewhat in the sense of description, and introduces the meaning of the term *shan-jen*. Then Mencius tells us that it is a characteristic of the people (民之爲道也) that having a certain livelihood they have certain convictions, and without the former they are also without the latter. So also we learn that affection and respect for his parents are proper in a filial son; and "an awe-inspiring dignity and severity of manner are not used in serving one's parents,—they are the characteristics of a man," (嚴威儼恪非所以事親也成人之道也.)[2]

[1] "Li-chi" (13), chap. i.; "Chou-li," chap. xiv.; Biot, "Tcheou Li," T. ii. p. 28; "Li-chi," chap. vi.; Callery's "Le-ki," p. 81; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvi.; L. C. C., i., pp. 89 and 150; "Lun," chap. ix. p. 35, and chap. xiv. p. 42.

[2] L. C. C., i., p. 42; "Lun," chap. v.; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvii.; L. C. C., i., p. 107; "Lun," chap. xi.; L. C. C., ii., p. 115; "Mêng," chap. v.; "Li-chi," chap.

Following our word in its metaphorical applications, we find it used to denote the path or course of human conduct. It is even said to be an equivalent of *hsing* (行), action or conduct, but this statement is justly condemned as inaccurate. We are told that conduct is either virtuous, or not virtuous (道二仁與不仁). This, however, is a statement attributed to Confucius by Mencius, and its precise meaning cannot be ascertained. The pursuit of virtue and the following of vice are in China, as in western lands, represented under the figure of a journey. But there is a difference in the conception of the nature of the journey. In the ethics and religion of the west the path of vice is generally represented as a wide, large road, level and free from obstacles, and for the most part straight—an easy and smooth road and very attractive. Virtue, on the other hand, has a narrow, pinched path, steep and thorny, and before it the immortal gods have put sweat-producing toil. It is scarcely necessary to add that there are many exceptions to this way of teaching, as in the Book of Proverbs. But with Chinese moralists the way of virtue is always the grand highway of humanity, the broad road which man is by his nature disposed to follow. Vice, on the other hand, is with them the narrow, devious paths into which man is constrained by evil influences from without. Thus the phrases *chou* (周)-*tao* and *ta-tao,* already noticed in the sense of highway, come to denote the path of virtue, and in this usage Callery renders the former by "les grandes vertus." Opposed to these are the *hsiao* (小)-*tao,* or small ways, that is, the narrow paths which branch off from the highway and lead into the wild spaces of vice, "Ways that run not parallel to nature's course."

Again, *shan* (善)-*tao,* or good way, which has several other meanings, denotes also virtue; as its opposite, *o* (惡)-*tao,* bad way, denotes vice or wickedness. So also *kung* (公)-*tao,* or public way, which has various significations, is used to denote a disinterested course, fair and unselfish conduct. Another term for virtue is

viii. p. 37. The term *jen-tao* denotes the characteristics of a man also in a material sense, and a man *genitalibus orbatus* is spoken of as 其人道絕, "Chou-li," chap. xxiv. See also the "Liao-chai," &c., chap. vi., the words 三十許男子尙未經人道.

chêng (正)-*tao,* which has been seen to denote originally the correct road or highway. It is now the one perfect way of life as contrasted with the many wrong paths into which men wander. "The highway of the upright is to depart from evil; he that keepeth his way preserveth his soul." Contrasted with *chêng-tao* are the *hsieh* (邪)-*tao,* or by-paths, which lead astray and end in confusion. This term *hsieh-tao* is always used in a bad sense, and often denotes unchastity. The proper *(chêng)* course, for a Chinese filial son is to marry and raise up children to his father. If he cannot marry he should lead a life of continence, acting according to the teaching of an old poet,

> "Wholly abstain or wed. The bounteous Lord
> Allows thee choice of paths; take no byeways."

Another name for lewdness is *hua* (花)-*tao,* or flower way, "the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire." This phrase, when used of woman, points to the fact that in the gay life of lawless love, beauty's flower never ripens to any fruit, the fair wanton dies like the primrose—forsaken and unmarried. Moral integrity, or honesty of speech and action, is often expressed by *chih* (直)-*tao,* straight or direct way. In one place Legge translates this phrase by "the path of straightforwardness," and it is said to mean there *wu-ssŭ-chü* (無 私 曲), to be without private bias, neither slandering nor flattering, but speaking the straightforward truth. As uprightness, it is opposed to *wang* (枉)-*tao,* the crooked ways of dishonesty; and as impartiality, it is opposed to *chü* (曲)-*tao,* the winding ways of partiality. As blunt frankness of speech it is contrasted with and set above *ch'iao-yen* (巧 言), or artful words. *Tao* is often used alone in this manner to denote *the* way, the right course, or virtue. Thus one of the meanings of *i* (以)-*tao* is rightly, or in accordance with virtue, and Confucius says that the Model man cannot be pleased with anything "not accordant with right" (不 以 道). Opposed to *i-tao* is *pu-tao,* wrongly or wickedly. But this latter has come to have a very definite signification of a peculiar kind. It is the legal term for one of the *shi-o* (十 惡), or Ten Crimes of the Penal Code. In the Han period this crime was the murder of three

individuals of one family. The present definition of the term is a little different, but it still denotes a heinous crime with a terrible punishment. Some explain the use of the term by saying that the man who commits the crime, in the act turns his back on virtue, man's *chêng-tao* or right and natural course. And the phrase *pu-tao* is often used for what we call *unnatural* in the sense of violating the natural relations, as of ruler and minister, father and son. Thus the Emperor Yung-chêng describes a certain proposal as *ta-ni-pu-tao-wu-li* (大逆不道無理), very impious, unnatural, and unreasonable. The phrase *ta-ni-pu-tao* is an old one, being found in the "Han-shu," and perhaps earlier, but the emperor gave it a new force. Again, Confucius told Tzŭ-lu that he would go away from the kingdom of Lu leisurely, and Mencius says that this was *c'hü-fu-mu-kuo-chih-tao*), (去父母國之道), the right way to leave the country of one's parents. So we find such expressions as *yen* (言)-*tao*, speech correct, where *tao* is explained as *ho-yü*, (合於)-*tao*, that is, in accordance with what is right. In like manner the phrase *i-yü* (依於)-*tao*, is to follow what is right, "suivre la bonne voie," as Callery translates. To err or go astray is *shi* (失)-*tao*, to miss the way, to wander from virtue; and to return to virtue is *fan* (反)-*tao*, as in the expression *fan-tao-tzŭ-hsin* (反道自新), to return to virtue and reform. But these two phrases have other meanings also, and the latter, *fan-tao*, is used in the sense of rebelling against what is right. The contrast between *tao*, what is right, and *o*, what is wrong, is well brought out in the aphorism, "The good man makes friends from agreement in goodness; the bad man makes a partisanship from agreement in wickedness" (君子以同道爲朋,小人以同惡爲黨).[1]

Then as *tao* is used in the sense of to walk or travel, so it comes to have that meaning figuratively. Thus *tao-chung* is to

[1] L. C. C., ii., p. 169; "Mêng," chap. vii.; "Li-chi," chap. vii. p. 34; Callery, "Le-ki," p. 108; L. C. C., i., pp. 165 and 195; "Lun," chap. xv. and xviii.; L. C. C., i., p. 137; "Lun," chap. xiii.; "Han-shu," chap. viii.; "Yung-chêng Edicts," 4th y. 10m 25; L. C. C., ii., p. 247; "Mêng," chap. x.; "Li-chi," chap. i.; "Han-shu," chap. vii.; "Kan-ying-pien," chap. vii. p. 28, Note. The phrase *ta-ni-pu-tao* may be sometimes found used of a crime such as that which we understand by the name "high treason."

walk in the mean, and, used alone, *tao* has sometimes the sense of walking in the right way. In the "Li-chi" we are told that the law of social rites "may not be followed *(tao)* vainly," that is, it must be observed sincerely and thoroughly. In this place *tao* is explained by *hsing* (行), to go or travel, as on a road, and this word is often used as the equivalent of *tao*. Thus, for example, in the "Lun-yü," Confucius is represented as saying that as he could not "get men pursuing the due medium (中 行) he had to take the eager and the cautious." Mencius quotes this statement but substitutes *chung-tao* for *chung-hsing*. Again, to pursue learning is *tao-wên-hsiao* (道 文 學), and to walk in the Constant Mean is *tao-chung-yung*. In these places *tao* is said to mean *yu* (由), to go along, or *hsing*, to walk in, that is, to practise. The statement that "the model man is reverently attentive to his moral nature (尊 德 性) and pursues learning," formed the great battle-field for Chu Hsi and Luh Chiu-yuan, and their followers.[1]

The next use of our word to be noticed is that in the sense of state or condition. We now find that the term *jen* (人)-*tao*, in addition to its other meanings, denotes the state of a human being, and man's estate, or manhood. The expression *jen-tao-li* (人 道 立), man's way arises, means "a hnman being is formed." To cap a youth and give him a name in the presence of witnesses effects his manhood, *ch'êng-jen-chih-tao* (成 人 之 道), makes him a man. Then *kuei* (鬼)-*tao* is the state of being a ghost or demon; *ch'in-shou* (禽 獸)-*chih-tao* is the condition of birds and beasts—"l'existence des bêtes brutes," as Callery translates. So also *fu* (父)-*tao* is fatherhood, which has its origin in heaven; and *fu-fu* (夫 婦)-*tao* the state of husband and wife, that is, the state of matrimony. *T'ung* (童)-*tao* is boyhood or childhood, both first and second. In a family or village it is of great importance to keep up feelings of harmony and friendship. To lose these is *shih-hou* (失 厚)-*tao*, to lose the genial state, the cordial relations among neighbours. So also *ho* (和)-*tao* is a

[1] L. C. C., i., p. 286; "Chung-yung," chap. vi.; "Li-chi," chap. v.; L. C. C., i., p. 136, and ii., p. 374.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

condition of harmony such as should prevail in a household or community. Again, the term *chia* (家)-*tao* denotes the state of a household, or family. Thus *chia-tao-shên-p'in* (甚 貧) simply means the family is very poor. A common euphemistic expression with the same meaning is *chia-tao-p'ing-an* (平 安), the family has peace, that is, there is no trouble with property, because there is none. Opposed to these are such expressions as *chia-tao-chin-tsung-yung* (儘 從 容), the family are in very comfortable circumstances, and *chia-tao-hsing-lung* (興 隆), the household, is prosperous and flourishing. This phrase, *chia-tao*, often points to the reputation of a family for wealth, learning or virtue, and Morrison translates it by "the ways or circumstances of a family." It reminds us of the statement that the virtuous woman "looketh well to the ways of her household." The expression *chia-tao-hao* (好) means that the family stands well, is in good circumstances and has a fair reputation. To establish a household, all that is needed is that husband and wife live together in harmony (夫 婦 和 而 後 家 道 成), or, as Morrison has it, "let husband and wife agree and then the welfare of the family will be secured." So also we are told that that household is perfect (well ordered) in which husband and wife observe their duties of mutual obligation (夫 婦 有 法 然 後 家 道 正). Again, the phrase *shi* (世)-*tao* sometimes denotes the moral state prevailing at any time in a country, and sometimes the condition of affairs generally, the fashion of the age. Lie-tzu relates that Tzu-Chan's elder brother, through excess in wine, *pu-chih-shi-tao-chih-an-wei* (不 知 世 道 之 安 危), did not know whether the state of the world was peaceful or troubled, that is, did not know whether the country was in a state of order or of anarchy. Faber translates, "Er kannte nicht den Frieden oder die Gefahr des Weltganges," but this does not seem to express the author's meaning fully. The phrase *shi-tao* has been explained by *jen-ch'ing* (人 情), man's feelings, or human affairs, but the explanation is not satisfactory. It is often associated with *jen-hsin* (人 心), man's mind or heart. Thus there is the common saying, 人 心 不 古 世 道 難 行, literally, man's heart is not ancient, the way of the age is hard to

follow, that is, people are not like what they used to be, and plain honest men cannot succeed. We read that the *shi-tao-shuai-wei* (世道衰微), the morality of the world is fading away, a process through which it has been going ever since history began. Again, *ku* (古)-*tao* denotes the "old ways," the manners of our fathers which seem stupid to their children (古道自愚惷).[1]

Let us now turn to a group of meanings very different from those already noticed, but originally derived from some of them. We are wont to speak of a road as *leading*—"qua te dūcit via, dirige gressum,"—and the mode of speech is extended to figurative applications. Thus the way of friendship may be a path which leads by tracts that please us well, while "The paths of glory lead but to the grave," and Adam says to Raphael,

> "Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
> Our knowledge."

All education is a training in the way we should go, and counsel and instruction are guidance. In Chinese the character *tao* itself has the meanings of to lead, guide, teach, advise. From its composition we might infer that its original meaning was to lead, and one of the commentators on the definition given in the "Shuo-wên" says that there it is read *tao* (導), which means to guide or rule. When thus used as a verb, our word here, as in other cases, is said to be in the *ch'ü-shêng*. A few examples will suffice to shew the nature of its meanings when so employed. To lead the van of an army is *tao-ch'ien* (前), which is contrasted with *yung-hou* (擁後), to press on in the rear. Again, *wei* (爲) *tao* is to take the lead, go in front, as in the saying of the people of Chu to the ruler of Chêng, translated by Dr. Legge, "If you will now vent your indignation on Sung, our poor town will lead the way for you" (敝邑爲道). When used in the sense of telling the way, or guiding on a journey, *tao* is explained by *shih-chih-i-*

[1] "Hsing-li," chap. viii.; "Li-chi," chap. x.; "Le-ki," p. 67; "Hsing-li," chap xxi.; 悟道錄 chap. 上; Sacred Edict, Art. 3., Amp.; "San-yu-t'ang-chi" (三魚堂集), Int. 今古奇觀, chap. x.; "Kan-ying-pien," chap. viii. p. 41, note; Morrison's Alphabetic Dict., s. v. 和; "Hsing-li," chap. xxv.; "Lie-tzŭ," chap. vii., and Faber, p. 165; "Kan-ying-pien," chap. viii. p. 36, note.

tao-t'u (示之以道塗), to tell (or shew) one the right road. To lead or guide an army, in the sense of conducting it, is *tao-chün* (軍); as Chang Ch'ien was said to lead his army *(tao-chün)* to places where he knew there were good grass and water. To introduce, as at court, is also expressed by *tao*, and it was the office of the *Yu-ssŭ*, in the Han period, to present and escort chiefs of foreign states while at the capital, as when we read of causing a *Yu-ssŭ* to introduce a *Shan-yü* (使有司道單于). It is also used in the sense of welcoming and escorting, acting the host to one generally. Thus in the "Shu-ching" we read that Yao ordered a Hsi to receive as a guest the sun at his rising, and a Ho to "convoy the setting sun;" and in the "Shi-chi" we have *ching* (敬)-*tao*, reverently attend, used both for the welcoming and convoying. Then in the journey of life man is always tempted to leave the right track and go in the narrow ways of error. So Heaven has ordained that there should always be wise and good men to teach and guide aright the ignorant and erring multitude. And thus we find such expressions as *tao-chih-i-li* (道之以禮), to keep the people right by social customs and ceremonies; and *li-i-chih-tao* (禮義之道) is, according to Dr. Legge, "the guidance of propriety and righteousness." Again, we read that *chün-tzŭ-tao-jen-i-yen* (君子道人以言), that is, in Callery's rendering, "Le sage se sert de la parole pour diriger les hommes (dans la voie du bien)." A native commentator explains *tao* here by *hua-hui* (化誨), to impart culture, to teach mild ways and gentle manners. The intelligent ruler, also, leads his people in the right way *(tao-chih-i-tao)*, that is, he takes measures to have them trained only in the learning which is orthodox. In one passage the guiding *(tao)* of the people by the ordinances of government is contrasted with the guiding of them by good personal influence. In this passage a native commentator explains *tao* by *yin-tao* (引導), to pilot, lead in the right course; and another explains it by *hua-yu* (化誘), like *hua-hui* above. The sage is said to be in his active life a guide *(tao)* to all the world, and he *tao-i-tê* (以德), leads men by the example of his own moral character. The work of learning truth, of acquiring wisdom, is a journey entered on in childhood and ended only at death;

and the sage's mode of instruction may be thus described. He shews the way but does not drag anyone into it, he confirms resolve but does not insist doggedly, he opens a passage but does not carry through. Used in the sense of "teaching," *tao* is explained by *hsün* (訓) or *chiao* (教), words which mean to teach or instruct. We sometimes find it joined to the latter word, as in the expression *i-chiao-tao-min,* "pour l'apprendre au peuple." In the sense of "advise" or "counsel," also, *tao* is of frequent occurrence. Thus Confucius is represented as telling Tzŭ Kung that a friend should be faithful in rebuking and good in counselling (忠告而善道), or, as Dr. Legge translates, "Faithfully admonish *your friend,* and speak to him kindly." Again, *t'an hsiao-êrh-tao* (談笑而道) is to advise (or dissuade) with gentle, pleasant words. So also we have the statement *tao-chih-fa* (之伐), counselled him ("tried to persuade him" in Dr. Legge's version) to attack. The sense of *leading,* or directing, sometimes implies and is associated with that of ruling, of ordering another's footsteps. The use of our word in this way may be illustrated by a quotation from the "Han-shu." In that treatise we find the Emperor Hsiao Wên saying, "The way of leading the people (道民之路) lies in attending to what is essential." And afterwards he says he will "order each to follow his own mind in order to lead (or govern) the people (令各率其意以道民). Our word is applied in this way also to the lower animals, such as horses and camels. Thus we read that *liang-ma-i-tao* (良馬易道), a good horse is easily managed, or easily trained, that is, as the context shows, a horse which has a good natural disposition can be easily trained to bear a rider.[1]

Now in accordance with the genius of the language, the word which means to teach may also mean that which is taught. And so our word comes to have such significations as doctrine,

[1] "Shuo-wên," by Hsü Ch'ieh (徐鍇), s. v. *tao* (道); L. C. C., v., p. 19; "Han-shu," chap. viii.; "Li-chi," chap. viii. p. 54; L. C. C., ii., Proleg., p. 82; "Li-chi," chap. ix. p. 54; "Le-ki," p. 166; "Hsün-tzŭ" (荀子), chap. xvi.; L. C. C., i., p. 10; "Lun-yü," chap. ii.; "Lun-yü," (13), chap. ii.; "Li-chi," chap. vi.; "Le-ki," p. 24; L. C. C., i., p. 125; "Lun-yü," chap. xii.; L. C. C., ii., p. 303; "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. xii.; L. C. C., v., p. 199; "Tso-chuan," chap. xii.; "Han-shu," chap. iv.; "Shuo-lin-hsün" (說林訓), quoted in the 唐韻正, chap. ii.

teaching, system of philosophy or religion. In this usage it is said to be an equivalent of *chiao* (教), or of *shuo* (說), which literally means to speak. Thus the expression *hsie-shuo* (邪 說) in Mencius is explained as heretical teaching *(tao)*, and the context is apparently in favour of this interpretation, though Legge translates the expression by "perverse speakings." The moral and political doctrines which Confucius taught are called his *tao*, or philosophy, or teaching, and he and others often lament the failure of these doctrines to make their way in the world. Mencius speaks of I-yin delighting in the learning *(tao)* of Yao and Shun. Legge here translates "principles," but the commentators explain the expression to mean that he delighted in reading the odes and records of Yao and Shun. So also in certain cases *Wên Wu chih-tao* denotes the doctrines of Wên-wang and Wu-wang. The Chinese reverence for antiquity is seen in the oft-repeated recommendations of the teachings of these and the other sages of antiquity. Mencius took it to be his duty to defend these—the *hsien-shêng-chih-tao*—and to repel the invading heresies of Yang and Mo. We even find the word by itself used in the sense of old teaching, as when Hsü Hsing says of the ruler of T'êng that he *wei-wên* (未 聞)-*tao*, which Legge translates, "has not heard the *real* doctrines of *antiquity*," the *tao*, or doctrines, being those specially of Shên-hung. Again, what we call Confucianism is *Ju-tao*, the system of the learned, or Confucianists; *Fo-tao* is Buddhism, and *Tao-tao* is Taoism, the way of Tao. In our own language we find there was once a similar mode of speech, as in the stanza which says of St George,

> "Against the Sarazens so rude
>   Fought he full long and many a day;
> Where many gyants he subdu'd
>   In honour of the Christian way."

Further, Confucianism, the orthodox system, is often spoken of simply as *the way (tao)*. Thus a Mandarin addressing the emperor says, "Our dynasty esteems Confucianism and respects Confucianists" (我 朝 重 道 崇 儒), and the word is often so used. This reminds us that the Christian religion was at one time called simply the Way. It is so spoken of several times in the Acts

of the Apostles, and St. Paul says to Felix, "But this I confess unto thee, that after the Way which they call a sect (or heresy) so serve I the God of our fathers." In this usage of the word *tao* it may sometimes be rendered by *religion*, and Dr. Edkins so translates it, though a vaguer word like *system* would perhaps be better. Faber in his translation of "Lie-tzŭ" sometimes uses *religion*, and at other times *teaching* or *system*. One of the meanings of the term *tao-jen* is a man in religion, that is, one who has renounced the pomps and vanities of the world and embraced some system of religious teaching and discipline. So also men of eminence in learning or philosophy have a *tao-hao* (道 號), designation in philosophy, or "name in religion." Thus the famous Shao Yao-fu (邵 堯 夫), of the Sung period, had a name Kang-chie (康 節), which is called his *tao-hao*, but the term is applied liberally. Now the system of religion or philosophy to which a man adheres is for him orthodoxy. It is *the* way *(tao)*, or the correct (正) way, or the right-hand (右) way. What is not his system is heterodoxy—outside ways (外 道), or left-hand (左) ways, or wrong by-ways (邪 道). The term *tso-tao*, or, more fully, *tso-tao-pang-mên* (左 道 旁 門), left-hand ways and side doors, is used by modern Confucianists to include all religions except their own. But *tso-tao* are not only the tenets of Buddhists, and Christians, and White Lilies, but also witchery, sorcery, and superstition generally if not Confucianist.[1]

Now the doctrines which a good man teaches are the truth as he sees it, or the knowledge which he has gained. So we find our word used to express what we denote by such terms as truth and wisdom. But, thus used, it is supposed by modern Confucianists to have always a human or practical limitation. This supposition is not quite correct, and specially does not hold good for the early literature. Confucius says that a scholar who is engaged in the quest of truth (志 於 道), and yet is ashamed of bad food and clothing, is not fit to be talked with on the subject. In

[1] L. C. C., ii., pp. 160, 238; i., p. 210; ii., pp. 159, 123; "Mêng," chaps. vi. and ix.; "Lun," chap. xix.; "Mêng," chaps. vi. and v.; Faber's Licius, pp. 42, 164, et al.; Sacred Edict, Art. 7, Amp.; "Kan-ying-pien," chap. viii. p. 21.

another place he says that the Model man (君 子) aims at truth (謀 道), and is distressed (憂) about it, and does not take thought for his material comfort. In "Lie-tzŭ," one Yen Hui ridicules the notion that the learning of truth (問 道) brings wealth; and Lie-tzŭ says that with the very handsome and the very strong one cannot talk of truth (未 可 以 語 道 也)—"kann man noch nicht über Wahrheit reden." Further, all wisdom necessary for the conduct of life is contained in the canonical writings of Confucianism. It was first in Heaven—"The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old." From Heaven it came at the dawn of human life to the first holy sages who in Heaven's stead taught wisdom (言 道) to men unenlightened. "Truth," says one philosopher, "originated in Heaven (道 原 於 天), is completed in man's mind, manifested in the affairs of life, and contained in books." From sage to sage and from scholar to scholar, true wisdom *(tao)* has been handed down through all time. It has never ceased from the habitable part of the earth nor gone quite away from the sons of men. "Truth," says one, "does not go away and not return" (道 無 往 而 不 復). It is a clue or thread, one end of which is with the first sage and the other with the latest expounder or defender of orthodoxy. Hence we have the common term *tao-t'ung* (統), the line of truth, the thread of orthodoxy. There is a short treatise called "Tao-t'ung-lu" (道 統 錄) which gives a summary of the transmission of the truth from Fu Hsi to Chu Foo-tzŭ. Used in this way, *tao* is said to be *chuan* (傳), transmitted; also *chi* (繼) continued, unbroken; and *chüeh* (絕), broken off or discontinued. Chu Hsi says, "Truth *(tao)* never disappears from (亡) the world, but as entrusted to man it is broken off (絕), or it is continued (續), and so its course (行) in an age is clear (明) or obscure (晦)." Again, the truth, when made known, is believed by some and doubted or rejected by others. Hence we find such expressions as *hsin* (信)-*tao*, to believe the truth, and *hsin-tao-pu-tu* (不 篤), to have only a weak faith in it, that is, not to be established in the truth. To have a firm trust or strong faith in it is expressed by *yu-fu-tsai* (有 孚 在)-*tao*, to have confidence

placed in truth. Further, the lover of learning reads books in order to get wisdom—to search for truth (求道); while the worldling (小人) reads only for material advantage (利), to gain "useful information," and so obtain employment. So *tao-hsiao* (學), the study of moral and political wisdom, is contrasted with *su-hsiao* (俗學), or vulgar learning. But the question *chün-shi-tao-hsiao-fou* (君是道學否) is used with the meaning simply, "Are you, Sir, a disciple of Confucius?" Again, books convey true wisdom (載道), as a waggon carries (載) cargo or passengers; and a well-written book which does not teach truth is no better than a sham waggon tricked out in gaudy colours. Yet wisdom may be borne in rude and homely words, according to the saying *wei-shêng-tsai-tao* (穢聲載道), that is, clownish accents convey wisdom; a phrase which, however, has also other meanings.[1]

Now one of the results of education is that a man comes to adopt principles and order his conduct according to them. The knowledge which he gains from the teachings of others leads to the formation of personal convictions as to what is right and wrong. These convictions, acting as motives of conduct, are a man's principles. And we find our word very often used in this sense, denoting the motives of action which give conduct its character. It is man's settled convictions as to how he should act in all the varying circumstances of private and social life. The Model man, we are told, settles his own principles with regard to himself (君子議道自己), but institutes laws with regard to the people, or, as Callery translates, "le sage expose la doctrine de la vertu d'après ses propres sentiments, mais il n'institue des règles que d'après (les forces) de tout le monde."

[1] L. C. C., i., p. 32; "Lun," chap. iv.; L. C. C., i., p. 167; "Lun," chap. xv.; "Lie-tzŭ," chap. viii., and Faber's Lic., pp. 188–9; "San-yü-t'ang-wai-chi," chap. iv.; "Hsing-li," chap. xi.; "Yang-yuan-chi" (楊園集), chap. xxix.; "Chu-tzŭ-ch'uan-shu" (朱子全書), chap. lii.; L. C. C., i., 203; "Lun," chap. xix.; "Fa-yen" (法言), chap. i.; "Hsing-li," chap. xvi.; "San-yü-t'ang-chi," chap. iv.; "Hsing-li," chap. ii.; Memorials to Yung-chêng Emperor, chap. i. p. 10. The phrase *ju* (入)-*tao* is used to denote the beginning of wisdom—the entrance into truth—and 學不入道 is to get knowledge without wisdom; 人物志, chap. 上. The *tao* here is of course the truth of Confucianism; *cf.* also *ju-tao* in "Hsiao Hsio-chi-chie," chap. v.

We now find *tao* opposed to *yü* (欲), desire or appetite, and to *shih* (事) acts of conduct. The phrase *t'ung* (同)--*tao* now means to hold the same principles, while *t'ung-shih* is to do the same thing. Mencius says that Yü and Chi remaining in active service abroad for eight years in a time of good government, and Yen-hui enjoying in his house obscure poverty in time of mis-government, all *t'ung-tao,* agreed in principle. The motives from which they acted were the same, and placed in the same circumstances they would have acted alike. Here *t'ung-tao* is explained to mean they had all the same mind (其 心 一 而 已). The term *hsin* in this explanation is used in its higher sense, denoting the mind which judges and decides on what is right or wrong, and, as will be seen presently, it is in this use a synonym for *tao.* They serve to express the heart fixed, and the will determining what is in every action which arises the right course to pursue.

We also find principle *(tao)* contrasted with laws and statutes (法 制), with one's ruler (君), with the virtue of sympathy or kindness (仁), and with man (人), or what is human and erring. One of the requirements of the high morality (大 行) is that a man should obey principle rather than his sovereign (從 道 不 從 君). The sage represses the human and follows principle (詘 人 而 從 道), while the worldling represses principle that he may follow the human. We are told that he is called a great minister who serves his ruler according to principle (以 道), and the word in such cases is said to denote that which has its root in a perfect mind and pure motive. But the phrase *i-tao* or *i-ch'i-tao* (以 其 道) is of frequent occurrence in the sense of simply acting as one thinks right, having one's own way. The phrases *yu* (有) *tao* and *wu* (無)-*tao,* now mean respectively to have and not to have good principles; and the unprincipled *(wu-tao)* are described as those among the bad who are perverse (or rebellious). The man of solid worth in office or out of it will not *wang* (枉)-*tao,* bend his principles, make them yield to ignoble motives. It is well for him who can *hsing* (行)-*tao,* carry out his principles in official or private life. Nor is he less to be praised who can only

shou (守)-*tao,* keep or hold his principles in times of trial and trouble. But it is ill for him who *shih* (失)-*tao,* misses the way, lets go his principles, falls away from the high aims and good rules with which he set out. Mencius describes the bad consequences to the state whose ruler "has not good principles by which to determine his conduct" (無道揆). The phrase *shan* (善)-*tao,* noticed already, is now found to denote good principles, and to "shew the goodness of one's principles."

But *tao* is also used for principles and tenets, whether good or bad. Thus I-tzŭ (夷子) speaks of *ju chê chih tao* (儒者之道), the principles of the learned, that is, of Confucianists; and Mencius speaks of these simply as *tao,* "the *true* principles" in Dr. Legge's translation. So we have also *Yang-Mo-chih-tao,* the principles of the philosophers Yang Chu and Mo Ti (the "Yang and Mih" of Dr. Legge). These were to be *hsi* (息), put an end to, extinguished, while those of Confucius were to be set forth or illustrated (著). There are also *hsiao* (小)-*tao,* mean principles or inferior motives, which are contrasted with *tao,* or correct principles. So there are *shih* (市)-*tao,* the ways of the market, the principles of Philistines. In this world of continuous deterioration there is no stability for good principles. They wax and wane, and come and go, at times even seeming to be quite lost. So we read of them as now in the ascendant (升), and again as in abeyance; at one time as "fading away" (微), or falling into disuse (衰), wearing away like old clothes, or quite cast aside as useless (廢). At other times they are said to be in vogue (行), or flourishing (興), or in esteem (尊). Every good man desires that the principles he has adopted should not suffer by him, but rather gain lustre from his life. He wishes to be able to say, "In active life I do not dare to shame my principles" (行已不敢有愧於道).[1]

[1] "Li-chi," chap. ix. p. 35, and "Le-ki," p. 156; L. C. C., ii.,; p. 211; "Mêng," chap. viii. p. 51; "Hsing-li," chaps. xxi. and xxii.; "Li-chi," chap. ix.; L. C. C., i., p. 109; "Lun," chap. xi.; 小學集解, chap. ii; "Lun-hêng," (論衡) chap. xi.; L. C. C., ii., p. 166; "Mêng," chap. vii. (here *tao* is explained by 義理, principle of rectitude); "Ch'ang-li-ch'uan-chi," chap. xv.; L. C. C., ii., p. 140; "Mêng," chap. vi.; L. C. C., i., p. 76, and ii. p. 370; "Lun," chap. viii., and "Mêng," chap. xiv.; L. C. C., ii., pp. 134 and 159; "Mêng," chaps. v. and vi.; "Ku-liang (13), chap. i.; "Ch'ang-li-ch'uan-chi," chap. i.

Let us now turn back in thought to the use of our word in the sense of to lead or guide. Derived from this, or at least closely connected with it, is that now to be noticed, the use of the word with significations such as rule, government, principles of state administration. The transition from the thought of guiding to that of ruling is obvious and natural, and in Chinese writings it is often hard to decide in which sense the word *tao* is used. Rulers are appointed by Providence to teach the people their duty and lead them in the right way; and to do this is at once their interest and their glory. So the poet says,

> "But to guide nations in the way of truth
> By saving doctrine, and from error lead
> To know and worship God aright,
> Is yet more Kingly"

than to gain great wealth and power. The first sovereigns were all holy sages who tamed their savage subjects and taught them the mild ways of human life, and all who bear rule should be guides and models to the people. A king is called *wang* (王), as if *wang* (往), because to him all the world should resort (往); and the emperor is called *ti* (帝) because he is supposed to *ti* (諦), examine into the principles of truth. One philosopher also says that *huang* (皇), emperor, is he who understands the primal unity; *ti*, emperor, is he who investigates nature *(tao)*, and *wang*, king, is he who is thorough in virtue.

In the old classical literature we often find *tao* used in the sense of to rule or regulate, and other kindred meanings. The well-known phrase *tao ch'ien ch'eng chih kuo* (道 [read as 導] 千乘之國) is translated by Dr. Legge, "to rule a country of a thousand chariots;" and *chih* (治), to rule well, is given as the meaning of *tao* here. This latter, however, is rather the *li* (理), or underlying principle, while *chih* denotes the active measures resulting from the principles. Nor, indeed, does *tao* here so much mean to rule well as to aim at ruling well, to lead to a good government. The passage perhaps means, "he who aims at ruling well a large state attends reverently to the affairs of government, and keeps faith, is economical, and kind to men, using the people at the proper times." We have also such expressions as

tao-jen, to rule men, and *tao wu ch'ang chih hsing* (五常之行), to regulate the action (that is, the active influence) of the five cardinal virtues.

Then *tao* is used to denote government, as when we speak of good and bad, civil and military, government. Thus we have the phrase *wang* (王)-*tao*, having, as one of its meanings, "royal government," explained by commentators as *chih* (治), a good and constitutional administration. As a preliminary to the attainment of this the ruler must gain the affections of the people (得民心), so that they can maintain their living and bury their dead without having any angry feelings towards him. This "kingly way" is spoken of in an old song as free from prejudice and partiality, and perfectly straightforward. It is contrasted with *pa* (霸)-*tao*, a government obtained by force or fraud and dependent on force for its maintenance,—a tyranny. It is also contrasted with *ssŭ-ch'uan* (私權), private authority; and in the bad character given to Ch'in Shih Huang-ti it is said that he abolished the government of the [old] kings and set up an authority of his own (廢王道而立私權). We read also of *wang-tao-shuai* (王道衰), royal government falling into disuse, that is, good institutions becoming neglected and ceasing to have effect. Here *wang-tao* is explained as meaning the government of the ancient kings (先王之道), and this was simply the adjustment of the natural and social relations, the improvement of education, and the amelioration of manners and customs. The "government of the ancient kings" is elsewhere explained as *jen-chêng* (仁政), benevolent administration, that is, a government which imposes only easy burdens on the people, and gently leads by precept and example. We now find the phrase *chou-tao* with another new meaning as denoting "the system of government in use during the Chou period," as *hsia-tao* means that used by the Hsia dynasty. But phrases like these are also used in the sense of "the political influence" or prestige of the person, or family, or dynasty. Thus *tao-shuai* (衰) may be found in passages where we must render it by something like "the decay of the political influence." We read, for example,

of the Shang dynasty in its later years, *shang tao shuai chu hu huo pu chih* (商道衰諸侯或不至), "as the prestige of the Shangs had fallen away, the feudal chiefs perhaps did not go to court to pay homage."

The laws and rules, the statutes and precepts in force in a country are also called its *tao*. In this use the word is sometimes explained by *chêng-ling* (政令), official commands, state regulations. Thus we are told that robbers and murderers do not enjoy long life or peace, and it is added that if people comply with the laws of the land they will have their desires (由其道則人得其好), and if they disobey these they are certain to encounter what they dislike. Again, the phrase *chün-tzŭ-chih* (君子之)*-tao*, in addition to several other meanings, denotes "the institutions of the ruler:" and these are said to be his decisions as to rites and ceremonies, weights and measures, and forms of writing. In the Chou period it was the duty of certain "princes and dukes" to sit and talk government with the king (坐而論道). In the passage where this occurs Biot translates *lun-tao* by "pour délibérer sur les règles du gouvernement," and a native commentator explains the phrase by "deliberate on positive laws for the government of the country" (謀慮治國之政令). The same phrase *lun-tao* is explained in another passage in a similar manner by several commentators. We read there of three high officers instituted in the Chou period, that they were to *lun tao ching pang* (經邦), discuss institutions and regulate the states. Dr. Legge here translates *lun-tao* by "they discourse of the principles of reason," and some native scholars seem to find in it a similar meaning, while others, perhaps with better reason, prefer the interpretation given above.

In the passage last referred to, *tao* may be taken to denote the means or principles of government, the ruler's policy, and it is often used in this manner. Thus the expression *tao tsai puh ko chien* (道在不可見) means "the way of governing lies in being invisible," that is, the ruler must keep his policy secret. In the "Shu-ching," King Wu-ting speaks of himself as "in reverent

silence thinking on the way to rule properly (恭默思道). Here *tao* is explained by *chih* (治)-*tao,* which Dr. Legge translates "the principles and course of good government," and Callery renders by "le secret de gouverner en paix." These principles of good government, we are told, are fair, and do not grow old (治之道美而不老). It is an old maxim among Chinese political writers that government should be carried on without any show of governing, a maxim common to the various creeds of ethical and political philosophy. The doctrine is expressed by one old writer in the words, *fu tao mo ta yü wu wei* (夫道莫大於無爲), there is nothing greater in government than to be without show of action. The phrase *hsiao* (學)-*tao* means, along with other things, to learn the way of ruling, and *chih* (知)-*tao* is *to know* this way. As principles or policy of government, *tao* is now contrasted with *chêng,* the active administration, the mode of carrying out the policy. It has been said, for example, of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti that he neither changed the policy nor altered the administration of certain other rulers (其道不易其政不改).

But one of the commonest meanings of *tao* in this connection is a state of peace and order in a country—good government realized and producing its natural effects. Thus we often read of a kingdom *(kuo)* or a state *(pang)* or the empire *(t'ien-hsia) yu tao* (有道)—an expression already noticed—having good government, being in a peaceful condition of law and order. Opposed to this is *wu* (無)-*tao,* without good government, in disorder and anarchy, or *yin* (淫), lawlessness and confusion, a state in which the teachers of virtue cease and law becomes disorder, a state like that described by the prophet: "Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law." Confucius is represented as saying on one occasion, "The Chi kingdom by one change for the better would attain to the state of Lu, and this latter kingdom by one change for the better would attain to perfect government *(tao).*" Here the word *tao* is interpreted as meaning *hsien wang chih tao,* the administration of the ancient kings, a government perfectly good and

thoroughly fair. The word in this use is otherwise explained in a passage of the "Tso-chuan." There an official, Chi-liang, says to the chief of Sui, "I have heard that a small state can put itself in opposition to (match) a large one if the small state has good government *(tao)*, and the large one has anarchy *(yin)*." What is called "good government" is explained as "true sympathy with the people, and sincere faith in the gods." Again, in the "Shu-ching," of three great ministers who had in succession helped in the establishment of order in the kingdom, it is said that they *t'ung ti yü tao* (同底于道), that is, arrived together [as it were] at good government. Here *tao* is explained as *chih-chih-chih* (致治之)-*tao*, the way of perfect government. The effects of this are then described: "The influence of your government permeating by good administration will benefit the people of the Kingdom" (道洽政治澤潤生民), persuade the barbarians, make the king happy, strengthen the dynasty, and leave a fair fame and bright example for posterity. Further, Mencius says in praise of Wên Wang that he continued to regard his people as though they were suffering, and looked for a state of order *(tao)*, as though it was not visibly existing. Chinese rule is supposed by all Chinese to civilise barbarians, and the introduction of their mode of administration is regarded as the establishment of good government. Thus we find the results of two years' work in attempting to establish Chinese rule among certain barbarians, stated thus: "Though the officials carried on good government (治道) for two years, a state of civilisation (or good political order—*tao*), was not effected" (治道二歲道不成).[1]

We next find this word *tao* used to express all that we denote by such terms as rule, law, standard, example. In the

[1] L. C. C. i., p. 4; "Lun," chap. i.; "Chu-tzŭ-i-shu" (朱子遺書), chap. i.; "Li-chi," chap. vii.; L. C. C., ii., p. 7; "Mêng," chap. i.; L. C. C., iii., p. 331; iv., Proleg, p. 35; "Shih-ching" (13), chap. i.; L. C. C., ii., p. 165; "Mêng," chap. vii.; "Li-chi" (13), chap. liv.; "Hsün-tzŭ," chap. xvii.; L. C. C., i., p. 28 9; "Chung-yung," chap. vi.; "Chou-li," chap. xxvii.; Biot's "Tcheou-Li," T. ii., p. 457; L. C. C., iii., p. 527; "Shu," chap. v.; "Shu-ching" (13), chap. xviii.; "Han Fei-tzŭ," chap. i.; L. C. C., iii., p. 250; "Shu," chap. iii.; Callery's "Le-ki," p. 83; "Hsün-tzŭ," chap. xviii.; L. C. C., i., p. 56; "Lun," chap. vi.; L. C. C., v., p. 47; "Tso-chuan," chap. vi.; L. C. C., iii., p. 576; "Shu," chap. vi.; L. C. C., ii., p. 202; "Mêng," chap. viii.; "Chu-tzŭ-i-shu," chap. viii.; "Han-shu," chap. lvii.

"Great Learning" we read that the sovereign has a rule by which he is to proceed in the active administration of affairs. This rule is described as a *hsie chü chih tao* (絜 矩 之 道), a testing (or adjusting) square rule. It is the law of reciprocity, of shewing filial piety, brotherly kindness, and parental affection. As the carpenter uses the material instrument to make and to test his material squares, so the ruler frames his conduct and tests his government by this rule of treating others as he would have others treat him. Contrasting prayer for moral advancement with that for riches and honour, Mencius says of the latter, "Though the seeking (praying) is according to rule (求 之 有 道), while the getting depends on fate, in this case the seeking does not assist in the getting, and is concerned with what is external." Here Legge translates *yu-tao* by "according to the proper course," and Faber by "hat feste Regeln." Some native scholars explain *tao* here as "the law of right drawing the line for me as to what is not to be sought" (理 之 繩 我 以 不 當 求 者); and others explain it as that which controls (制) the seeking, not that which makes this right (善). In another place Mencius says that the philosopher Mo (Mih) in funeral arrangements made an economical plainness the rule (治 喪 也 以 薄 爲 其 道). By reference to the works of Mo Tzŭ and Chuang Tzŭ we find that *tao* is here used as the equivalent of *fa* (法) or *fa-shih* (法 式), a rule or law. Then we have such expressions as *yen yü chih tao* (言 語 之 道), the law of conversation, that is, the general principles which should guide and control one in addressing others; and *wei i shang* (爲 衣 裳)-*chih-tao*, the rules for wearing clothes. The term *jen* (人)-*tao* or *jen-chih-tao* is occasionally rendered by Callery "la loi chez l'homme," and he translates *shun yü* (順 於) *tao* by "obéissance complète à tout ce qui fait loi." He is a dutiful son who for three years after the death of his father does not make any change in the appointments (or arrangements) made by the latter (三 年 無 改 於 父 之 道). Legge translates, "If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father," and there are diverse interpretations of the passage. One of the meanings of *ku* (古) or *ku-chih* (古 之)-*tao*, is "the old rule," the

opinions or judgments of the ancients, which should always be a standard for the moderns. So the prophet Jeremiah, as quoted with a gloss by the Person, says, "Stondeth upon the weyes, and seeth and axeth of olde pathes, that is to sayn, of old sentence, which is the good way, and walketh in that way." As a law or standard, *tao* is sometimes said to be "the conduct of saintly kings" (聖王之行也); the regulations of princes are the sound, and the learning of these by the subjects is the echo. It is also used to denote "the proper thing," that which is prescribed, as in the statement that the official black hat called *wei-mao* was the rule under the Chou dynasty (委貌周道也). This word is also in this use of it, as in other circumstances, treated as a verb. Thus Confucius, according to Tsêng Tzŭ, on hearing of something good to do, proceeded to do it, "and then made a rule of it" (然後道之).[1]

We pass on to another use of our word which also is perhaps derived from, or at least connected with, its use in the sense of to guide or teach. This is the employment of it with the meanings of tell, talk, discourse, and other terms of allied signification. How these meanings arose, or how they are connected with that of Way, has not apparently been satisfactorily explained by native scholars, who seem to have passed over the difficulty in silence. The character *tao* (道), sometimes said to be in the *ch'ü-shêng* in this case, has the meaning "to speak," as *chia-chieh*, or borrowed one, a meaning not in it originally or naturally. Wuttke refers this use of the word to the ordinary transition from sense perceptions to mental concepts. The road became the word, because by means of a road one man can come into intercourse with another. Meadows says, "The step from the expression and inculcation of truth in language, to the use of language generally—from the meaning of *teach* to the meaning of *speak*—is not a wide one. At all events, however, *tao* came

[1] L. C. C., i., p. 237; "Ta-hsio," chap. iii. p. 34; L. C. C., ii., p. 326; "Mêng," chap. xiii.; Faber's "Mencius," p. 71; L. C. C., ii., p. 133; "Mêng," chap. v. p. 57; "Mo-tzŭ," chap vi.; "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. x.; 家庭講話, chap. i.; Callery's "Le-ki," pp. 61 and 110; L. C. C., i., p. 24; "Lun," chap. iii.; L. C. C., i., p. 6; "Lun," chap. i.; "Li-chi," chap. v.; "Hsin-shu," chap. ix.; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvii.

to be used in that sense; it is the fact that 'to speak,' is one of its commonest significations." Advice or instruction often takes the form of a lecture, and a sermon, as Dean Swift's parishioners objected to preaching in general, "is a perfect road of talk."

In the "Shu-ching" we find *tao* used in the sense of to declare or confess. The king warns the Prince of K'ang that he is to punish with death offences which, though small, are intentional. Then he adds that in the case of persons who commit great crimes, but by mischance and without design, death is not to be inflicted on them "once they confess their guilt unreservedly" (既道極厥辜). These words are explained by a commentator thus, taking Legge's translation, "When they have themselves confessed, presenting fully all the circumstances, not daring to conceal anything." In the same treatise we find it recorded of a king that he *tao yang mo ming* (道揚末命), declared openly his last commands, proclaimed his dying charge.

Then *tao* means to lecture on or discuss a subject. Thus we read of Mencius *tao hsing shan* (道性善), discoursing on man's nature being good at birth. The commentators here explain *tao* by *yen* (言), to speak of or describe, and one gives as the meaning of the above words, "stated that men at birth all have a good moral nature" (言人生皆有善性). Legge translates the clause, "Mencius discoursed to him how the nature *of man* is good." So *tao ku chin* (古今) is to discourse of old and modern times—to compare and contrast them.

It is also used with the meaning of to relate or report, as when it is said that Ch'ên Hsiang reported—or, as Legge translates, "related *with approbation*"—to Mencius the words used by Hsü Hsing (道許行之言). In old times there was an official called *Hsün-fang-shih* (訓方氏), one of whose duties was "to report to the sovereign the measures of government of the feudal chiefs of the kingdom" (道四方之政事). The reports thus made were put in the state archives, and *tao* came to be used in the sense of a record, a written statement. Thus the *Hsün-fang-shih* had also to read to the sovereign the reports which were on record, as Biot translates—"Ils lui lisent les

documents traditionnels des quatre parties de l'empire" (誦 四 方 之 傳 道).

Then *tao* also means to describe or explain. Thus the *T'an-jen* (撢 人), or Investigator, an official in the Chow period, explained the measures of government, the state regulations as to imposts and such matters, to the feudal chiefs. This is stated in the words *tao kuo chih chêng shih* (道 國 之 政 事), and Biot translates by "expliquer le service réglementaire du gouvernement." When Confucius on one occasion had spoken modestly of himself, Tzŭ Kung said to him, *Fu-tzŭ tzŭ tao ye* (夫 子 自 道 也), "Sir, you are describing yourself." The meaning is, 'You are using the language of modest self-depreciation,' and *tzŭ-tao* is still in use as a classical quotation with this sense.

Our word is also used in the sense of to denote, mean, signify. Thus of an expression in the "Shi-ching," "as if pared and filed" (如 切 如 磋), Confucius says that it *tao hsiao ye* (道 學 也), means—or "indicates"—the learning, signifies the labour of education of Wu Kung. The phrase *wu-t'a* (無 他)-*tao* sometimes means "there is no other explanation," but it has also several other meanings. Of another statement in the "Shi-ching," Confucius says that it means *(tao)* "that by gaining the people the kingdom is gained." So also of an expression in the "Shu-ching," he says it signifies *(tao)* that virtue obtains and vice loses the decree to rule. It is probable, however, that in some passages like those just quoted, and in others like *tao hsing shan,* we should render *tao* by some term like "proves" or "demonstrates." Though *yen* is often given as the equivalent of *tao,* yet there is properly a difference. *Tao* has a deeper, more serious meaning than *yen,* which is simply to speak or talk. It is said that one "can *(tao)* discourse to a wise man, but it is hard to talk *(yen)* with a clown." But this distinction is not much observed, and the two words are often found in the same clause to add force or emphasis to a statement. The phrase *chih tao chêng yen* (直 道 正 言) means frank and correct in speech; and *ch'iao* (巧) *yen hsü* (虛) *tao,* denotes artful words and empty talking—specious sophistry.

But *tao* also means to speak of, talk about. Thus Mencius says that there were none of Confucius' disciples who talked of *(tao)* the affairs of Huan and Wên. To talk of the good points of others is *tao jen shan* (人 善), tell their virtues, but this phrase also means to give others good advice. It is a virtue in a man "not to talk about old affairs" (不 道 舊 故), not to rake up old stories against others. So *pu-tsu* (不 足)-*tao,* means not worth talking about, not worth mentioning, and *mien* (湎)-*pu-tsu-tao* is "we need not talk about his drunkenness." The word is also used in the sense of "to mention," and Callery in one place translates it by "fait l'éloge de."

In novels, plays, and modern light literature generally, we find this word constantly used in the sense of to say, tell, or relate, sometimes alone, but often joined to *shuo* (說), meaning "to say" or "speak." One or two peculiar idiomatic uses of it in this sense may be mentioned. The phrase *nan* (難)-*tao,* like its equivalent *nan-shuo,* means, literally, "hard to tell," and in old literature we find *nan-yen* (言) with the sense of to avoid mentioning. Premare regards the phrase *nan-tao* as merely making a question, and the expression *nan tao shih wo yen ch'ing hua liao* (難 道 是我 眼 睛 花 了) he translates thus, "an affusa est meis oculis caligo?" But the expression is evidently meant to be an emphatic denial that the speaker's vision was obfuscated, and *num* would apparently be better than *an* in an accurate rendering. Morrison says that *nan-tao* means "it must not, cannot, will not be;" and in one of the Hundred Lessons of the "Tzŭ-êrh-chi" the phrase is rendered by "you don't mean to maintain, do you?" This last shews the real force of the idiom as part of a question, the answer to which must be a negation. Again, the phrase *kan* (敢)-*tao* is, literally, "venture to state," and *pu kan tao* is I do not dare (or presume) to say. But *kan-tao* is often used in the sense of "I venture to argue"—I maintain the truth of a certain assertion. Another peculiar expression of everyday language is *chie-k'ou* (借 口)-*tao,* literally, "borrow mouth speak." This means to put words in the mouth of another, to attribute to a person the utterance of sentiments

or statements which he may not have made,—which, in fact, he is supposed not to have made.

Further, *tao* often means to talk, to express in language, or to utter in speech simply. Thus, to talk like a stranger, is *wai* (外) *tao*, to speak from the outside, sc., of the family. In the "Tzŭ-êrh-chi" it is translated, "you talk as if you were such a stranger," and the phrase is explained in a note by "reasoning on the basis of one's being an outsider." To congratulate another is *tao-hsi* (喜), tell one's joy to him; and to condole with another is *tao-nao* (惱), a phrase which is interpreted in the "Tzŭ-erh-chi" as meaning "to tell, sc., my sympathy with your *nao*, trouble, sorrow." The phrase *pu-k'o* (不 可)-*tao* sometimes means "cannot be put in language;" but *pu k'o shêng* (勝)-*tao* is "beyond power of expression in language, more or greater than can be told or described. "To think" is sometimes expressed by *yü-hsin* (於心)-*tao*, to say in the heart, but the more usual phrase is *hsiang* (想)-*tao*,—*hsiang* meaning to think. Here *tao* adds little or nothing to the word preceding, but is in a manner picturesque or metaphorical, like the Scripture expression that such an one "saith in his heart." In other cases *tao* seems to be merely added as an euphemistic affix to the principal word. Thus *ma* (罵)-*tao* is simply to scold; *wên* (問)-*tao* is to ask; and *ho* (喝)-*tao* is to shout. This last term also means to clear the way of all passengers, as a mandarin's attendants do, by going ahead and shouting. In all these cases, however, the meaning of "say" or "speak" may be involved in the particular phrases.[1]

[1] Wuttke's "Geschichte d. Schrift," S. 261; Meadows' "The Chinese and their Rebellions," p. 355; L. C. C., iii., pp. 388 and 558; "Shu," chaps. iv. and vi.; L. C. C., ii., p. 110; "Mêng," chap. v.; 孟子 (13), chap. v. 上; "Ch'ang-li-ch'uan-chi," chap. xix.; L. C. C., i., p. 177; "Lun," chap. xvi.; "Kan-ying-pien," chap. x., p. 29, note; "Li-chi," chap. vi., p. 63; L. C. C., ii., p. 123; "Mêng," chap. v.; "Chou-li," chap. xxi.; Biot's "Tcheou-li," T. ii., p. 284; L. C. C., i., p. 150; "Lun," chap. xiv.; L. C. C., i., pp. 227, 239, 240; iv., p. 91; "Ta-hsio," chap. ii.; L. C. C., ii., p. 14; "Mêng," chap. i.; "Ku-liang" (13), chap. ix.; Premare "Notitia," &c., pp. 62 and 135; "Tzŭ-êrh-chi," Hundred Lessons, Nos. 53, 71, 76.

There is an interesting passage in Tso's Commentary on the "Ch'ün-ch'iu," where *tao* seems to be used in a peculiar manner. The speaker says that at court, and at meetings, the chief officer of the sovereign is to speak so as to be heard over a definite distance, and to fix his look on a point midway betwen the girdle and collar of the person addressed. The object of the latter, he says, is

We now come to notice certain uses of our word which at first sight seem to have little or no connection with those already mentioned. To the native scholar, however, these new uses are quite as natural and proper to the word as the others. They belong indeed chiefly to philosophy, and are found mainly in books intended for students. But at the same time they are the root from which many of the other meanings have arisen, and they underlie the most common applications of the word.

The word *tao* is now said to be another name for the *T'ai-chi* (太 極), which Mr. Meadows has well translated "Ultimate Principle." The term *chi* denotes the ridge-pole of a house, the setting of which in its proper place is the first step in the erection of a Chinese building. It is the highest and most central part of the framework, and the basis of union for all the rest of the materials. So in one sense the *T'ai-chi* or Grand Ridge-pole is the ultimate form of existence, the primal monad from which all being has developed. It is the farthest point to which reason can go in its attempts to account for the origin of the world, and so it is the starting point for the mind in framing a system of the universe. In philosophy it is often symbolised by a simple circle, typical of its unmixed perfection; but some writers replace the circle by a parallelogram. Matter and spirit in their first and purest natures coexist originally as one substance forming the *T'ai-chi*. Viewed as material, this is the primal essence of matter which assumes the two forms *yang* and *yin;* the former male, bright, positive, active; and the latter female, dark, negative, inert. Regarded as immaterial, it is the spiritual principle which coexists with the eternal simple essence of matter, and which continues immanent in this throughout its processes of evolution

tao yung mao (道 容 貌), to give expression to the deportment of his face, that is, to shew his respectful bearing. He adds that the *Shan-tzŭ* in giving his sovereign's orders did not raise his looks above the girdle, and so *mao pu tao yung*, his countenance did not express becoming deportment, did not show gravity and respect. He adds farther that *pu tao pu kung*, where there is no expression of it there is no respectful demeanour. Dr. Legge in this passage translates *tao* by "fitly regulate" and "regulations," but these renderings do not seem to give the meaning of the text. The commentators tell us to read the character for *tao* as if 導, but some term like "express" or "indicate" is apparently required.—L. C. C., v., p. 632; "Tso-chuan," chap. xxxvii.; "Tso-chuan" (13), chap. xlv.

and developmen . Indeed this *ch'i* (氣), air or essential matter, is itself fine and subtle, and no clear line marks the boundary between it and spirit. It is like our fore-fathers'

> "Spirits animall
> Whose matter, almost immateriall,
> Resembles heaven's matter quintessentiall."

Now *tao* is used as the equivalent of the *T'ai-chi* or "Ultimate Principle," whether viewed as material or as immaterial. But it is chiefly of it when regarded as the immaterial principle which reason requires as the antecedent and concomitant of all material action that *tao* is spoken of as its equivalent. So the *T'ai-chi* of Confucius' Appendix to the "Yi-ching" is declared to be *tao;* and in another work it is said that the *T'ai-chi* is *tao-chih-chi,* the first and highest spiritual principle. Properly, *tao* is only the law or mode of operation of the Ultimate Principle. Thus the latter is always passing from one form of the primal essence to the other, and this law of alternation is called *tao.* In the Appendix to the "Yi-ching" we read: *i yin i yang chih wei tao* (一陰一陽之謂道), which Meadows renders—"Once a Negative, once a Positive, is called *taou,* the Way (or method of operation of the Ultimate Principle)." Native commentators, however, differ considerably in their interpretations of this passage, and it is not quite certain that the text is correct.

We also find it stated that *tao* is the *T'ai-hsü* (太虛) or Grand (ultimate) Void, that is, the perfectly matterless state which in thought precedes the existence of matter, or did actually exist before it, as some teach. Then *tao* is contrasted with *ch'i* (器), matter of definite form; the former preceding, at least theoretically, visible substance, and the latter coming into existence after this. Hence *tao* is used as the equivalent of *wu* (无), the immaterial, as opposed to *yu* (有), the material; and it is defined as "the name of the incorporeal" (道天體之名). It is also stated in various places that *ch'i* (氣), essential matter, is that which has visible form, while that which has not visible form is *tao* or spiritual principle. But though in thought *tao* may be contemplated as distinct from the matter it pervades, yet in fact it has no

separate existence. Apart from essential matter, in its two aspects there is no *tao*: it is only in the operations of this that it *(tao)* can be discerned. And so our word may now be rendered by expressions like "spiritual principle," or "law of being," or "principle of action." We are told that the *T'ai-chi* is called *tao*, because it is by it that all existing creatures proceed. In the passage quoted above from the "Yi-ching"—"Once a Negative, once a Positive, is called *tao*"—Chu Hsi explains *tao* by *li* (理). Herr Grube finds fault with him, and says that on account of this identification of *tao*, "die Norm," with *li*, "die Vernunft," "ermangelt seine Begriffsentwickelung des logischen Fortschritts." But Chu Hsi is right, and Herr Grube did not quite understand the course of thought in text or commentary. *Tao* is often used as a synonym for *li*, meaning law of order, principle of reason; but sometimes the one is represented as including the other, and this interchangeably. Further, as order or law, though *tao* was always existent, yet there was a time when it had its beginning so far as man is concerned. For far back in the unbeginning past of the universe all once was *tohu-bohu*, without form and void. This state passed, melted gradually into one of order, and all things quietly became ship-shape. It was in the passing that *tao* the spiritual principle of the universe, took its rise—order came forth from chaos (道始于虛霩).

It may help us to appreciate the part which this word *tao* plays in the common works of orthodox philosophy, when it is viewed as the ultimate principle or universal law, if we learn what terms are in this use regarded as its equivalents in a greater or less degree. In doing so let us begin with a remarkable statement by Mr. Meadows. He says, "The key to the right understanding of the Chinese Sacred Books, with their established annotations, as comprehending a theory of all mental and material existence, lies in the perception of the fact that the above fourteen words or terms—*tae-keih* (太極), *sing* (性), *sin* (心), *taou*, *taou-le* (道理), *le* (理), *tih* (德), *shang-te* (or *Te*) (上帝), *teen* (天), *teen-li* (天理), *teen-taou* (天道), *ming* (命), *teen-ming* (天命), and *ching* (誠), *mean one and the same thing*: the Ultimate

Principle of my exposition." This statement appears rather curt and dogmatic, and it needs to be amplified by native writers. One of these says, "That which spoken of as pursued is called *tao*, spoken of as inscrutable is called spiritual (神), and spoken of as always producing is called 'change' (易)." Another philosopher says the mind (心) is the Ultimate Principle, and so also is *tao*, the natural law of the universe. A modern scholar, one who lived after the most straitest sect of orthodoxy, writes, "*T'ai-chi* (太極) is the general name for all spiritual qualities (理). In Heaven it is fate (命), and in man his moral constitution (性). In the heavens it is the order of their succession (元亨利貞), and in man it is humanity, rectitude, observance of social requirements, and wisdom. Since it has method and no confusion we call it law (理); as it is that by which all mankind proceeds it is called the Way *(tao)*; as it is without any deflection, neither too much nor not enough, it is called the mean (中); as it is altogether true and honest it is called perfect truth (誠); because it is absolutely pure and sincere it is called moral perfection (至善); and as it is the ultimate pole of existence we call it the Grand Ridge-pole (太極)." Another philosophical writer says that *tao* and unity are forced names for spirit (道與一神之强名也); and spirit is the immaterial principle which is everywhere present, by which mind acts on mind, and which is life in all that lives. After all, it is only as an absolutely spiritual principle that the *T'ai-chi* can be said to be *tao*. We must dismiss from our minds the consideration of the material Ridge-pole, get rid of the influence of metaphor, and think only of the central principle, *chung* (中), immaterial and eternal, which gives the source and the law of being and action to all the universe. The *T'ai-chi* is the "pervading spiritual law" of the universe, not to be defined or described, the source and disposer, the distributor and maintainer of all that exists. It is when viewed in this light that it is properly said to be another name for *tao*. Some Taoists identify the *t'ai-chi* with their *tan* (丹), which in its highest sense is *tao*, the ultimate spiritual principle. This *tao* is self-existent, alone, and unproductive, but it is to be learned or acquired or amalgamated with

himself by the man who is pure and wise, who knows to empty himself of all that is selfish and mortal and to follow Nature in a gradual process of refinement to perfection. The doctrine in this form and the use of *tao* in this manner are both to some extent common to some Confucianists and certain followers of Lao-tzŭ. Both regard the *t'ai-chi* as *tao* when these terms are employed to denote the ultimate spiritual fact of the universe and of existence.[1]

As all the objects which exist in the universe derive their existence or at least their law of being from *tao*, this word comes to denote the nature or Law of all objects animate and inanimate, organic and inorganic. In this sense it is used very much as Hooker uses the word Law, of which he says, "That which doth assign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure of working, the same we term a Law." Thus *shui* (水)-*tao* is the nature of water, or, as Legge and Faber translate, the laws of water. *Ma-tao* is a horse's nature, that is, its instincts and habits. So also for birds to fly in the air and fish to leap in the water is their nature, just as it is for bears and lions to growl and fight. It is *ti* (地)-*tao,* the nature of earth, the law of her being, to have hills and rivers, downs and marshes, and that these yield products according to their several qualities and capacities. Used with reference to all that is below man *tao* denotes the fixed inevitable law which created things follow from blind irresistible impulse. The reign of law knows no bounds of time or space. It bears sway inexorable and dispassionate through all the universe of existence. Changeless itself and subject to no influence from without law exists and rules impalpable to human senses in all the changing elements of "all this

[1] "Chu-tzŭ-ch'uan-shu," chap. lii.; Yi, Pref., p. 1; "Chou-yi-hêng-chie" (周易恒解) Int., p. 10; "Chinese and their Rebellions," p. 374; Legge's "Yi," p. 355; "Yi," chap. iii.; "Yi ching," (13) chap. vii.; "Chou-yi-hêng-chie," chap. v.; "Chou-yi-tsun-shu" (周易遵述), vol. v, p. 12; "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. iii.; "Hsing-li," chaps. iv., v., vi., viii.; "Yi ching" (13), Int., chap vii., p. 32; "T'ung shu," by W. Grube, T. I., p. 9; "Chinese and their Rebellions," p. 351; "San-yü-t'ang-chi," chap. i.; *Hsiao-ssŭ-shu* (小四書) chap. ii.; *Ch'ang-tao-chen-yen* (唱道眞言). See also Chao-tzŭ-yen-hsing-lu (趙子言行錄), chap. 下. p. 27.

changing world." It brought the heavens into being, say some, but at least it is only by following its requirements that they continue to exist. As controlling their operations visible and invisible *tao* is sometimes called 帝 *ti* or God. The expression *t'ien-tao,* heaven's law or way, has a variety of meanings. We have already noticed it as the designation of the course pursued by the heavenly bodies. It will help us to understand the manifold applications of our word if we now look at a few of the other ways in which the phrase *t'ien-tao* is used.[1]

The character *t'ien* (天), it will be remembered, has several meanings. It is used to denote the sky, the heavens, and Heaven, and it has several other significations with which we are not now concerned. So the phrase *t'ien-tao* expresses the law of the heavens or heaven, the *t'ai-chi* as pervading them. It is the law of heaven (*t'ien-tao*) to be round, as it is that of earth to be square; and it is heaven's law or nature (*t'ien-tao*) to be alternately *yin* and *yang,* dark and bright, passive and active. What we call the climate of a place is its heaven's law (*t'ien-tao*). This phrase is also used to denote the order of the seasons, as when we read that the natural law of *yuan, hêng, li, chên* (元亨利貞自然之理) is called Heaven's law. The terms *yuan, hêng, li, chên,* taken from the "Yi-ching," are used to denote respectively Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter. The expression *yung* (用) *t'ien-chih-tao* means to take advantage of heaven's law, that is, to make the due use of the seasons of the year as they recur in regular undeviating order. And this law of the succession of the seasons is sometimes described as heaven's spiritual (or mysterious) law (天之神道). In general the course which celestial phenomena through all time follow spontaneously and without error is Heaven's law, and the words *ho-chu* (合諸) *t'ien-tao* are rendered by Callery "se met en accord avec les phénomènes du ciel."

But the phrase *t'ien-tao* denotes also the law from heaven, the way or course which it ordains. In this usage it is said to be

[1] L. C. C., ii. p. 319; "Faber Licius," p. 38; "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. vii.; "Chia-yü" (家語), chap. i.; "Hsing-li," chap. x. and chap. vi.; "Hsiao-ssŭ-shu" (小四書) chap. ii.; "San-yü-t'ang-chi," chap. x.

equivalent to *t'ien-ming* (命), heaven's decree or appointment. The intelligent king, says the Minister Yue, respectfully observes heaven's decrees (奉若天道), that is, obeys God's statutes. The established and visible order of things, the uniformities of nature are called heaven's way—*t'ien-tao*—the order which is its first law. Thus it is said not to be in the order of things *(t'ien-tao)* that a serpent should assume the form of a man. In this usage of it the phrase is translated by Callery "l'ordre établi par le ciel." Then we find that the great relations of political, social, and domestic life, that is, those of ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brothers and friends are called *t'ien-tao*, heaven's institutions. When bad government prevails in a country, and the people and rulers fall into a state of moral anarchy then "Shang Ti" is said to regard them as throwing into confusion "the settled arrangements of Heaven" (亂天道). It is also said to be the tendency of proud old families to violate these institutions of heaven and so bring ruin on themselves, but the reverent observance of them brings a good destiny.

Thus also *t'ien-tao* comes to denote what we call fate or destiny. So we find it explained as *tang-jan* (當然), that which must or ought to be. It was once thought to be "*t'ien-tao chih-ch'ang*" (常), a law of destiny, that a sage should appear in China once in about 500 years. Without bounds or parts, dark and mysterious, destiny *(t'ien-tao)* is uncontrolled in its action. Heaven and earth cannot violate, nor saint nor sage oppose, nor demon nor spirit cheat it. Fate is Heaven's ordinance, and must be noted and observed by man. It is heaven's ordaining that perfection does not exist in the world, that all life is "dashed with flecks of sin," and so it is not the business of one state to oppose the growing power of another on account of some moral imperfection. Then *t'ien* is often omitted and *tao* by itself is used in the sense of fate. Thus a writer after describing how only those who are destined (*yu tao* 有道) obtain and keep sovereignty over an empire, adds "therefore Heaven's decree is a precious thing for all time;" Chow Wu-wang said "receiving the Decree" (or destiny) (天道萬世之寶也周武王曰受

命矣). In this passage *tao* and *t'ien-tao* are evidently treated as having the same meaning, and it is often said that *tao* is Heaven. "Law is God, say some." Every man has his due portion of the *t'ai-chi,* the spiritual basis of life for the universe. It is this which shapes all man's life, beginning at his birth and ending at his death; and so we read that a man's lot in fate is called his destiny (分於道謂之命). We are also told that "going out and coming in, having and not having, to live and to die, are [according to] destiny" *(tao)*.

Connected with this last use of the phrase *t'ien-tao* is another which it has occasionally in literature. It is found interchanged with *hsing* (性) in the sense of man's nature, the constitution which he receives from Heaven. The spiritual principle of the world, the perfect law of the universe becomes embodied in man, as God "embosoms in us" his "glorious law." Thus one writer says, "What is called man's nature *(hsing)*, is Heaven's law *(t'ien-tao)*"; and another says that man at birth has a *t'ien-tao,* and this term is explained as *hsing*, moral constitution. So also an old writer exclaims, "Was not Heaven's law *(t'ien-chih-tao)* in Confucius?" and here *t'ien-tao* is explained as the five cardinal virtues.

Again, as God's ways, of which behemoth is the chief, are his works, so *t'ien-tao* is used to denote the operations of heaven, its works and influences. It does not grudge these (不愛其道), says one author, but sends down, for example, its dew to bless the land.

Again we read that the influences or operations of heaven (天道) descend to enrich and are brilliantly conspicuous. In its nature heaven is spiritual and inscrutable, and its activity *(t'ien-tao)* is in making or transforming.

The word for heaven in Chinese as in other languages is largely used as a substitute for that for God. So used t'ien is explained as "the lord of all the gods" (百神之主) or as "the sovereign of all things" 萬物之主宰). Thus the phrase *t'ien-tao,* God's way, denotes also something very like what we call Providence, a term by which this phrase is sometimes trans-

lated. The model man esteems Providence *(t'ien tao)* because he sees it to be unceasing like the endless succession of the courses of sun and moon, to give its existence free course to endure, to effect its object without visible means, and to shew its work openly when accomplished. Here Callery translates the phrase by "la Vérité Céleste," that is, God who is truth. Malebranche had shown before that li (理), which is another name for *t'ien-tao,* really denoted "la Vérite Céleste," or God of Christianity. But *t'ien-tao* is rather the moral forces of the universe which act on, but are independent of all beings. The expression *chih yu* (知 有) *t'ien-tao* means to recognize there is a Providence in the affairs of men. We read that *t'ien-tao* is without private feelings of aversion or liking, and that it acts according to natural law without regard to man's feelings. It is the way of Providence *(t'ien-tao)* to protect the good and to abhor wicked persons, such as greedy usurers. It does not, as some like to believe, curse kings and bless peasants as such, but rewards according to desert and without regard to worldly circumstances. Then Providence *(t'ien tao)* is to be served, and to be held in awe. The genial mildness of spring and the stern rigour of autumn, that is, mercy and justice are equally shown by Providence. Like shadow and echo following form and sound, so are the retributions of Providence (天 道 感 應) to man's deeds. We must not say that it—*t'ien tao*—does not take notice of an evil procedure because the guilty one seems to escape punishment. Do we not see that the sons and grandsons of bad mandarins grow up to dishonour, some falling into poverty, some becoming dumb, and some losing their memory? Further, Providence is described as *ch'êng* (誠), Perfect truth, or, as the word is usually rendered, sincerity; and it is also described as Wisdom, Virtue, Benevolence, Rectitude (道 德 仁 義). The teaching of Confucius about man's nature (性) and *t'ien tao* was not for every body. In this place *t'ien tao* perhaps means Providence or Destiny, but it is not possible to settle the precise signification of the term in the passage. What is Providence from one point of view is Destiny from another, the former referring

to the unseen agent, and the latter to the visible effects. Thus "Wên Chung-tzŭ" says that Confucius ended his Ch'un-ch'iu on account of Providence (以天道), while his own Yuan-ching (元經) was ended on account of human action (以人事). Here *t'ien-tao* is shewn to be the equivalent of *yin t'ien ming chih ch'iung* (因天命之窮), because the destiny decreed by Heaven was exhausted. The *ch'i lin* was sent by Providence out of season, and Confucius knew that its appearance meant that the destiny of the dynasty was near its end. As Providence, T'ien-tao superintends and disposes all the affairs and events of the world. Hence the President of the Li Pu (吏部) has the title T'ien Kuan (天官) because he has general control over all other officials as Providence has supreme management of all affairs (猶天道統理萬物).[1]

From this we pass on to notice the use of *tao* in the sense of man's moral nature, the spiritual element in his constitution which makes him a responsible creature. This is the *t'ai-chi* as lodged in man and working in him. Lie-tzŭ gives a quotation, found also in Chuang-tzŭ, in which the question is asked, 'Can the moral principle (or moral nature) *(tao)* be acquired?' that is, can a man say that he owns the "Urprincip" as Faber here translates *tao*. The answer is that he cannot, just as he cannot call his body and nature and children his own since all belong to the stores of the universe (天地之委), and are not in man's power. The Chung-yung says, "What Heaven decrees to man is called his natural constitution, that which follows this is called his moral nature *(tao)*, and that which cultivates the latter is

[1] "Sung-pên-shih" (宋本事) chap. i; "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. iii; "Yi," chap. iv; "Li-chi," chap. v., p. 17, note; 衛藏圖識 Vol. 2 et al.; 小學集解 Int., "Hsiao-ching" (13) 孝經., chap. iii; Ma, T. l., chap. 129; Call. Le Ki, p. 116; L. C. C. IV., p. 570; Shih, chap. viii; "Shih-ching" (13), chap. xix; "Chung-yung," chap. i; "Hsing-li," chap. ix; L. C. C. iii., p. 254; Shu, chap. iii; "Lun-hêng," chap. xxii; L. C. C. iii., pp. 183, 294, 575; "Shu," chaps. iii, iv; "Chia-yü," chap. vi; "Lun-hêng," chap. iv; "Mêng," chap. xiv, p. 61, note; "Lie-tsü," chap. vi and Faber p. 143, "Hsin-shu," chap. ix; "Hsing-li," chap. iii, p. 40; "Mêng," chap. ii; "Hsing-li," chap. iv; Chang Hêng ch'ü chi (張横渠集), chap. x; "Fa-yen," chap. i; "Li-chi," chap. iv, p. 65; "Yi," chap. i p,. 34; "Hsing-li," chap. iii; "Han-shu," chap. xxvii, 上; "Sung pên shih," chap. i; "Chia-yü," chap. iii; "Lun hêng," chap. xxiv; Sac. Ed. Art. 3. Amp.; L. C. C. III., p. 186; "Hsing-li," chap. v; Edicts of Kanghsi and Yung chêng; L. C. C. I., p. 277; II., p. 179; "Mêng," chap. vii.; L. C. C. i., p 41; "Lun," chap. v; "Wên Chung-tzŭ," chap. vii.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

education." As the constitution which Heaven gives is originally pure and perfect, it naturally came to be identified with the moral nature, and so we find it taught that the *hsing* (性) and *tao* are identical. As denoting man's moral nature this word is said to mean *jen* (仁), the love of kind. But it is more usually explained as composed of this with rectitude (義), observance of due rules (禮), and knowledge (智). For the last two *chung* (中) the mean, and *chêng* (正) perfect, are sometimes substituted, but the commentators explain them as having the same meaning. Man's moral nature is, according to Mencius' teaching, good at birth and alike in all, the same in Yao and Shun that it is in any Chang or Li of to-day. But the influence of his body and his surroundings tends to pervert his nature and destroy its authority. Mencius also says that "Man has a good moral nature" *(tao)*, but without education he becomes like a beast. Here some explain *tao* as meaning "an order-observing natural constitution," that is, an inborn disposition to observe the moral law decreed by Heaven. Every one has this moral nature, as has been seen, but it is not throughout life the same in all, It is a *hsü-wei* (虛位), an empty place, an unoccupied stand, where there can be the perfect and the imperfect man. It can be cultivated and developed, and it may be neglected and allowed to become atrophied. Confucius says that it is in man's power to develope his moral nature which does not develope (or enlarge) man (人能弘道非道弘人). This saying, which has received several very different interpretations, is often quoted in books and state documents. The emperor Yung-chêng, for example, uses it to enforce a lecture to the literati on the liberal cultivation of ceremonial strictness, rectitude, self-restraint, and self-respect, (禮義廉恥). It is only man who can develope the *tao* with which he is born, and he can do so only by a good moral training. The common man loses the purity and power of his natal gift and falls into moral ruin. But the wise man keeps the heart of his childhood and gives to its moral nature its full development. He guards (守) it, follows it (行), and developes (廓) it, or gives it expansion. This last he effects by doing righteousness (行義), by acting in all things in a fair

and unselfish manner toward others. The chief element in man's moral constitution is the feeling of kind, the instinct of humanity (仁), and to act contrary to this is *ni-jen-tao* (逆人道), to thwart or oppose man's moral nature. Hence the phrase is used to express cruel inhuman conduct, such as that too often displayed by oppressive mandarins. The habitual exercise of charity, of mercy and kindness to others reacts on oneself, and so we read also of *hsiu-tao-i-jen* (脩道以仁), cultivating the moral nature by human kindness. In the saint this moral nature is of far-reaching greatness, while it embraces every detail of life; it flourishes when the right man comes; and only he who has in him perfect virtue can develope his moral nature to perfection.[1]

The moral nature of man forms, at least in theory, the law of his life. By it he regulates his conduct, and to it he refers instinctively all questions of right and wrong. Man alone of all earthly creatures has a faculty to discern good and evil and to make choice between them. So we find *tao* often used in a way like that in which we employ such terms as "conscience" and "the moral sense," as when God says of Adam and his posterity—

> "And I will place within them as a guide
> My umpire conscience."

Thus *tao* is said to be the clue to (or discriminator of) right and wrong (是非之紀), and as a mirror shews the defects of the body, so conscience *(tao)* shews us the imperfections of the mind. But the conscience must be educated, instructed by orthodox books and teachers. It is expressly stated by one writer that conscience without learning is not intelligent, and learning without conscience is erroneous (道非學不明學非道不明). The phrase *i-tao* (以道), noticed above, may in many places be appropriately rendered by some such word as conscientiously. And *kung* (公)-*tao*, which has many other

[1] Lie-tzŭ, chap. i.; and Fab. Lic., p. 19; "Chuang tzŭ," chap. vii.; L. C. C., i., p. 247 and note; Chung, chap. i., p. 10, 14; "Wang-yuan-ming-chi," chap. ii., p. 48; Yi, chap. iv.; "Hsing li," chap. i.; In the Yü-pien the phrase 仁義 is given as a meaning of the character for *tao*; "Li chi," chap. x., p. 66; L. C. C., ii., p. 110, 127; Mêng, chap. v.; "Hiao-hsio-chi-chie," chap. i.; L. C. C., i., p. 166; Lun, chap. xv.; Yung chêng's Ed. *ts* 5y. 6m. 17; "Hsing-li," chap. ii.; Han shu, chap. viii.; Chia yü, chap. iv.; *Chao-tzŭ-yen-hsing-lu* (趙子言行錄), chap. 下.

meanings, is often "the sense of what is right," and especially that common conscience of the majority to which Chinese attach so much importance. Thus the popular saying *kung-tao-tzŭ-tsai-jen-hsin* (公道自在人心) means that a sense of what is socially right is naturally in man's heart, that is, public spirit is a natural human instinct. Again to say to a community with respect to an individual in it *ni-mên-kung-tao-pu-jung-ta*, means, your common sense of what is right will not endure him.[1]

When it is said that *tao*, as the Ultimate Principle, the spiritual basis of life, is also man's *hsin* or mind, this latter word is used in a definitely restricted sense. It does not denote that which having its seat in the heart feels heat and cold, pain and hunger. The *hsin* which is said to be *tao* is only the mind considered as that in man which knows pity and shame, and aversion and self-denial, and moral judgment. Hence there is the distinction between the *jen-hsin* or "man-mind," and the *tao-hsin* or "law (or spiritual) mind." The former is sometimes said to be the mind of man as he makes it, and the latter the same mind as made by Heaven. But many regard *jen-hsin* as a general name for the appetites and passions, and *tao-hsin* as a designation for the heaven law in man. In the Shu-ching it is written *jen-hsin-wei-wei tao-hsin-wei-wei* (人心惟危道心惟微), "the man-mind is dangerously fickle, the Law-mind is dimly minute." This famous passage, with the change of 惟 to 之, is quoted by *Hsün-tzŭ* as from a "*Tao-ching*." Some native scholars regard it as an interpolation from the work of this philosopher, while others, like Huang Tsung,-hsi, think that from this passage the philosopher just mentioned derived his doctrine that man's nature is bad originally. The passage has received several interpretations, and its meaning perhaps cannot be yet said to be settled authoritatively.

Some take the *jen hsin* to be the mind as the lord of all thought, and the *tao hsin* as the source of all natural laws; or the former is regarded as the popular mind (民心), unstable and unquiet, and the latter as the moral sense which, when enlightened, brings

[1] Han Fei-tzŭ, chap. i.; Sacred Edict, Paraphrase, Art. 12.

stability and quietness to the former. Others say that the man-mind denotes the feelings (情), and the Law-mind denotes the human nature (性); the latter being the infant mind pure and perfect as fresh from heaven, and the former being the same mind after it has been acted on by surrounding objects. No one, say the puzzled critics, can have two hearts or a double mind, not reflecting how many there are thus superfluously endowed. According to some the *hsin* as the intelligent principle in man, is one, but it is not homogeneous; it partly belongs to the human mind and partly to the spiritual mind (只是一心一邊屬人心一邊屬道心). Neither part can be neglected, and to keep the due medium with respect to them is best. Some say that intelligence having the source of its development in man's native constitution is the Law-mind, and intelligence having its genesis in external objects is the man-mind; the former being exercised in spiritual principles, and the latter in material affairs. Others think the man-mind is *jen-yü* (人欲) or appetite, human desires; and the Law-mind is *t'ien-li* (天理), Heaven's law embosomed in man as his nature. The former is to be servant to obey, and the latter lord to command. But as the two are not radically and essentially distinct the unquiet heart, the wayward human mind may by enlightenment and by control from the Law-mind attain to unity and identity with this latter, as appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis. Again the man-mind is likened to a sailing vessel of which the Law-mind is the helm; and the latter is also said to be "the lord of all the body." Premare translates the two terms *jen-hsin* and *tao-hsin* by "heart of man" and "heart of virtue" respectively. Dr. Legge thus renders the passage in the Shu-ching, "The mind of man is restless, prone *to err;* its affinity for the *right* way is small." This is not a translation of the text but of a commentator's gloss, and it cannot be accepted. Dr. Legge, who has a learned note on the passage, elsewhere translates *tao-hsin* by "mind of reason," and this is much better than the rendering quoted above. A native scholar, moreover, says, heart (or mind) is a general term including the *tao hsin* and the *jen-hsin*. When man follows conscience (or reason)

tao, he becomes a saintly sage, but when reason follows man he becomes a mad enthusiast (狂). Another account is that the *tao-hsin* is the heart in which charity and respect for others (仁 禮) are maintained; these raise conscience in man's mind to the lordship, make reason the ruler. In popular language *tao-hsin* often means a "good heart," a heart with noble impulses, guided by reason. A neighbour is praised for having *ching-li* (精 理) a fine sense of what is right, and *tao-hsin,* a generous heart.[1]

In some of the above passages reason seems to be a better rendering than conscience, and we find western scholars often using this word or its Latin equivalent to translate *tao.* But reason and *ratio* also have a great variety of uses and meanings. For the present we have to do with them only as denoting that within man which discovers and judges of good and evil and truth and falsehood, the faculty made up of "sagacity and illation" or invention and inferring. The philosopher Hsün-tzŭ, for example, says of *tao,* used apparently in this sense, that it weighs past and present fairly in the scales, judges impartially between ancients and moderns. Reason *(tao),* again, is said to be the mind's craftsman and statesman, doing its work and transmitting its orders. Though of heavenly origin reason has its root

1 "Han Fei-tzŭ," chaps. i. and viii.; L. C. C., iii., p. 61'; i., p. 114, note; ii., p. 201, note; "Shu-ching" (13), chap. iv.; Shu, chap. i.; "Shu-ching-hêng-chie," chap. i.; Premare's Not. Ling. Sin., p. 196; "Sun-tzŭ," chap. xv.; "Wang-yang-ming-chi," chap. ii.; "Sau-yü-t'ang-chi," chap. iv.; *Chêng-hsiao-pien* (證 學 編), chap. iii.; "Chung-yung," Pref. by Chu Hsi; Chu-tzŭ-ch'uan-shu, chaps. xxxiii, lii. "Hsiao-ssu-shŭ," chap. ii.; "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. viii., p. 47, note. The difference; between *tao-hsin* and *jen-hsin,* as expounded by some Confucianists, is like that between will and appetite. Let us hear the Judicious Hooker on this subject. "We must have special care," he tells us, "how the will properly and strictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man desireth, differeth greatly from that inferior natural desire which we call appetite. The object of appetite is whatsoever sensible good may be wished for; the object of will is that good which reason doth lead us to seek. Affections, as joy and grief, and fear, and anger, with such like, being as it were the sundry fashions and forms of appetite, can neither rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be stirred with affections or no: whereas actions which issue from the disposition of the will are in the power thereof to be performed or stayed. Finally, appetite is the will's solicitor, and the will is appetite's controller. What we covet according to the one, by the other we often reject; neither is any other desire termed properly will, but that where reason and understanding, or the shew of reason, prescribeth the thing desired." Eccl. Pol. B. I. sec. vii.

and growth in man. But it will not stay where the passions make din and tumult and all within is anarchy. Man must "put away strong liking and disliking and empty his mind that it may become the lodging-place of reason (道舍)." This term, *tao-shê,* is translated by Premare "palace of reason," but *shê* is only the lodging or dwelling place, the place in which reason comes to stop (來止). Premare translates also the *tao* which accords with man's nature in the Chung yung by "light of nature," *lumen naturale,* the *lumière naturelle.* This term also is used in two different ways, but in each of these it corresponds to *tao* employed in the sense of reason or conscience. Bacon says that the maxims of the moral law truly interpreted are "a voice beyond the light of nature." He afterwards adds: "How then is it that man is said to have by the light and law of nature some notions and conceits of virtue and vice, justice and wrong, good and evil? Thus; because the light of nature is used in two several senses; the one that which springeth from reason, sense, induction, argument, according to the laws of heaven and earth; the other, that which is imprinted upon the spirit of man by an inward instinct, according to the law of conscience, which is a sparkle of the purity of his first estate; in which later sense only he is participant of some light and discerning touching the perfection of the moral law." It is of the phrase when used in the latter sense that *tao* is properly the equivalent, though it is also used in the other sense. Canon McClatchie often translates *tao* by reason, but generally with a different meaning from that given above, and his translations are not to be trusted. Dr. Legge also sometimes renders the word by reason, but the propriety of the rendering is in some places open to question, and he also uses reason in different senses. In his translation of a passage in Hsün-tzŭ we find the following: "So that they might all go forth in the way of moral government and in agreement with reason" (使皆出於治合於道者也): But if we examine the context and compare the two sentences autithetical to that in which the above occurs we find that this rendering violates the construction and does not bring out the author's meaning. Some term

like civil order or state of settled peace seems to be required here for *tao.* Hsün-tzŭ says that "the ancient Saint-kings because man's nature was bad, dangerously depraved, licentious and anarchical instituted for it social and moral rules, and enacted laws and regulations to curb and embellish man's emotions and nature while making them correct, to tame and refine man's emotions and nature while giving them guidance, causing all to issue in good government and join in moral order." Then there is a celebrated passage in Mencius, which Dr. Legge thus translates—"This is the passion-nature:—It is the mate and assistant of righteousness and reason. Without it, *man* is in a state of starvation." Julien renders the passage: "This *too* is what the vital spirit is like. It unites righteousness with reason. If the body lacks it, it starves." If reason is here used as the light of nature in the second of the senses described by Bacon it may perhaps be admitted. But the renderings do not agree with the interpretations of native scholars, according to whom *tao* here is Law—the natural Law of Heaven as embosomed in man. The passage may perhaps be rendered somewhat thus: "The natural spirits as such go with man's sense of duty and his moral nature, without which they would starve." But the phrase *ho-yü-tao,* or shortly *ho-tao,* seems to be often used with the meaning "in accordance with reason." The single word *tao* is also frequently so used, and the phrase *yen-tao* (言 道) denotes "language in agreement with reason." Sometimes man's mind is said to be reason, and sometimes the latter is said to be born from the former which is thence called *tao-mu* or mother of reason. (心 原 是 一 箇 道 母), the mind (or heart) with which man is born is really the mother of reason.[1]

That which law commands becomes one's duty, whether the law be that of Nature, of Heaven, or of society. So we are in a

[1] "Sun-tzŭ," chap. xvi.; "Han Fei-tzŭ," chap. ii.; Premare Not Ling. Sin., p. 243, and compare, p. 214, "定 則 道 純 corde sic fixo, ratio et doctrina pura est;" Bacon's Works, vol. iii., p. 479 (Ellis and Spedding Ed.); L. C. C., ii., Proleg., p. 82.; "Sun-tzŭ," chap. xvii.; L. C. C., ii., p. 66; "Mêng," chap. iii.; "Mêng-tzŭ" (13), chap. iii. 上. Julien's Meng Tseu, T. 1, p. 104. "Ipse *adhuc talis* est vitalis-spiritus. Conjungit æquitatem cum ratione. Si corpus careat illo, tunc esurit;" Shi-hsiu-kuan-wei-hsün (實 修 館 遺 訓) Ch'ien-chi, chap. i.

manner prepared to find our word used in the sense of duty, alike the "stern daughter of the voice of God" who whispers her inexorable will in conscience, and the sense of obligation which circumstances impose, the conduct which is required of a person in his relations with others. The phrase *chih-yü* (志 於)-*tao* has been seen to be used in the sense of application to truth. It is now found meaning "Be earnest in duty;" or, in Dr. Legge's translation, "Let the will be set on the path of duty." In this use, as in others, *tao* corresponds to the Sanskrit dharma, as when it is said that it is the dharma of a king to administer justice. Thus it is *chün* (君)-*tao*, the duty of a sovereign to be kind or humane (仁) to his ministers; and it is their duty, *ch'ên* (臣)-*tao*, to be faithful (忠) to their sovereign. In another place it is said to be the ruler's duty to be firm and decided, and that of the ministers to be very yielding. Again, it is the sovereign's business (主 道) to know men, and that of his officers to know affairs. One of the meanings of the expression *shih-chün-chih* (失 君 之)-*tao* is, to fail in the duties of a ruler, as *shih-ch'ên-chih-tao* is, to fail in duty as a public servant. To do all that is expected of a sovereign, to perform thoroughly all the functions of his office is for him *chin* (盡) *chün-chih-tao*, to exhaust (accomplish perfectly) the duties of a sovereign. The phrase *jen* (人)-*tao* has, along with other meanings, the technical one of "man's duty in his capacity as a member of a family." Thus for a man to raise himself to the position of king and then confer a posthumous regal title on his father or to leave a kingdom to his son is *jen-tao-chih-chi* (人 道 之 極) the extreme point which man's duty to father or son can reach, the highest service that can be rendered. This phrase *jen-tao* is also often used elliptically for the duty of man as a son. Thus we have the well known dictum *jen-tao-mo-ta-yü-shou-shen* (人 道 莫 大 於 守 身), man as a son has no greater duty than to preserve his body. It is, moreover, the dharma, the natural obligation of a son as such to practise filial piety (子 道 孝), and that of a father to be tender-hearted (父 道 慈). Further, our word office is used to denote a post or appointment and also the duty or conduct associated with

a position. Thus a man does well to desire the office of a bishop, and when he has got it to rear and teach are his wife's office. So the phrase *shih* (師)-*tao*, for example, is used for the duty of a teacher and the office of an instructor. The phrase *tung* (東)-*tao*, literally "east way," denotes the office of a host, because in China the host sits to the east of his guest. But it is commonly used in the sense of a bribe, the full expression being *tung-tao-yin* (銀), or bribe money. This phrase—"host's office money"—is used chiefly of the bribes given by litigants in a mandarin's yamên, and the fiction is that the money so given is in place of an invitation to a feast. Then there are *yu* (友)-*tao*, or *p'êng-yu* (朋 友)-*tao*, the duties which friends owe to each other in their intercourse. One of these is that a man should reprove for his good those faults he perceives in his friend, a duty which cannot exist in those having the relations of son and father.

The duties of friendship form one of the five sets of duties which are of universal obligation (天 下 之 達 道), and these are the mutual obligations of sovereign and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brothers and friends. They are not all equally binding, and so they may be classed under two heads, as they are of perfect or of imperfect obligation. The former are called *chêng* (正), perfect, and the latter *ch'uan* (權), expedient, matters of expediency. Thus to maintain one's parents is a perfect duty, *chêng-tao*, one from which no departure can be made. But to get their permission before taking a wife is a duty which may be dispensed with in certain peculiar circumstances. On the death of his father a filial son goes through three courses of duty, called *san-tao*, in regular succession. The same term is applied to the threefold stage of woman's subjection to man, her duty as a child to honour and obey her father, as a wife to serve her husband, and on his death to be subject to her son. The phrase *yu* (有)-*tao*, already burdened with meanings, is found specially in writings of a political character with the sense of doing one's duty. In the "Tien-lei" the expression *Huang-shang-yu-tao* is translated "when there is an Emperor who does his duty," but this is perhaps scarcely an adequate rendering.

The phrase *chin* (盡)-*tao,* referred to above, means to fulfill all one's obligations, to accomplish thoroughly the work which fate has prescribed, and to finish one's course. Thus we have the admonition *ko-chin-ch'i-tao* (各 盡 其 道), let each one discharge his duty thoroughly. To satisfy the obligations of filial piety is *chin hsiao tao,* which in the Hsin ching lu is translated "the exact fulfilment of his duty to his parents." So also *chin-shih-ch'in-chih-tao* (盡 道 親 之 道) means he performed thoroughly all that belongs to the service of parents, "erfüllte die Pflicht des Elterndienstes," as Faber translates the expression. The die when life's work is all finished, when the appointed journey is ended is *chin-ch'i-tao-êrh-ssu* (盡 其 道 而 死). To do this is the long hope and patient desire of all good Chinese for whom indeed

> "Death's consummation crowns completed life
> Or comes too early."

Nor in order to perform the duties of life need man "wind himself too high" and waste his energies among magnificent impossibilities or vain phantasms of illusory obligations. His path of duty is clear and bright, and lies among the daily affairs of life, "the trivial round, the common task." The observance of filial piety at home and of the respect due to seniors and superiors abroad, the practice of self-denial and charity can be accomplished by all, and these are parts of man's duty (道 在 爾, &c). In all the affairs of life at all times and in all places there is duty *(tao)* and it is the business of the student to investigate the principles involved *(tao li)*. When calamities afflict others, to succour the afflicted and to have compassion on one's neighbours are matters of duty *(tao)*, and they who thus do their duty (行 道) will be blessed. One who might have been almost persuaded to be a Confucianist says:—

> "The primal duties shine aloft like stars;
> The charities that soothe, and heal, and bless,
> Are scattered at the feet of Man, like flowers."

With reference to the phrase *tung tao,* noticed above, we may observe that in modern literature *tung tao chu* (東 道 主) is a

host or hostess. In old literature, however, this phrase is found in the very different sense of "Chief of the East Territory."[1]

Connected with the ideas of law and order are those of human relationship. The degrees and duties of kindred among mankind, and specially in China, are matters of social or state adjustment. And the various domestic, social, and political relations in which men come to stand to each other have in China their rights and obligations laid down with considerable precision. In some passages of the classical literature in which we find the character for *tao* rendered by "duty" it would perhaps be better to substitute "relation" or some other term with a like meaning. Thus there are cases where the expression *t'ien-hsia-ta-tao,* noticed above, does not refer so much to the duties which are always and everywhere obligatory as to the relations which prevail among mankind everywhere. The phrase *jen* (人)-*tao,* which has already occurred frequently, is used in the sense of man's domestic relations, explained as those of father and son, husband and wife, and brothers, and in this use of it Callery translates the phrase by "l'ordre naturel entre parents." One meaning of the phrase *fu-tzŭ-chih* (父 子 之)-*tao* is "parental and filial relations," which are said to be natural, to be of man's heavenly constitution (天 性). So one meaning of *fu-fu* (夫 婦)-*chih-tao* is "the relation of husband and wife." In an appendix to the "Yi ching" we find it stated that "the relation of husband and wife must be lasting" (夫 婦 之 道 不 可 以 不 久 也); or, in Dr. Legge's translation: "The rule for the relation of husband and wife is that it should be long-enduring." In a modern treatise we learn that while others disparage the married state (夫 婦 之 道), the relations of husband and wife, the wise man finds repose in it. We find also the expression *chüeh* (絕)-*tao* in the sense of "severing relation-

[1] L. C. C., i., p. 60; "Lun," chap. vii.; "Chu-tzŭ-ch'uan-shu," chap. xlvi.; L. C. C., ii., p. 168; "Mêng," chap. vii.; "Chow-li," chap. xxi.; "Han-shu," chap. i.; "Hsün-tzŭ," chap. xix.; Sac. Ed., Art. 16, Ampn.; "Han-shu," chap. viii.; L. C. C., i., p. 270; "Chung yung," chap. iv.; "Mêng," chap. vii., p. 55; "Li-chi," chap. viii.; "Hsiao-hsio," &c., chap. ii.; L. C. C., i., pp. 209; ii., pp. 326, 302; "Hsin-ching-lu," pp. 26, 49 (vol. 1); Faber's Mencius, p. 131; L. C. C., ii., pp. 191, 178; "Mêng," chap. vii.; L. C. C., i., p. 257; "Chung yung," chap. iii.; "Hu-ching-chai-chi" (胡 齋 齊 集), chap. i.; L. C. C., v., pp. 160, 217; "Tso Chuan," chaps. x, xiv.; "Liao- chai," &c., chap. ii.

ship," cutting off intercourse say with the kindred of a divorced wife. In this use of *tao* it is interchanged with *tsu* (族), kindred. With reference to the orderly arrangement of the relatives at the annual family dinner the "Li chi" uses the expression *jen-tao-chieh* (人道竭), which Callery translates, "se trouve accompli l'ordre naturel qui existe entre les parents." Here *tao* is explained by native commentators as *jen-lun-chih* (人倫之)-*tao*, that is, the orderly disposition of man's relations, the arranging and treating the individuals assembled according to their degrees of near and distant relationship. This word *lun* is the term commonly used to denote the relations among mankind, and it is found in this way interchanged with *tao*. Strictly *lun* is simply the relation, and *tao* the duty resulting therefrom, but each word is used occasionally to denote both relation and duty attached. The sage kings of primeval times instituted marriage (設夫婦之倫), which is the source of all relations of kindred; and then they prescribed the duties of husband and wife (制夫婦之道). The relations between ruler and minister are those of duty—a "Pflichtverhältniss"—and these cease when people lack food and clothing. In Ku-liang's Commentary on the "Chun-ch'iu" there occurs a curious statement which illustrates the use of *tao* now under consideration. With reference to the first year of Chuang Kung, Confucius records that "in the third moon the wife withdrew to Ch'i." The wife here was the widow of Huan Kung, father of Chuang, and she had been guilty of incest and of complicity in the murder of her husband. The mention of her in this peculiar manner here by Confucius was, according to Ku-liang, to stigmatize her conduct, and he adds, "man with respect to Heaven receives commands through the duties of the human relations, and with respect to men he receives commands through speech; if one does not accord with these duties Heaven cuts him off, and he who disobeys commands is cut off by men" (人之於天也以道受命於人也以言受命不若於道者天絕之也不若於言者人絕之也). This passage seems to have a particular application, otherwise it might be better perhaps to render the word *tao* in it by reason or conscience, the sense of

what is right in man. But there are several sayings among the Chinese which seem to favor the interpretation first given. Thus one of the expressions to signify that marriages are made in Heaven is *fu-fu-chih-tao-ming-ye* (夫 婦 之 道 命 也), the relation of husband and wife, the state of matrimony, is decreed by Providence.[1]

The next use of our word to which we advert is that in the sense of essentials, or important or necessary elements. The Great Learning begins in Dr. Legge's translation thus: "What the Great Learning teaches is to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the highest excellence." Here the text rendered, "What the Great Learning teaches" is *t'ai-hsio-chih-tao* (大 學 之 道). Native commentators differ as to the use and meaning of the word *tao* here. Some explain it by *lu-t'ou* (路 頭), that is, the course; others think it is to be taken in the sense of *fang-fa* (方 法), means or method; but neither of these interpretations seems to suit the rest of the book. The best explanation apparently is that which regards *tao* as denoting something like *kang-ling* (綱 領); the *kang* being the rope without which a net cannot be used, and *ling* the collar without which a coat will not sit properly on the wearer. So *kang-ling* comes to mean the chief points or essentials, and *t'ai-hsio-chih-tao* may be rendered, "The sum of the Great Learning." We read elsewhere that the ruler who would reform his people and give them good customs must use learning. The term for learning, *hsio* (學), is here explained as the *t'ai-hsio-chih-tao,* the essentials of the great learning, the teaching for princes and kings. In another passage Callery gives for the words 此 大 學 道 之 也 the rather peculiar but not inappropriate rendering, "Tels sont les effets des études complètes." The author here says that an official scholar who has gone through the whole course of state education "can refine the people and reform their customs, so that those who are near are pleased to obey, and those

[1] Callery "Le-ki," pp. 72, 73; "Li-chi," chap. vi.; "Hsing-li," chap. vi.; "Yi," chap. iv.; Legge's "Yi-king," p. 436; "Hu-tzŭ-chih-yen" (胡 子 知 言), chap. i.; "I-li," (13), chap. xxx.; p. 7. note; "Lie-tzŭ," chap. vii.; "Faber's Lic.," pp. 167, 181; "Ku-liang" (13), chap. v.; L. C. C., v., p. 72.

who are at a distance long for his influence; this is the sum of the great learning." The text of the last clause is amplified thus, "This is what is called the sum of what the great learning teaches men" (是所謂大學敎人之道也). Some expositors, however, prefer to understand *tao* here in the sense of course or method.

In another work it is written that filial impiety, including rebellion against the sovereign and disowning of sages, is the essence of great anarchy (大亂之道). Then Mencius says, in Dr. Legge's version: "The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind" (學問之道無他求其奚放心而已矣). But the native scholars take *tao* here in the sense of *ch'ieh yao* (切要), most important, and the meaning of the passage is perhaps the important business (or main element) of learning is nothing else but only the search for the strayed mind. Again the phrase *i-shi-chih-tao* (衣食之道) denotes the main constituents of clothing and food, the raw materials out of which these are made, which are produced in the soil, grow up in season, and are gathered by the use of energy. One of the maxims of Chinese political science is expressed in a formula like *chih-t'icn-hsia-chih-tao-tsai-yü-yung-jen* (治天下之道在於用人), that is, a necessary condition to the good government of the empire lies in the use of proper men. Again officials are told by the Emperor that it is an essential requirement of a good administration to lay stress on the zeal and not regard an idle name (爲治之道在於務實不尙虛名). And in another place we have the maxim and the mode of expression altered thus: "Of the important essentials of a good administration of the empire none is greater than giving peace to the people" (治天下要道莫過安民).[1]

We proceed next to consider this word *tao* in the class of cases in which it stands for persons. In some instances its use in this

[1] L. C. C., i., p. 220; "Ta-hsio," chap. i.; "Li-chi" (13), chap. lx.; 大學綱目, chap. i.; "Li-chi," chap. vi., pp. 72, 74; Callery "Le-Ki," p. 76; "Hsiao-ching" (13), chap. vi.; L. C. C., ii., p. 290 and note; "Mêng-tzŭ," chap xi.; Sac. Ed., Art. 4, Paraphrase and Amplification. Compare the statement 衣食之道必始於耕織, "Huai nau-tzŭ," chap. ix.; "Yung-chêng Edicts," 1st y., 11th m., 4th day; 5th y., 4th m., 23rd day.

way may have been derived from the sense of ruling. Thus the *liang* (糧)-*tao,* or "Grain Intendant," is the "Chief Comptroller of the Provincial Revenue from the grain tax, whether collected in money or in kind." So there are *yen* (鹽)-*tao,* Intendant of Salt Revenue, and certain other officials of like character and designation. In other cases the jurisdiction seems to have occasioned the peculiar use of the term. Thus a Tao t'ai has "administrative control over two or more Prefectures," which constitute a *tao* or circuit. So he is spoken of and addressed officially as Tao, and he uses that word in speaking of himself. Further in the *tu-ch'a-yuan* (都察院), or Court of Censors, there are two classes of officials which are commonly mentioned together as *k'o-tao* (科道). The former are so called because they serve in the six *k'o* or offices of supervision over the Six Boards in Peking. The latter are the Censors who are charged with the scrutiny of affairs throughout the empire, which for the purposes of this supervision is divided into sixteen *tao,* and hence their title.

Then *tao* is used to denote professed adherents of the Taoist system of belief and philosophy, as in the phrase *sêng-tao,* Buddhist and Taoist ordained clergy. Here the word is evidently used as a short term for *tao-shi* (士), a professed follower of Tao.

Sometimes the word seems to be in a manner personified for an occasion. Thus Han Wên Kung says that his instructor is neither his senior nor his junior, "My teacher is the Truth" (吾師道也), that is, the Truth as taught in Confucianism. So we know that the Law was our tutor, our school-attendant unto Christ. Then we read of *pang* (謗)-*tao,* vilifying the saints, and *tsun-hsien* (尊賢), reverencing the eminent. There is also the well-known expression *ch'in-ling-tao-tê* (侵凌道德), to insult and harass the wise and virtuous, or as Julien enlarges it, "Insulter et traiter avec cruauté ceux qui se livrent à l'étude de la raison et de la vertu." These two last expressions illustrate the use of our word in the sense of one who seeks after or possesses wisdom. This is an old use of the word, and it will occur to us again when we come to consider the influence of Buddhism.

It is often found in the scrolls which tell us to live and to die, and in the Tracts for the People, printed and circulated by philanthropists.[1]

It is perhaps from the use of *tao* in the sense of "by" or "from" that its use with meanings like source, origin, cause, reason, is derived. The occurrence of the word with significations of this kind are chiefly in literature, but they are not uncommon. In answer to a question with *ho* (何), how was it that? this word is often introduced. The phrase *wu-t'a* (無 他)-*tao,* in reply to such a question, means, "there is no other reason," that is, than the one about to be mentioned. One meaning of the phrase *i-ho* (以 何)-*tao* also is "from what cause," "for what reason?" In the "Li-chi" we are told, "weeping has two sources," and the phrase used is *k'u-yu-erh* (哭 有 二)-*tao,* that is, there are two affections of the mind from which it is produced. One of these is love when there is an internal feeling of helplessnss, and the other is fear when there is the feeling of being thwarted. Again it is said that though every one loves, has regard for himself and his near relatives, yet no one can explain the origin of this affection, and the expression used is similar (不 克 明 愛 之 之 道). It is added that what makes a family esteemed is the permanence of harmonious relations, and "the origin of these lies in (其 道 在 於)," filial piety, brotherly love, modest compliance, the esteem of kindness and rectitude and the disregard of name and gain. In the Ch'un-ch'iu the bald statement occurs: *sha-lu-pêng* (沙 鹿 崩), the sha-lu was riven (or fell down). Why was this recorded? Because, says Ku-liang, "it was riven without any reason (or cause) for being riven (無 崩 道 而 崩)." There was nothing in the nature of the place whether it was a hill, or a city, or a plain (lu) at the foot of the Sha hill to cause it to burst open. So Heaven probably caused it in order to teach the king that he had about him servants who were traitors and ready to burst in rebellion. On the other hand when Confucius records the fact that the roof of the family temple fell in ruins, Ku-liang says

[1] Mayers' Ch. Govt., Nos. 278, 280: "Ch'ang-li-ch'uan-chi," chap. xii.; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvi.; "Kan-ying-pien," chap. iv., p. 34.

there was a reason for the ruin (有壞道也). The temple had been shamefully neglected, and Confucius intended to give a severe reproof to those who were in fault. In the same Commentary we have the expression *huai-(*or *kuai-) miao-chih* (壞廟之)*-tao*, used to denote "the reasons for dismantling the temple." Again when Confucius records that mount Liang fell with a burst (梁山崩), Ku-liang adds that "high objects have a cause for so falling (高者有崩道也);" there is a natural reason why they should fall, and Confucius records the fact of the Liang falling only because it caused a blocking up of the Yellow River's course. So also we read of the source or origin of a book, as when it is said that *yi-tao-shên* (易道深), the source of the "Yi ching" is deep, that is, its history goes far back; three sages in three different ages having been employed in its composition.[1]

A peculiar use of our word is that in the sense of type, emblem, or symbol. This meaning of the word does not seem to be given in any dictionary, native or foreign, and it is apparently little noticed. Yet there are not a few passages in various treatises in which no other interpretation seems to be equally suitable. In the Yi-ching especially, some such rendering of the character for *tao* seems to be often required. Thus, for example, the figures *chên* (震), *k'an* (坎), *kên* (艮), that is, ☳, ☵, ☶, are called *yang-kua;* and *hsüan* (巽), *li* (離), *tui* (兌), that is, ☴, ☲, ☱, are called *yin-kua*. The former three are said to be emblematical of one sovereign and two subjects, and the latter three to represent the idea of two sovereigns with one subject. So the *yang-kua* are called *chün-tzŭ* (君子)*-tao*, the type (or symbol) of a great and good man, while the *yin-kua* are *hsiao-jen* (小人)*-tao*, the symbols of a low creature. Again we read, taking Dr. Legge's version, "The movements which take place in the six places (of the hexagram) show the course of the three extremes (*i.e.*, of the three Powers in their perfect operation)" (六爻之動三極之道也). A consideration of this sentence in con-

[1] "Wên Chung-tzŭ" (文中子) chap. i.; "Li-chi," chap. ii.; "Hsiang-shan-ch'uan-chi" (象山全集), chap. i.; "Ku-liang," chaps. viii, xi, x, xiii.; "Han-shu," chap. xxx.

nection with the context suggests a different rendering from that just given, and it appears to have a meaning something like this, "The movements of the six lines of the kua are symbols of heaven, earth, and man in their ideal perfection." The *san-chi* of the text are explained in a commentary as the *li* (理), of heaven, earth and man, that is, the spiritual principle or law which is inherent in them. In the manipulation of the hexagram for divining purposes the lowest and second lines stand for ideal earth, the third and fourth for ideal man, and the fifth and last for ideal heaven. In another place we find the statement *t'ung-jen-yü-tsung-lin-tao-ye* (同人于宗吝道也), which Dr. Legge expands into "(The representative of) the union of men appears in relation with his kindred, that is, the path to regret." It would be simpler and better perhaps to translate the words thus: "The Union with men is in the clan, the symbol of sorrow." Again, the phrase *ching* (井)-*tao* denotes "that which *ching* symbolises," to wit, the necessity of change. Turning to other treatises we find instances of a similar use of the word. Thus, in the "Shuo wên," under the character *san* (三), it is stated that this character is *t'ien-ti-jen-chih-tao,* that is, the symbol of the trinity heaven, earth, and man. Further we read that in old times, on the decease of the head of a family, a wooden or other image was made, and before it were performed the religious services due preparatory to interment. This figure was called *ch'ung* (重), duplicate, and it was regarded as *chu* (主)-*tao,* the symbol of the master, just deceased. In another place we read that for a person of one family, that is, a chief of a family, to take charge of the ancestral worship of another is *mie-wang-chih-tao* (滅亡之道), a sign that the latter family is extinguished (utterly collapsed). So also Heaven as the originator of all things, and Earth as their preserver, are respectively types or symbols of father and mother (天父道也地母道也). This phrase is found repeated with slight variations by numerous authors orthodox and otherwise.[1]

[1] "Yi," chap. iii., p. 20; Legge's "Yi-king," pp. 388, 351; "Yi," chap. iii.; "Chou Yi" (13), chap. vii.; "Yi," chap. i.; s. v. 同人; Legge's "Yi-king," p. 284; "Yi," chap. iv.; "Li-chi," chap. ii.; "Ku-liang," chap. xv.; "Ho-Kuan-tzŭ" (鶡冠子), chap. i., sec. 6 (commentary).

We now pass on to consider certain uses of this word closely related to others already described. These uses may by comprehended under the term "ideal," though this is a vague and inaccurate designation. It is to be understood as including such terms as ideal Wisdom, Truth, and Goodness. We have seen that *tao* denotes the truth or wisdom gained by study, and the goodness which is opposed to wickedness of conduct. It also denotes, a state of virtue, absolute and perfect, whether in the world or only in the mind. The commom expression *Yao Shun-chih-tao* is rendered in one place by Faber, "the ethical ideal of Yao and Shun;" and in another passage of Mencius, already cited, where Dr. Legge translates, "When the prince has no principles by which he examines *his administration*," Faber renders *tao* by "Ideal." The perfect virtue, however, is not a mere abstraction or empty name. It may be acquired by a life of well-doing, and it may be lost by continuance in wickedness. "They who do good," says an old author, "obtain Virtue, and they who do evil lose it (爲善者得道爲惡者失道)." A later philosopher says that the attainment of *li* (禮) includes that of perfect virtue (道存矣). But this word *li* is here used in a peculiar way to denote good principles of life systematically carried into practice, perfect conduct regulated always by reason. And so we find it not seldom stated that *tao* is *li*, the latter term being used in this wide sense. As ideal goodness, moreover, *tao* is the collective designation of the five cardinal virtues—kindness, rectitude, observance of rites and ceremonies, wisdom, and good faith—though in another use of the word it may be applied to each of these singly. It is often found with *tê* (德), which is usually rendered virtue; and *tao* is said to be Virtue, as it exists at large in the world, while *tê* is that portion of it acquired by an individual. The more of it one gains the nearer he comes to perfection. We read that there were five principles of conduct by which the ancient rulers kept their kingdoms in good government. One of these was, "to esteem those who had virtue (德), because they came near to spiritual perfection" (近於道). Callery translates these three characters, "ils sont proche de la vérité,"

that is, as he explains in a note, the Truth which is God. Again it is recorded that in old times there were tutors appointed to teach princes what was right. In this was included instruction in three virtues, of which the first was, "the virtue of practical perfection to be the root for ideal perfection" (至德以爲道本). These words, which are very often quoted accurately and inaccurately, are rendered by Biot simply, "la vertu de la perfection; c'est la base de la bonne voie." But by *tao* is here meant that state of absolute moral excellence which is man's pure original spiritual nature. Some regard the "virtue of perfection" as denoting the attainment of the "perfect mean," and this was to be the basis of the ideal standard *(tao)* by which all conduct was to be regulated. It is also said that *tao* is a general designation for all active and passive virtues, but these are summed up under *i* (義) and *jen* (仁) respectively (道者體用之總名仁其骨義其用).[1]

Then *tao* is also ideal or absolute wisdom, the possession of perfect knowledge, and ideal Truth. This perfect wisdom which should be obtained and employed for the benefit of the world is, properly speaking, superhuman, or at least beyond the reach of all except sages. But often the word used in this manner has only the sense of extraordinary mental powers, the possession of unusual sagacity, or a rare insight into men and things. The phrase *Tao-jen* (道人) denotes originally a man of wisdom and piety, perhaps credited also with the possession of extraordinary powers. But it is applied in compliment to the professed followers of Buddha and Lao-tzŭ, and to those recluses who talk with their own souls and own no master save Nature. Sometimes

[1] L. C. C., ii., pp. 166, 377; Fab.'s Mencius, pp. 77, 272; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvi.; "Wên Chung-tzŭ," chap. viii.; "Li-chi" (13), chap. vi.; "Li-chi," chaps. ii., ix.; "Hsing-li," chaps. ii., ix.; Callery "Le-ki," p. 118. In a note Callery adds—"D'aprés les philosophes chinois on entend par le mot Tœ *(tê)* Ce que l'homme a obtenu par ses propres efforts, ou la vertu acquise: et par le mot Tao Ce à quoi tous les hommes doivent tendre, Ce qui est convenable, Ce qui est dans l'ordre, ou la vertu dans le sens abstrait. Or, il n'y a, selon moi, que le Vrai qui réunisse ces conditions, car, selon la philosophie chrétienne, Dieu lui même est la Vérité! Je préfère donc traduire Tao par Vérité, que d'adopter la traduction de Voie, dont le moindre défaut est de ne rien dire." "Chou-li," chap. ix.; Do. (13), chap. xiv.; Biot's "Tcheou-li," i., p. 292. "Hu-tzŭ-chih yen," chap. i.

it is said that this high wisdom—*ta-tao*—cannot be acquired, that it is a heavenly gift, but the common doctrine is that it can be attained. As the jade does not make an utensil unless it is chiseled, so man does not know truth *(pu-chih-tao)* unless he learns. It must be in his mind originally, but its excellence cannot be known without study. Sometimes it is apparently identified with the truth or wisdom contained in the orthodox canonical books, to which reference has been made above. But it is rather the spirit of that wisdom, its principles which are of universal application. As such Truth *(tao)* is pure and perfect, without antagonism in itself and without rivals outside, not bound by time nor limited by place. The wise man has a mind which yearns for this truth (慕 道 之 心), and he keeps it to death when obtained. Perfect truth, or wisdom, we are told, is one with the sage, he being wisdom embodied and it being a sage without a body (道便是無軀殼底聖人聖人便是有軀殼底道). To those who possess this great wisdom *(tao)* unusual and even miraculous powers are often ascribed. Thus Confucius is represented as saying of a certain worthy that in youth he had been quick and studious, in manhood brave and inflexible, and that in old age *yu-tao-nêng-hsia-jen* (有 道 能 下 人) he had the transcendent wisdom by which to keep man in subjection. He who has this *tao* can, it is supposed, see many of the secrets of nature; can tell where springs of sweet water lie hidden, and where the barren soil conceals rich store of precious metals. He can read and understand the mystic meaning of those signs which in any district or region point to the kind protection of good spirits or the blighting influences of wicked demons. It is only, we are told, the man who has this wisdom (唯 有 道) who, judging from the past, can predict the future. By obtaining it—*tê-tao*—Nü Kua, who mended the heaven and the earth, raised himself to be a god (自 神). The phrase *t'ou* (透)-*tao* means to be profound in wisdom, that is, the "high wisdom" which slowly grows by patient study, quiet meditation; and long communing with Nature. It is often used of certain celebrated hermits who are supposed to have gained an insight unto the secrets of Nature, and to have

acquired the art and power of controlling their operations. But the attainment of this high or supreme wisdom is always of advantage in some way to its possessor; and so there is the saying, "obtain truth (or wisdom *tao)* in yourself and you obtain praise with men." When we come to consider the action of Buddhism on Chinese it will be seen that *tao,* in the sense now under consideration, has affinity to the Bodhi of the Buddhists. In this ideal wisdom, we learn, there are sympathy and faithfulness, but it has no show of acting and no visible manifestation (夫 道 有 情 有 信 無 爲 無 形); it may be transmitted but not kept in possession; it is self-existent and eternal, making heaven and earth what they are and giving to supernatural beings that which makes them such; and it knows no conditions of space or time. It is like the Wisdom of Proverbs which declares that by her "princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth," and tells us that she "was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was." To the Confucianists it is only their master who of all men possessed this ideal wisdom in perfection. Hence it is said of him that his wisdom caps ancients and moderns, and his moral qualities mate Heaven and Earth (孔 子 道 冠 古 今 德 參 天 地). This ideal wisdom, when turned to account, becomes, as we know, that mock-wisdom which professes to teach the art of prolonging life indefinitely and wrests to bad uses the words of pure doctrine.[1]

Then *tao* is also used to denote an ideal state of society and of the whole world, a state of complete order, and wisdom, and virtue. Such, according to some writers, was that of the empire under Yao and Shun, but this opinion cannot be regarded as correct, and it is refuted by several authors. The idea of *tao* has never been perfectly realized in actual life, and the condition so designated never existed except in the minds of pessimist philosophers. Yet moralists were ceaselessly teaching men that they should aim at recalling the ways of the old times, the virtue

[1] "Chu-tzŭ-ch'uan-shu," chap. lix.; "Li-chi," chap. vi., p. 72; Callery's "Le-ki," p. 75. Callery here translates the words *pu-chih-tao* (不知道) simply by "ne possède aucun savoir." "Chia-yü," chap. iii.; "Han Shu," chap. lxxv.; "Su-wên-chung-kung-shi-chi" (蘇 文 忠 公 詩 集), chap. xlvi.; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvi.; "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. vi.

of the early world. The term *tao-chi* (基), or foundation of order, the title of a chapter in a well-known treatise, denotes the establishment of perfect order in nature and among mankind. We read also of means for "causing the world to reform and turn to perfect virtue" (使天下同心而鄉道), that is, the virtue of antiquity. The common expression *tao-shu* (術), which has been seen to have other meanings, is sometimes used to denote the arts or way of primitive innocence, long since lost beyond recovery. Still it is possible to read or hear of "people and creatures living in peaceful ease as in the natural state of ideal perfection" (民物安逸若道自然).

An ideal state of perfection, whether in man or in the universe, is supposed to be the spontaneous work of Nature, and we now proceed to consider our word as used in the sense of Nature. But this term is not to be taken in any of the common meanings in which it is usually understood among Western peoples. It is not the nature which is the *omne*, the "sum of all phenomena," "the universality of all that is and ever will be;" nor the nature which is antagonistic to reason and culture. It is the inner force, the moving and regulating power, the law of order which is a necessary ingredient in all the constituents of the universe. It is the unvarying uniformity which underlies the endless varieties of these, and at the same time the binding authority which makes them keep their appointed distinctions, for

> "Res quæque suo ritu procedit et omnes
> Fœdere naturæ certo discrimina servant."

It is nature as the universe of law in the universe of mind and matter. In many respects *tao*, as thus used by Confucian writers, resembles very closely the Nature of the Stoics and of Bishop Butler.

The phrase T'ien Ti, Heaven and Earth, seems often to mean what we call Nature, the visible phenomena of the world together with their causes, but it is also used as the spirit or law of these. In the "Chung Yung" we find it stated that the [ideal] Ruler establishes his government according to Heaven and Earth, and it is not in opposition to these (建諸天地而不悖)."

Here T'ien Ti are explained by Chu Hsi to be *tao,* and Dr. Legge translates this by "right reason," a rendering which does not seem to suit the passage. T'ien Ti are, it is said, spoken of here *i* (以)-*tao,* from the point of view of their laws or principle of operation. The government instituted by the ruler does not violate Nature, is not opposed to natural law. Less open to doubt, however, is a passage in which Lie tzŭ tells of a craftsman who made an imitation of a leaf of a paper-mulberry tree in jade. The imitation leaf was perfect in every respect and could not be distinguished from a natural one, but the making of it was a three years' labour. So Lie tzŭ says if Heaven and Earth—Nature—in the production of creatures were to be three years about the making of a leaf there would be few leaves in the world; consequently the wise man trusts to Nature's creative power and not to the cleverness of human wisdom (故聖人恃道化而不恃智巧). Faber translates these words, "Der Heilige vertrant daher auf die Wandlungskraft der Natur (*tao*) und nicht auf Weisheit und Geschicklichkeit." But the contrast is apparently between "great creating nature" and human arts cunning only to imitate. Further we are told that heaven and earth, that is, visible nature are the makers of the world, but that they are themselves the product of *tao* or invisible nature. So also it is said that nature's activity consists in quickening, in bringing things into life (道以生物爲用); and in another place we are told that nature *(tao)* is the root of heaven and earth, which in their turn are the root of all the world.

But the use of this word in some of our senses of nature is also found, as when it is said that to eat when hungry and drink when thirsty is nature (*tao*). So also we read that *tzŭ-jan-chih-wei-tao* (自然之謂道), that which is natural is called *tao.* It is also natural to put into song the joys and sorrows of the heart. So it was said of the philosopher Mo who wanted to abolish music that he was "as to nature" (於道) like a blind man as to colours, or a deaf man to musical tones. But even in such modes of speech as these the idea of good and fixed law is present to the mind of the Chinese.

If nature (*tao*) is thought of as to its own essence it is one, it is pure without any alloy and perfect without any flaw. But it does not exist apart, and it is never simple and single (*tao-wu-wu-tui* 道無無對); it always has the alternations of opposites like good and bad, bright and dark, right and wrong. It fills matter (身 body) and occupies all the interspace between heaven and earth. It is ever active, "like the running stream (道若川谷之水) it flows forth for others and flows on without stopping." By gentle noiseless action, without show, and unnoticed by most, nature goes on its way in making and unmaking. The river which has many a bend and winding flows far, the mountain rises high which has a gradual ascent, nature because debonair in procedure can make (or transform) (道以優遊故能化), and individual endowments (德) by pure acts can bring eminence.

To all creatures, animate and inanimate, nature is the law of their being and action. Hence, as has been seen, the *T'ai-chi* or "Ultimate Principle" is another name for *tao*. So one philosopher says, When nature (*tao*) is said to be the Ultimate Principle, this is said of it as the natural perfect law of all that exists (云道爲太極指天地萬物自然之理). But it is in the guiding and perfecting of man that nature has its perfect consummation. The heavens had their origin from nature (*tao*), and the earth was made by it; the world of creatures by it obtained form and figure, and by it man has practical morality. It is only he, or rather it is only the wise and good among men who can follow the piloting of *natura gubernans*, reading and understanding and practising the lessons it teaches. For though the sun, and moon, and stars all shine for man and for his benefit rule the times and seasons, yet they have in respect to him higher functions. They, like all the other works of nature, are in the solemn silence of their eternal processes lessons and patterns for man in all his phases and conditions of life. Hence it was well said, "The physical order of nature, the sun and moon hung out, the stars sown, the sexes divided, the four seasons established, and the five elements set in order, all were visible lessons to the first sages who called all by one name Nature (*tao*)." An old

metaphysician tells us that the laws which underlie phenomena are various, and there is nothing selfish in Nature; hence Nature is nameless and because nameless not appearing to act and therefore universally active (萬物殊理道不私故無名無名故無爲無爲而無不爲). This is from a Taoist philosopher, but the conception of Tao in this sense is old and is common to Taoists and Confucianists.[1]

We must now draw the investigation of this word to a close, mentioning only a few more classes of meanings with which it is employed. We have already seen it used to denote the special nature of an object or class of objects, and Nature generally. We have now to observe that as in certain Greek and Latin writers the corresponding words for nature are periphrastically employed as when Lucretius, for example, says *animi natura* instead of *animus,* so we find the word *tao* used in a similar manner. Thus the phrase *Shên* (神)-*tao,* nature of spirits, is sometimes used instead of *Shên* to denote "spirits" or "spiritual beings;" so also *min* (民)-*tao* is often merely "the people," and *jen* (人)-*tao* is used to express simply "man" or "mankind." The expression *shêng min chih tao* (生民之道) in the Li-chi is translated by Callery "parmi le peuple," though this is

[1] "Hsin-yü" (新語), chap. i.; "Han-shu," chaps. xxii., xxx.; "Hou Han-shu," chap. xxix.; L. C. C., i., p. 290; "Chung-yung," chap. vi; "Lie-tzŭ," chap. viii.; Faber's Licius, p. 190; "Hsing-li," chap. iv., p. 56; "Chu-tzŭ-ch'uan-shu," chap. xlix.; "Hu-tzŭ-chih-yen" (胡子知言), chap. iii.; "Yang-yuan-chi," chap. xxix.; "Chu-tzŭ-ch'uan-shu," chap. xlvi.; "Sun-tzŭ," chap. xiv.; "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. vii., p. 15, note; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvi.; "Hsin-shu," chap. ix.; "Hsing-li," chaps. iv., v.; "Han-shu," chap. lxxv.; "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. viii. The following passage from Hooker is pure Confucianism, illustrating *tao* as nature. "Now if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the observation of her own laws; if those principal and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should as it were through a languishing faintness begin to stand and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away as children at the withered breasts of their mother no longer able to yield them relief; what would become of man himself whom these things now do all serve? See we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world?" Eccl. Pol. B. I., Sec. III.

perhaps not a quite satisfactory rendering for the passage. In these, as in other cases of a like nature already mentioned, *tao* is said to be an "empty" (or "idle") character, adding nothing to the meaning of the word to which it is attached, and being itself without any signification. In some cases, however, where it seems to be an idle character it converts the concrete or particular term it follows into one of an abstract or general nature. The phrase *tao-li,* often convertible with *tao,* is used instead of it in this manner in popular speech and writing, serving often merely to round off an expression or sentence.

Further this word *tao* is often used in a vague lazy manner like that in which we use such words as thing, affair, business. It is even expressly said in some places to be an equivalent of *shih* (事), meaning "affairs" or business. In a passage of the "Li chi" the writer enumerates the three ceremonies in a service of worship which are of special importance. He then adds, all three actions (凡三道者) use what is external to intensify the Sage's thoughts, or as Callery translates, "Ces trois choses empruntent au dehors les moyens de rendre sensible les sentiments du Sage." We find also the expression *ssŭ-tao-ye-chin-wang* (斯道也今亡), meaning "this practice does not now exist," or this custom is now lost. In an appendix to the "Yi ching" we find it stated that the Sage, according to Dr. Legge's version, "penetrates to a knowledge of the course of day and night (and all other connected phenomena)" (通乎晝夜之道而知). Here the word *tao* is explained by *shih* (事) or *ku* (故) in the sense of affairs, and the Sage is said to see through the affairs of day and night and know them. Under day and night are included light and darkness, life and death, ghosts and spirits, and the Sage is supposed to have pierced to the hidden means by which these opposites are related or connected. It is interesting to notice that the Greek word λόγος, which, as will be seen presently, often corresponds to *tao,* is also sometimes used in this loose manner. Thus in the Acts of the Apostles (Chap. XV., v. 6), we have in our version "of this matter" for περὶ τον λόγου τούτου, and in the Chinese 這事 with the same meaning. In this use also of *tao*

it is often in common speech and popular writing replaced by *tao-li* which has the same indefinite application.[1]

In addition to the uses and meanings of this word here mentioned certain others are assigned to it in some of the native dictionaries and other native treatises. Thus it is said to denote "straight" or "straightness" (直), and "great" or "greatness" (大). Examples of the word in these uses are, however, rare, if they are actually to be found in speech or literature. It is also vaguely said to be "all fine (or subtle) things" (衆妙皆道也), and to be a general name for all passive and active states (道者體用之總名), that is, moral states. These are sufficiently wide to cover nearly everything. There are probably, however, many varieties of meaning, special, technical, or otherwise restricted in use which are included in the account given in these pages, and there are perhaps others of ordinary occurrence which have escaped observation.[2]

The account of the word *tao* up to this has been mainly confined to its use by the people generally and in the writings of the orthodox. But in order to understand it properly we should also take notice of the special ways in which the term is employed by the various sects. M. Julien says of it, "Les lettrés, les bouddhistes et les *Tao-sse* font un grand usage de ce mot, et l'emploient chacun dans un sens différent," and he proceeds to illustrate the statement. But this does not give a correct and adequate view of the matter. In early times there was not much difference as to the uses made of *tao* in the teachings of philosophers. Certain notions attached to the word were common property, but in after times these received from Taoists and Confucianists different applications and developments. Then new meanings and new uses came to be introduced, though these were

[1] "Le-ki," pp. 97, 128; "Li-chi," chap. viii., p. 58; "Wên Chung-tzŭ," chap. iii.; Legge's "Yi-king," p. 354; "Yi," chap. iii.; p. 5; "Chou-yi-tsun-shu," vol. v., p. 11; "Yi" (13), chap. vii. We may translate *tao* by *event* or occurrence in such statements as this:—Death as an event is single and cannot be repeated (死之爲道一而不可得再復也); "Sun-tzŭ," chap. xiii.

[2] "Kuang-yun," s.v. 道; "Hu-tzŭ-chih-yen," chap. i. In this particular case, however, the *t'i* and *yung* are said to be respectively humanity (*jen*) and right conduct towards others (*i*).

perhaps not very numerous; but the orthodox uses of *tao* are also found in the teachings of Taoists and Buddhists. Some of the special uses made of it by the latter are found in another chapter, and here a word or two may be said about applications of this word regarded as peculiar to Taoists.

These derive their name from the *tao* which forms so important an element in all the teachings of their founder and early apostles. As to what this *tao* is there is not and perhaps there cannot be an agreement of opinion. Some see in it the way of the universe, and some a mere metaphysical abstraction; some regard it as Reason, the God-reason which made and which rules the world, and others take it to represent the living personal Deity. Of Western expositions of the *tao* of Lao-tzŭ only one need be here mentioned and that the least known. The Library of the India Office possesses a curious and interesting Latin translation in MS. of the "Tao-tê-ching" with an elaborate commentary to a portion. The translator, a Roman Catholic Missionary, after giving the composition of the character for *tao* says, "What, therefore, is *tao* in its primary idea but the Head and First Principle of all things in self-motion?" In some places he renders the word by "movement of the divine principle," and in some places he treats it as denoting the First Principle itself, that is, God. The pious and learned translator took eleven chapters of the "Tao-tê-ching" for special illustration, as by these it is proven "that the mysteries of the Most Sacred Trinity and God incarnate were once known to the Chinese nation." The beginning of the book (道可道非常道) is thus rendered by him, "The Reason which can be comprehended by reasoning is not the eternal Reason." As we read this and the "Paraphrasis which follows we are reminded of the lines translated:—

> "Insane is he who hopeth that our reason
> Can traverse the illimitable way
> Which the one Substance in three Persons follows!"

The *tao* of the "Tao-tê-ching" cannot be taught or explained in language. It is something spiritual, eternal, everacting, and ever present everywhere. We may render it by Nature, or Law of

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Nature, or Oversoul, or Reason, or God, or Providence, but none of these gives the full import of the term as used by Lao-tzŭ.[1] In the teachings of his early followers the word has still its high mystic meaning. So also in the writings of men who lived before the end of the Han dynasty and who were not disciples of Lao-tzŭ

[1] A note by Callery on this subject is here transcribed, "Si on compare les attributs que Confucius donne au Tao avec ceux que Lao-tze reconnaît également au Tao dans les chapitres 4, 14, 32, et 51 du Tao-tœ-kiñ, on acquiert la conviction que ces deux pères de la philosophie chinoise avaient, sur cet être mystérieux, des idées à peu près semblables. Mais, plus on médite leurs définitions, et plus on se demande si par le mot Tao il ne faut vraiment pas entendre la Vérité, éternelle, la Raison divine, l'essence de Dieu lui-même ; car, nous y trouvons l'éternité, l'immensité, la toute-puissance, l'invisibilité, l'immatérialité, l'incompréhensibilité, le principe de la vie, du mouvement et de la lumière, en un mot, la plupart des attributs propres a l'Être suprême, sauf ceux qui ne sont connus que par la révélation, tels que la Bonté, la Miséricorde, la Justice, &c.

Pour les philosophes de la Chine qui n'avaient pas des idées bien arrêtées sur la nature de Dieu, on conçoit qu'il y eût impossibilité à dénommer, d'une manière adéquate, un être auquel leur langue n'avait pas encore donné de nom, et que, pour se tirer d'embarras, ils aient adopté le mot vague et obscur de Tao. Mais pour nous qui avons, sur la cause première de toutes choses, des notions assez précises se résumant dans le mot Dieu, je ne vois pas pourquoi nous traduirions littéralement Tao par "Voie," expression qui, dans l'espèce, ne signifie absolument rien, par la raison qu'elle signifie tout ce qu'on veut.

Je sais bien qu'on m'opposera certains passages du Tao-tœ-kiñ (chap. liii.) où le Tao est décrit comme ayant les qualités d'une grande voie, d'un chemin où l'on peut marcher. Mais comme dans vingt autres passages les attributs surnaturels du Tao excluent toute idée, même éloignée de chemin, on doit tout simplement conclure qu'en présence du Grand Principe universel qu'ils voulaient dénommer, les philosophes chinois ont eu recours à des images et à des comparaisons différentes, tantôt en harmonie avec le sens littéral du nom par eux adopté, tantôt en désaccord, mais tendant toutes à rendre la même idée. L'Ecriture sainte, elle même, offre une foule d'exemples de ce genre dans les dénominations diverses qu'elle applique à Dieu, et parmi lesquelles on trouve aussi celle de Voie; car, quoique la Divinité se résume dans une idée simple, dans l'attribut de l'asséité, d'où tous les autres attributs découlent nécessairement, l'intelligence bornée de l'homme n'est pas moins obligée de l'envisager sous des aspects et avec des attributs différents, si elle veut se faire une idée relative des divers modes d'action ou de manifestation de la divinité dans l'ordre de l'esprit ou dans l'ordre de la matière.

Ainsi, on a vu page 118, que j'ai traduit le mot Tao par "Vérité." Cette expression peut logiquement être admise partout où elle se rapporte a l'Être "éternel et sans nom, antérieur à toutes choses," dont parle Lao-tze: néanmois, dans la définition donnée ici par Confucius, et où j'ai conservé l'expression de Vérité céleste, on pourrait dire tout aussi bien L'Immensité éternelle, et Le Pouvoir créateur qui donne à tous les êtres l'existence et la forme.

En résumé, je crois que le mot Tao des anciens philosophes chinois ne peut, au fond, s'appliquer qu'à Dieu, mais qu'on peut le traduire de plusieurs manières préférablement à Voie, suivant l'attribut ou le mode d'action sous lequel on envisage la divinité, sans que, pour cela, nous entendions accorder aux théologues de la Chine une connaissance du vrai Dieu plus étendue que leurs expressions ne le comportent." "Li-ki," p. 142.

Tao represents a grand though vague mental conception. As in the "Tao-tê-ching" it denotes the idea of a power or cause which throughout all the universality of existence moves at rest, works without action, teaches without speech, and governs without administration. In "Lie tzŭ," for example, is a remarkable passage beginning, "The underived and ever-living is Nature" (無所由而常生者道也); in Faber's rendering, "Was Keinen Urquell hat und beständig producirt, ist die Natur"). Here also Nature is to be understood as the law or principle of order which pervades the universe. With the early Taoist writers, however, the word has also acquired a peculiar technical use, and denotes the Supreme Art or wisdom, that is, the art of prolonging one's life indefinitely, of becoming a *hsien* (仙) or Immortal. As an instance of the use of the word in this its peculiarly Taoist sense we may take a passage in "Chuang tzŭ." One worthy says to another, "You are old, sir, and yet you have the complexion of a child. How is that?" The old man replies, "I have learned the art" (吾聞道矣), that is, as the context shows, the art of prolonging life. This art was at first a spiritual process consisting of self-conquest and self-purification, but it degenerated into the compounding of elixirs and the manipulation of the body. The use of *tao* in the sense of magic art and specially the art of prolonging life or acquiring immortality is not confined to the professed Taoists: but it is regarded as theirs, peculiarly and originally. The term *shan* (善)-*tao,* used in this way, denotes a clever means, and *shan-tao-shên-yao* (善道神藥) is a clever means and efficacious drugs for producing longevity.

Confucianists object to the *tao* of Taoists whether denoting the art of becoming immortal or the attainment of moral perfection that it is always selfish, beginning and ending with self. As denoting a spiritual State also *tao* is more human and practical with the Confucianists than with the Taoists. The former say that with the latter *tao* is an "empty negation," a nameless unreality, while with them it is something real, human and intelligible. Again, with the Confucianists *tao* is always spiritual, the law or principle which pervades and rules or directs matter; but

with the Taoists the word came to be another name for the thin vapoury matter (氣) which makes the air we breathe. Moreover, though many of the Confucianist phrases which contain the word *tao* are also found in the writings of Taoists, yet in these latter a new meaning is frequently imported. This is the case, for example, with the terms above noticed *tao-hsin* and *jen-hsin.* With some Taoists the *tao-hsin* is the *yang* air, that of metal and water; the *jen-hsin* is the *yin* air, that of wood and fire.

A well-known Taoist expression is *tao-yin* (引), meaning literally to rule or direct and guide, but used in the sense of suppressing or controlling the breathing as a means to prolonging life. In "Chuang tzŭ" we find mention of *tao-yin-chih-shi* (道引之士) or Professors of Breath-suppressing. The course which the famous Chang Liang (Mayer's Ch. R. M., No. 26) took in order to render himself immortal was to abstain from cereals, control his breathing *(tao-yin)* and make his body light. The Taoists have another common expression *tao-chin-ku* (道筋骨), to lead sinews and bones, that is, to knead the body gently, a practice also conducive to long life.

We have already seen the term *huang* (黃)-*tao* used to designate the ecliptic. It is also applied to the conjunction of the sun and moon, and forms the ninth of the moon's ways or places. From this perhaps comes its use in common expressions like *huang-tao-chi-jih* (吉日) or *huang-tao-jih-tzŭ,* to denote a lucky day. A day so styled is fortunate by divine arrangement and in consequence of harmonies established between heaven and earth. The mode of speech is often said to be Taoist, but it is common to all Chinese. The Taoists, however, use *huang-tao* in a way which is perhaps peculiar to themselves. They employ it to denote the state of unconscious innocence which precedes the knowledge of good and evil; and it is sometimes restricted to the moral character of a babe unborn. In some places the Chinese generally apply the term also to men, and a *huang-tao-jen* is a man whose honesty and goodness are inborn and thorough.[1]

[1] Julien's "Le Livre de la Voie," &c., Int., p. 10; "Liber Sinicus *Tao Tè Kim* inscriptus, in Latinum idioma versus," by Jos. de Grammont apparently. The

There are several other forms of expression in which *Tao* is used in peculiar senses by the Taoists, but as these are known to few except Taoist adepts and curious students we need not refer to them farther.

The Mahometans make much use of the word *tao,* sometimes employing it in its common senses, but often in ways peculiar to themselves. Thus we find it used by them in the sense of duty, but *T'ien-tao* is heavenly duty, that is, man's duty to God. The *wu-kung* (五功) or "Five Foundations of Practical Religion," viz., Repetition of the Creed, Prayer, Fasting, Alms, and a Pilgrimage to Mecca constitute man's *t'ien-tao* or Religious duties, those appointed by Heaven. So *jen-tao,* or man's duties, are those which man has to observe towards his fellows, duties of human appointment.

Then *tao* is the Law of God as revealed to Moses and recorded by him in the Law, to David and written by him in the Psalms, to Jesus and taught in the Gospel, to Mahomet and set forth in the Koran. So *chêng* (正)-*tao* is the right or perfect doctrine, that is, the religion of Mussulmans. But *wai* (外)-*tao* does not always denote heretics or different religions; the term is also applied to orthodox believers who transgress the law. Thus it is used of Mussulmans who drink wine, or in other ways break the commandments.

Again, *tao* is the law of God in the universe, the code of Nature or Providence (天理當然之則). The world of phenomena gives but an imperfect view of this law, and only the saint among men can attain to its perfect understanding.

"Paraphrasis" for the fuller understanding of the translation says of the first sentence,—"Ratio quæcunque quam humano ratiocinio possumus assequi, et totaliter comprehendere, non est æterna illa Ratio, quam primo, et per se refert, et describit caracter *Tao*." The phrase *T'ien-tao* (天道) is translated by "Coelestis sapientia"; and in one place *tao* is rendered by "doctrina de divino Tao." The old Father was a learned man and a good Chinese scholar, but he had theories and expanded the dark sentences of the *Tao-tê-ching* in accordance with his theories. "Lie-tzŭ," chap. iv.; Faber's "Licius," p. 91; "Chuang-tzŭ," chaps. iii., vi.; "Lun-hêng," chap. ii.; "Hui-hsin-chi" (會心集) 下, p. 19; "Shih-chi," chap. vii.; "Kan-ying-pien," chap. i.; p. 17, note. See Ho Kuan-tzŭ's works for various uses of the word *Tao,* some of which seem to be peculiar, while others are common. So also the "Ch'ang-tao-chên-yen" (唱道眞言), in which *Tao* is the secret of long life, employs the word also in several other senses.

Then *tao* is used for Ímán or Faith, that is, the internal state of piety or holiness. As the flint must be struck by man in order to bring out its latent heat, so the heart of the Mussulman must be struck by divine truth before the faith *(tao)* which is latent in it will shine forth in practical religion. This *tao* cannot be defined or described, but it may be illustrated by figures and parables.

Some, writing in the spirit of Sufiism, explain *tao* as the yearning to abandon the world and return to the True, that is, to God (却物還眞之趨向也). It is also described as intuitive knowledge and intuitive ability, and it is also sometimes used apparently in the sense of conscience. It is also an ideal state of perfection for which the true believer is to seek, but which can be attained only by saints. They cannot teach it to others nor even reduce it to action in their own lives.

The uses which the Mahometan writers make of this word and their treatment of it generally help us occasionally to understand the Confucian views about it. Thus the Mahometans evidently did not consider that *tao* was regarded as a deity, for it is not enumerated along with *Li* (理), Heaven, Lao-tzŭ, and Buddha as objects wrongly regarded as divine or God. Again they employ expressions like *yuan-tao* (原道) in the original Confucian sense, but with a new application. Thus *yuan-tao* is the original rule of belief or true account of things from the point of view of orthodox Mussulmans.[1]

As a further appendix to the account here given of the word *tao* we may add a few observations on the use made of it in Chinese Christian writings and specially in the New Testament. In the sense of way or road, literal and figurative, this word occurs often in the Old Testament. In that work it is used, promiscuously apparently, to render five Hebrew words which do not quite agree in meaning but have all the sense of path or road. It may be noticed that the Hebrew *dabar* and its derivatives are

[1] See the 天方典禮, chap. i.; cf. "Notes on Muhammadanism," by the Rev. T. P. Hughes (2nd ed.), p. 101; 正教眞詮, chap. 上; The Mahomn. 三字經; 天方性理, chap. iv.; 淸眞指南, chap. ix.

used in ways many of which are very like those in which *tao* is used, but those terms are seldom, if ever, rendered by this word in the Chinese version of the Old Testament. In the New Testament the use of *tao* in the sense of way is not very common; the colloquial term *tao-lu* being often substituted. This does not seem to be always done with good effect. Thus in the 6th verse of the 14th chap. of John's Gospel, Jesus says to Thomas, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life." For the first clause of this the Chinese has 我就是道路, I am just a road, or I am road. Here and in the context *tao* would surely have been better. So also where Paul, writing to the Corinthians, says, "And a still more excellent way shew I unto you," the use of *tao-lu* to render "way" does not seem right. In other passages, as, *e.g.*, in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xviii, vers. 25 and 26 the word "way" in the expression "the way of the Lord" is correctly rendered by *tao*.

This word serves also to translate the Greek *logos*, singular and plural, in its various meanings. Thus the statement, "In the beginning was the word" (or Reason, Logos) is in the Chinese version, "In the grand beginning was *tao* (太初有道), with a comment adding that *yen* (言) is a various reading for *tao*. This appears a little strange, for to say that "Speech is God" is rather Aryan than Semitic. Then the First Epistle of John begins, "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word or word) of life" (*περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς*, perhaps, "concerning the account of the Life"). The Chinese has, "the doctrine of life (生命之道) which we heard, which our eyes saw, our hands handled, which was from the beginning." Here also, according to one edition, we may substitute *yen* (言) for *tao*, but the whole translation is faulty. The word *logos* is often rendered by *tao-li* apparently as an equivalent of *tao*. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. vi., v. 1), the writer says, "leaving the word (or discussion, *logon*) of the beginning of Christ," "inchoationis Christi sermonem," for which the Chinese gives,

"We ought now to leave the first principles of Christ's doctrine" (*tao-li*). This also does not seem to be a very good rendering of the Apostle's words. In the 13th verse of the previous chapter we are told that every one taking milk is unversed in the reason of righteousness, "without experience of the word of righteousness" (ἄπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης). Here the Chinese brings out the meaning better than the English, "All who can only take milk are unable to understand the doctrine *(tao-li)* of righteousness." In the 31st verse of the 8th chap. of the Gospel of John "my word" *(logos)* is *tao-li,* and in v. 43 of the same chapter it is *tao;* and in the 23rd and 24th verses of the 14th chapter of the same Gospel we have this word used to express *logon* and *logous.*

Further, *tao* is also used to translate the Greek ῥῆμα, in the singular and plural, meaning word or saying. It is so taken, for example, in the 10th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, in which is a passage which also illustrates well some of the other uses of this word. In the 8th verse we read that "the righteousness which is of faith" says, "The word is nigh thee," the statement being a quotation from the 30th chapter of Deuteronomy. Here "the word" is τὸ ῥῆμα, and the Chinese has, "this doctrine" (or discourse) *tao,* though in the rendering of the original term in Deuteronomy a different expression is used. The Chinese rendering of the Hebrew term given in the Epistle is apparently better than those of the Greek and English versions. The writer of the Epistle proceeds to explain that "the word" is "the word of faith which we preach," and now τὸ ῥῆμα becomes *tao-li.* Then in the 15th verse we have the term for "to preach" translated by *chuan* (傳)-*tao,* a phrase borrowed from Confucianism, but with its meaning restricted to the transmission chiefly oral of Christian doctrines. In the next verse, however, *chuan-tao* represents the Greek word translated "report." Here the writer of the Epistle quotes from the Septuagint, while the missionaries translate from the Hebrew and give a better rendering. Then the writer adds, "So belief is from hearing and hearing by word (διὰ ῥήματος) of Christ." In the Chinese we have, "Thus believing truth *(tao)* comes from

hearing it, and hearing truth comes from the speech (*yen* 言) of God," a rendering which can scarcely be regarded as faithful. Do "some ancient authorities" read God here instead of Christ?

The word *tao* is also used to translate πιστις, faith, as in the 13th verse of the second chapter of Revelations, where we find it in the expression "didst not deny my faith" (不拒絕我的道). It is also used in the vague sense of things or matters. Thus Paul writes to Timothy (1st Tim., 1 chap., 5th, 6th verses), "The end of the charge is love out of a pure heart and a good conscience and faith unfeigned; from which things some having swerved have turned aside unto vain talking." The Chinese version for "which things" (ὧν) has *chê-tao* (這道). This word is also often introduced by the translators to fill up the sense or to define the use of some general term. Thus Paul writes to Timothy, "Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection," and the Chinese version has, "learn *tao*." Paul also does not allow a woman to teach, but the Chinese has to teach *tao*. So a woman is to get her religion from her husband and keep it to herself; a comfortable doctrine for married men.

As a religion or system of belief Christianity is of course now called *chêng* (正)-*tao*, and *chên* (眞)-*tao*, and simply *tao*, or the Truth. The claim for it to be the only true system of faith is put forward with unscrupulous arrogance by some missionaries. Thus in the *T'ien-chu-shih-i* (天主實義), by the famous Ricci, the relation of this religion to others and its superiority over them are misrepresented in a reckless manner. Not only was the *tao* of Confucius and his predecessors the *tao* of Christianity, and the Shang Ti of them the *T'ien chu* of the Jesuits, but also some of the characteristic doctrines of these last were taught not explicitly but implicitly in the sacred books of the Confucianists. These, it was true, had not the term "shoulder-knots" *totidem verbis*, nor even *totidem syllabis*, but it was there *totidem literis*, in a crude disjointed manner. The missionaries generally have a tenderness for Confucianism, and with them the "left-hand ways" in China are chiefly Taoists and Buddhists. They also have given a new use to the phrase

T'ien tao, employing it to denote Christianity, the "Celestial, way." "Christian Theology" is translated by *Shên-tao* a name also applied to Theology generally. This would not be a bad term if it were not already cumbered with many meanings. We also find *tao* used to represent the Second Person of the Trinity in the formula *Fu-tao-shêng-shên* (父 道 聖 神), Father, "the Word," and Holy Spirit.[1]

Here we finish the quest of this word *tao* at least for the present. Some may think that in several cases the distinctions in meaning given to it are not differences, and that consequently the number of the meanings has been needlessly multiplied. But it is possible that in such cases a careful study of the context in which the doubtful expressions occur will modify this opinion. The student, moreover, will be able to add from his own reading several renderings and interpretations of the word which have not been mentioned in this examination. We must remember that the character *tao* is a very comprehensive one (道 字 廣 大), that it is a name for all fine things, and that it is always everywhere in all things. In their use of this word Chinese moral and political teachers do not always attach to it an accurately defined meaning. They have rather in their minds a group of associations bound up with the word and memories of its earlier occurrences. Hence in many cases, as we have seen, the word is susceptible of several interpretations, all to some extent correct as reflecting the mind of the speaker or writer.[2]

[1] The Chinese version of the New Testament quoted from or referred to in the text is the "Hsin-yao-ch'uan-shu" (新 約 全 書), in Mandarin, printed at Peking in 1872. Among other books used are the "*T'ien-chu-shi-i*" and the "*Shêng-ching-tse-yao-hsiang-lun*" (聖 經 擇 要 詳 論). These two are by Roman Catholic missionaries; but several of the illustrations in the text are from works by Protestant missionaries. See Dr. Edkins in *Chi. Rec.*, vol. xviii., p. 352.

[2] Of modern native books the 緒 言, by 戴 震, is one which may be consulted with profit for information about the meanings of *Tao*.

CHAPTER VI.

TERMS RELATING TO DEATH AND BURIAL.

In the last Chapter we saw an instance of one word in Chinese having to serve many uses, and it could easily be shewn that several other words also have wide ranges of meaning. Now in so far as a language has not separate names for particular mental and material objects it may be regarded as a defective instrument. The deficiency may be taken to indicate careless observation, lazy thinking, and a comparatively low state of culture on the part of those who use the language. But a careful examination of the vocabulary of one people and its comparison with those of others will shew that among nations which have reached some degree of civilization the lack of terms is usually partial and relative. A language may have in many cases several names for one object, and terms to represent not only the great but also the minute differences among resembling or related varieties, and it may also have a rich store of words for certain departments of knowledge. Yet it may be sadly wanting in terms to denote certain other objects and distinctions which are seen to exist in other languages.

Now with respect to its store of available materials some Western critics, as has been stated above, have pronounced the Chinese language to be poor, while others have declared it to be rich. As to its formal destitution, its utter want of inflections, there is no doubt or dispute. But whether its stock of words is small and inadequate, and inferior to the stores of other languages should be decided only after careful investigation and comparison. That Chinese is in certain respects poor in terminology when its vocabulary is contrasted with others better known to us may be at once granted. It has not, for example, so many terms for God as one, nor so many names for a lion or gold as others; and there are many expressions in Western science and philosophy for which it would perhaps be impossible to find Chinese equivalents. But they judge ill who say that it is in phrases for moral

and spiritual concepts that Chinese is specially wanting while it is rich only in terms relating to the business of daily life and in the sensuous phrases which suit a materialistic philosophy and an unimaginative poetry. The air of poverty which this language bears at first sight is partly due to the want of inflections and the sparing use of modifying particles. In some degree also it is due to the small vocabulary at the command of many natives who have intercourse with the Western strangers, and partly to the slight acquaintance which the latter have with the resources of the language.

In matters which concern the material condition of man a thorough comparison of vocabularies would perhaps shew that the Chinese is poorer than our European languages. Thus the latter are much richer than the former in terms relating to the uses which are made of the domestic animals. Any one can test this statement by comparing, say, the vocabularies compiled by M. Rolland in his learned work on the popular fauna of France with the supply of terms on the like subjects in Chinese. Take, for example, the pig, as a native author says, though in a wider sense than he meant, a beast of all the world. It has been known in China from the earliest times of which we have record, and it was apparently one of the first animals to submit to the will of a human master.[1]

In China the oldest and most general name for the hog, the *Sus scrofa*, tame and wild, is *shih* (豕). This character, as originally written, was intended to suggest the legs, bristles, and tail of the animal, while the word *shih* itself had reference to the way in which its tail is held up and curled back. Some, however, regard the word as meaning dirty, and find in it an allusion to the unclean habits of the pig as to food when domesticated. Another old and classical name for swine is *chih* (彘), which seems to have been also a popular term in what is now Honan. It was, according to some, a pig shaky on its hind legs, and, according to others, a sow. In Mencius' time it seems to have

[1] *Cf.* Faune Populaire de France, T. v., p. 213. The Sus Scropha Domesticus.

been used in the latter sense, though he uses *chih,* and *mu-chih,* brood-sows, as well.[1]

Neither *shih* nor *chih,* however, is at present in general use among the people, and the one common word for pig everywhere is that written 豬. This, in the Mandarin language, is pronounced *chu,* and in the various dialects it stands for *chü, tzŭ, tu, tü, ti.* One of the explanations of this name is that it means numerous, and alludes to the prolific character of the pig, as the corresponding Aryan word *sus* is traced to a root meaning to procreate. From *chu* as primitive are formed many compounds and derivatives, some of which will now be given.

A boar is in book and technical language a *hsiung* (㹅), or *chia* (豭), or *ya* (牙), the last meaning simply "tusks." But among the people we find only the terms *chu-kung* (豬 公), or *chu ku* (牯), each meaning "pig male," *sus mas.* For a sow the correct term is *mu* (䱢), or *pa* (豝), the latter being also an old name for the wild boar. In common speech, however, a sow is always called *chu mu,* pig mother, female pig. She is an unclean animal, and *amica luto sus* will go back to it to the end. For her when "desirous of offspring" there is a special term *lou* (written 㺏 and 婁), which is also used as an adjective meaning "lascivious." It is best known from its application to a famous lady of very immoral character who was a contemporary of Confucius. This lady committed incest with her brother and afterwards became wife to the Chief of Wei. The latter, on her account, summoned her brother from Sung to his court and kept him there. When the heir of Wei was travelling through Sung the people sang to him, "Since you have settled your wanton sow (既 定 (or 宅) 爾 婁 豬) why not send back our old boar (盍 歸 吾 艾 豭)?"

In books a shote or porket is called *tun* or *t'un* (豘 or 豚), the latter being also in some places used for pigs generally:

[1] "Shuo-wên," s.v, 豕; "Hsiao-shuo" (小 說); L.C.C. iv., p. 422; Shih, chap. v., p. 81. where we find mention of *shih* (豕白蹢) with white feet. Other book names for the pig are *chien* (豣), a full grown pig, one three years' old; *tsung* (豵), a small pig, a yearling, L. C. C., iv., pp. 230, 36. Kanghsi gives several other terms, but they are scarcely known even in literature. "Hsiao urh-ya," p. 6; "Fang-yen," chap. viii.; "Pên-tsao," chap. 1.; L. C. C., ii., pp. 7 and 337.

but in common language the only term for a porket is one like *chu-tzu* (子), pig child, young pig. A barrow is in classical language called *fên* (豶), but the peasant knows no other name for it than *yen* (閹)-*chu*, castrated boar. There are also in books special names for the pig when three months, six months, a year, two years, three years old, and also epithets descriptive of some of its peculiarities. These, however, are little if at all in request or known among the people who generally use *chu* with the addition of a specializing term.

But though Chinese has many names for pigs it has no distinct term for pork or bacon. The former is called *chu-jou*, pig flesh, and the latter is the same with the word for salted prefixed. Among the people the word *jou*, in Foochow *nük*, and in Amoy *bah*, stands most frequently for pork, as our coresponding word "flesh" in old England meant to the poor people the flesh of pigs. The collops of pork sold in the market are called *jou-ting* (肉釘), literally "flesh nails." To sell pork, at least for the common people, is *mai-jou*, sell meat. Hence comes a saying among the Foochow people, "Though on terms of closest intimacy, you sell me your pork dear (熟熟熟賣貴肉)," that is, you cheat me though we are old friends. A ham, when cured, is a *huo-t'ui* or "fired leg," but otherwise it is only a *chu-t'ui*, or pig's leg. "Dans le cochon tout est bon," and pettitoes are a dainty. The technical name for them is *hai* (豥), but this word is not known to the people. They speak of *chu-t'i* (蹄), pig's feet, when these are sold in the market, and they call them, when cooked, *ch'ien-li-hsiang* (千里香), a thousand *li* aroma. The word *huan* (豢) means originally to "feed pigs with grain." Thence it came to have the signification of feeding or fattening any animal for killing. It is even used, as in the "Tso-chuan," of feasting a man with a view of bringing him to destruction, and of the rearing of female domestic slaves.[1]

[1] Alphabetic Dict., Foo. Dial., p. 821, s.v., 孰; Douglas' Dict., Amoy Dial., p. 490; Cf. Marsh's Lectures on the English Language, First Series, p. 248 (4th Ed.) For "roast pork" an old classical name is *mao-pao* (毛炰), a contraction for *mao-pao-chih-tun*, a young pig scraped and roasted. L. C. C., iv., p. 625; Shih, chap. viii.; p. 25.; L. C. C., v., p. 825; "Tso chuan," chap. xlviii.

Passing on to another subject we may notice how well supplied this language is with words to denote divisions of time. Thus not only has the year its four seasons and twelve months, but it has also its twenty-four solar periods (二十四氣). Then each month is known not only as first, second, and so on, but it has moreover natural and cyclical names, and an appellation to mark its place in a season. Thus the month of February in 1886 is in the Chinese year the *chêng* (正) or first month, and it is called *san-yang* (三陽), and *kêng-yen* (庚寅), and *mêng-ch'un* (孟春) or first month of Spring.

The division of time called a year has several names, some of which may be noted. A very old one is *chi* (朞), which occurs in the first section of the "Shu-ching." It is said to be a full solar year of about 366 days, a complete revolution (周) of the sun, or "circuit of the heavens," and it is translated by Dr. Legge, "a round year." It is contrasted with *sui*, to be presently noticed, which is only a period of twelve moons, except when a month is intercalated. The word *chi* is by some identified with *ch'i* (期) in the sense of a year, while many regard the two as quite distinct. The latter word has several meanings, such as to meet with, expect, a fixed time, in addition to that of a year. In this last sense it is of very common occurrence in the language of mourning. The term *ch'i-fu* (期服) denotes, as will be seen below, a twelve months' mourning. Here *ch'i* is often pronounced *chi* and the character 朞 used apparently as the exact equivalent of *ch'i* as above. This last word has also a peculiar technical use in the sense of "one hundred years of age," an instance of which occurs in the "Shu-ching."

A very early name for a year is *tsai* (載), which was the recognized term during the period of Yao and Shun (B.C., 2350 to 2205). It is explained as meaning "the beginning," that is, the recommencement of life in Spring (物終而始). To die in Winter and revive in Spring represents the whole annual course of nature, and hence *tsai*, as year, is also explained to mean complete (成). Another name is *sui* (歲), which was in fashion during the Hsia period (B.C., 2204–1766). There are several

explanations of the use of this term, one of which is that it indicates the time in which Jupiter, *sui-hsing*, moves a stage in his twelve years' orbit. The character is said to be *pu* 步, a planet, and 戌 phonetic, that is, the planet called *sui*, or Jupiter. Another interpretation is that a year is so called as if *sui* (遂) to follow, because it is one orderly succession of the seasons.

During the Shang dynasty (B.C., 1765–1122) the word *ssŭ* al. *i* (祀) came into use as the designation of a year. This word, as the character shows, points to the sacrifice which was offered at the end of the year.

In the time of the Chou dynasty the word which was chiefly used as name for a year was *nien* (年). This character is said to be properly 秊 that is, *ho* meaning grain, and *ch'ien* (or *jen*) serving a phonetic purpose, and thus *nien* was at first merely a harvest (禾一熟). It became, however, the common term for the period of twelve months or a revolution of the seasons, and it has continued such down to the present. The words *tsai* and *sui* are also still current, though the latter has become to some extent in popular usage restricted to the sense of a year of one's life. In "Mo tzŭ" we find it and *nien* used apparently in their old senses. Thus he speaks of *shi-nien-sui-shan* and *hsiung* (時 年 歲 善 and 凶), that is, the seasons' harvests making a good (or a bad) year. Faber translates the two expressions simply by "sind die Zeiten gut" and "sind die Zeiten schlecht." In Mencius we find the two words treated as synonymous and interchangeable as in the expressions *lo-sui* (樂 歲) and *hsiung-nien*, good and bad years; and he also uses *sui* as a contraction for *sui-hsiung*, badness of the year.

We are told that one term for year in the Hsia period in addition to *sui* was *nien* (稔). This is also an old word for harvest, and it is used occasionally to denote a year, especially of one's life. In this sense it is now found chiefly in poetry and elegant compositions such as celebrate the praises of deceased friends.

The word *la* (臘) originally, "the sacrifice after the winter solstice," and hence *winter*, is also employed in literature to denote a year of one's life, especially the "growing winters" which lay us low. This use of the word is said to date from Ch'in Shih Huang

Ti, the one great successful innovator in China. The Buddhists, it will be seen presently, make a peculiar use of this word. In common life it may be said of a person *la-ta-kao* (臘大高), his winters are very many, but it is not usual to apply the word *la* to any one unless he looks old. In speaking of a young person's age the word *ch'un*, Spring, is used as a substitute for year. Instead of *ch'un* we sometimes find *ch'ing* (青) employed in this manner, and so used *ch'ing* points to the fresh verdure of Spring, the salad days of life when one is green in affections and judgment.

An old synonym for *sui* in the sense of a year of life is *ling* (齡) from the word for *teeth* with *ling* as phonetic. This word does not seem to be very common at present, and it is perhaps a little antiquated. It is used, however, occasionally of children in such expressions as *shih-i-ling-tung-tzŭ* (十一齡童子), a boy of eleven years, and *pa-ling*, eight years of age. The primitive of this word *chih* (齒), teeth, is also employed in the sense of a year of life. Thus *ch'ih-shu* (數), the number of teeth, is the number of one's years, and *shu-jen-chih-ch'ih*, to count the years of one's life. So also the phrase *i* (以)-*ch'ih* is used in the sense of "as to age," or "in years."

The word *huo* (火), al. *hui*, meaning *fire*, is said to be an ancient local name for a year, and to be the origin of the present term in Hainanese. In that dialect a period of twelve months is called *Hi*, and a year of one's life is *Hui* (like *hui* in Swatow, and *hei* in Amoy).

The years of an Emperor's reign are sometimes referred to under the term *i* (禩), but the use of the word thus written is not supported by good authority. This is supposed to be only an erratic way of writing the word *ssŭ* (祀), mentioned above, which is also read *i* and written 禩.

Another name of a year is *chi* (紀), which also means the space of twelve years. Thus the phrase *i-chi* (一紀) is used in the sense of "it is now a dozen years since."[1]

[1] "Urh-ya," chap. vi.; "Poh-wu-t'ung," chap. iv.; Wade in Transactions, Ethnl. Soc., vol. vii. (new ser.), p. 210; "*Tu-tuan*" (獨斷), p. 7; "Mò-tzŭ," chaps. i and xii.; Faber's Micius, p. 43; L. C. C., ii., p. 24; "Mêng," chap. i.; L. C. C., ii., p. 8; "Mêng," chap. i.; "Yu-hsio," &c., chap. i.; "Ch'ang-li-shi-chi-chu" (昌黎詩集註), chap. x.; p. 3.

The richness of this language in certain departments may be further illustrated by a reference to some of the terms which it has to denote the successive phases of human life. Not only has it names corresponding to our infant, child, boy, youth, man, old man. It has also terms to signify shades of difference in these, for which we have no corresponding expressions.

Let us begin with a new-born babe. For it the common term is *ying* or *ying-êr* (嬰兒), the child of the breast, the little one borne in the mother's bosom and nourished from her breast. Speaking precisely *êr* is a male, and *ying* a female infant, but the distinction is not observed, nor is the term strictly confined to babes and sucklings. When an infant can recognise its mother with a laugh, it is called *hai* (孩), from the sound which it makes in attempting to laugh. Some think that an infant does not smile until it is about two years of age. It then becomes interesting and may be spoken of as a *hai-t'i-chih-t'ung* (孩提之童), a baby that is a child to be carried in the arms. Others think that the name is derived from the father's smile, *hai* (咳), when his baby is formally presented to him and he is pleased to give it a name. It is applied to both sexes, but a girl is distinguished as *nü-hai-tzŭ*, while a boy is simply *hai-tzŭ*. This term also is used of children generally and even of grown up children. Another name for an infant is *ju* (孺), a word which means in this use "milk-fed." It indicates that the baby is soft and tender, with joints and bones not yet in proper working order, but it also is loosely applied.

The child of seven years of age is called *tao* (悼), a word which also means to pity. The name is derived by some from the tender compassion and love which a parent shows to a child. Others derive the use of this special name from the fact that one of such tender years when he does what is wrong is to be treated with pity *(tao)*, not punished. Some also say that a child is called *tao* as if *t'ao* (逃), because his impulse is to run away and hide when he has been naughty. For a boy of nine or ten years of age the proper term is *yu* (幼), which means "few," that is, *yu* is one of *few* years, and so young and tender. Another term for a boy of about this age is *mêng* (蒙). This is originally

the name of a climbing plant, the dodder, which grows over and covers the shrub to which it attaches itself. So a boy is a child in the dark, shrouded in ignorance (幼稺而蒙昧), and accordingly to be put under a schoolmaster. The use of the term *mêng* or *mêng-t'ung* to denote a pupil or scholar, which is still common, is very old and is found in the "Yi-ching." This word *t'ung* (童) is properly the special designation of a boy at the age of fifteen: but it is used of both sexes and is applied also to lambs and bullocks. To look for horns on a lamb (彼童而角) is an old saying sanctioned by canonical usage, and indicates action as vain as to reap where there had been no sowing. When applied to a male youth *t'ung* expresses the fact that he is uncapped and under twenty years of age; and when used of a maiden it denotes, that she is not invested with the hair-pin of full age. The character, as once written, according to the "Shuo-wên," was made up of *ch'ien* (䇂) and *chung* (重) for a phonetic purpose. The word *ch'ien* means a crime or offence, and the *t'ung* was a male condemned to servitude as a judicial punishment. It is still used in the sense of slave, concubine, and other terms of humiliation.

At the age of twenty years a youth is capped and from this time he is caled a *jen* (人) or man. This is the general term for him as a full-grown human being for the rest of his life. But for this particular period when he is twenty years old there is a special designation, *jo* (弱). The word means weak, yielding, and the person so called is regarded as a feeble young man to be still under a teacher or master. He is *nien-ch'ing* (年輕), light in years, or *nien-chi-yu-hsiao* (年紀幼小), with a brief record of them. When he attains the age of thirty he is called *chuang* (壯), able-bodied. This denotes that he is fit to serve as a soldier and to have a separate establishment. When forty years old a man is called *ch'iang* (强), that is, strong and resolute; but the word is often used simply in the sense of a householder or head of a family.

For a man at fifty years of age the proper term is *ai* (艾), the name of the *Artemisia Moxa*. At this age the mixture of white and black hairs gives the head a greyish appearance like that

of the leaves of the above plant, and hence the name. But some think it is taken from *ai* in the sense of to maintain or nourish, or in the sense to bear sway, exercise rule. It is, however, not confined in practice to the above technical use but serves to denote a middle-aged or old man generally if healthy and vigorous. In the *hsia shou* (下 壽) or lowest degree of long life, that is, at sixty years of age a man is called *chi* (耆), old and wise. He is now of such an age that he cannot only act for himself but also counsel and lead others.

For our word old the ordinary Chinese equivalent is *lao* (老), a term indicative of a failing or breaking up of the constitution. A son may not use this word of himself in the presence of his parents, but otherwise it is of unlimited application. In popular language we have the term *lao-t'ou* or *lao-t'ou-tzŭ* (老 頭 子), old head, used of any man well up in years. An incident which occurred in the palace during the reign of Chien-lung led to the use of this term in familiar language when referring to the reigning Emperor. It is also applied to the head of a house specially if he is advanced in years. A classical phrase for one in old age, but a *cruda viridisque senectus* is *pan-pai-cho* (頒 白 者). This indicates a man whose hair is turning grey, who is *ts'ang-t'ou* (蒼 頭), hoary headed, according to another epithet. Dr. Legge translates *pan-pai-cho* in Mencius by "gray-haired men," but this is perhaps making them a little too old. The word *pan* in the passage is explained by *pan* (斑), which means striped or streaked, and the reference is to the streaky silver hairs among the black ones. But perhaps Dr. Legge took another interpretation of the word which makes it equivalent to *pin*, the hair on the temples. According to this view the *pan-pai-cho* are the *pai-shou* (白 首) or white heads of popular language.

Some say that the word *old, lao,* is properly applied to a man of seventy years, but the special designation for one of that age is *mao* (耄), old hair, gray and venerable. This word is also said to denote a man of eighty or ninety years, and it is perhaps only a general term for a very old man. It is so used in a passage of the "Shi-ching" where it is applied to a man of ninety-five years, who,

however, also calls himself "little boy" (小子). For a man who has reached the age of eighty and who is consequently in the "middle degree of long life" there is the name *tie* (耋). He is so called, according to one authority, because he is stiff and dark like iron—*t'ie.* This word is technical, however, and not much known at present. It occurs in the "Shi-ching" in a passage which Dr. Legge translates, "If now we do not take our joy the time will pass till we are octogenarians."

The man of ninety years is called *t'ai-pei* (鮐背), globe-fish back. This name is said to be given on account of the rough winkled skin all discoloured which is on the back of an old man. Like many other Chinese explanations this does not seem very natural. As the simple *t'ai* (台), raised up, is used to replace the word for globe-fish, it is perhaps better to take the term *t'ai-pei* as meaning gibbous. We speak of old men being bent with age, as veterans show *curvata senio membra,* but the Chinese seem to take a convex view of an old man, and they name him "raised back" because he has his back up permanently.

The centenarian, as has been seen, is called *ch'i* or *chi* (期), and he is in the "highest degree of long life." He is also called *ch'i-i* (期頤), waiting for attendance, as unable to serve himself. Some think that *ch'i* in the sense of centenarian has reference to that age as the term of human life. When one has seen a hundred years he is supposed to have lived to the end of the time which could have been allowed him by destiny.

For the old generally and for old age there are various other terms and phrases. A very old term is *huang-fa* (黃髮), yellow hair, or *huang-fa-i-ch'ih* (齯齒), yellow hair and baby teeth, to denote men in their second childhood. The Chinese think that the white hairs of extremely old men fall out and are replaced by others of a yellow colour, and that their teeth drop out and are replaced by tiny soft teeth like those of infants. Hence came the above names, which are of good classical authority. The word *huang* by itself is also used in the sense of doting old man, being elliptical for *huang-fa.* But this last does not

necessarily denote the state of second childhood, and it often denotes simply the very old, as in the statement "the prince bows to the aged" (君子式黄髮), that is, he reverences the aged and venerable. Then we have *kou* (耇)-*lao*, dirty and old, begrimed, as it were, with a very long life. The word *kou* is also used alone in this sense, and there is also *hu* (胡)-*kou*, with a similar meaning, though some take *hu* to refer to the loose wrinkled skin of the old man's throat. But *hu-kou* is also used to denote simply the very old who have passed the ordinary limit of long life and on whose eyelids is the shadow of death. Comforts and luxuries are to be provided for such, and they should enjoy, we are told, the fragrance of aromatic herbs (有椒其馨胡考之寧), the terms here used being *hu-k'au*. An old man may also be spoken of as a *tung-li* (凍梨) or "frost pear," because his face like that fruit is speckled with dark spots. Another literary term for an old man and one derived from the ancient classics is *sou* (叟), best known from its occurrence in the first page of Mencius. There King Hui of Liang says to the philosopher, "Venerable Sir (叟), since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand *li*, may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?" We may also have the expression *Huang-fa-sou*, yellow-haired Patriarch, old man of the withered hair.

In addition to the words and phrases here given there are several other designations for the various periods of life. Some are learned expressions and in favour with the professional scholar. Such is *erh-shun* (耳順), ear obedient, from the statement of Confucius that at sixty his "ear was an obedient organ."[1]

But in order to appreicate the copiousness of the Chinese vocabulary we should study it in a subject of general interest. We ought to learn, for example, what is its supply of terms to

[1] Children under seven years for girls, and eight for boys, are for legal purposes sometimes called by the old name *wei-ch'ên-cho* (未齓者), that is, individuals who have not lost their milk teeth. See Han Shu, chap. xxiii.

"Shih-ming," chap. ii.; "Li-chi," chaps. i, v.; L. C. C., ii., pp. 1, 332; Mêng, chap. xiii.; L. C. C., iv., pp. 516, 627; "Shih," chaps. vii., viii.; "Yi-ching," chap. i., p. 16; "Yu-hsio," chap. ii.; L. C. C., i., p. 11.

express the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the people in regard to such matters as birth, death, marriage, and the State Examinations. The death of a parent is to all Chinese an event of the greatest importance, often causing a complete upsetting of the family circumstances and prospects. In every case the change which occurs at death is one of serious consequence not only to the individual who dies, but also to those about him who remain. A review of some of the ways of speaking and writing about the occurrence of this event will help to give us some notion of the richness, at least in one important direction, of this language. It will also show us some of the modes of thought and feeling of the Chinese people. Let us now, accordingly, proceed to notice some of these forms of expression, and first those which tell us what the Chinese think of death in itself.

If we ask a Chinese philosopher what is death? he may put us off with Confucius' reply that as we do not know life we cannot know death. Or he may tell us what occurs at death, and say it is this—the soul and the vital faculties go apart, the former ascending into the air, and the latter descending, that is, into the earth (魂 升 魄 降). Others will say that to every living creature is given a definite amount of air or vital spirits *(ch'i* 氣), the thin etherial matter which waxes and wanes within the body as this grows and decays. When the supply is exhausted there results death, which is the cutting off, coming to an end, of the vital spirits (氣 絕). Or it is said that when a man dies the vital spirits which had come to him from the common stock of air return thither, and that death is consequently a dispersion of air or vital spirits (氣 散). We also find that it is defined as the exhaustion of vital processes and the end of one's allotment of life (化 窮 數 盡).

There have been who held that death is a peaceful rest (休 息). In life all is toil and worry, and it is only death which gives peace and repose. But only of the perfectly good man can it be truly said that death is resting (息), an easy natural ceasing from life and work. To the mean bad man it is a suppression *fu* (伏), an unwelcome passing into obscurity. It is life that man

likes and death he dislikes, said Tzŭ Kung long ago. The name of the dread event and all direct mention of anything which relates to it are generally avoided by the Chinese in their ordinary intercourse. Hence we find that in their talk, and letters, and books they constantly use euphemistic expressions in order to avoid the disagreeable terms which indicate directly death and its attendant circumstances. Thus the general term for death is *ssŭ*, but unwilling to use that the Chinese speak of the "great journey" *hui-ssŭ-wei-chih-ta-hsing* (諱死謂之大行), the long journey from which none come back. It is also said to be a returning or going home, Heimgehen, (*kuei* 歸), but the home is only that of the faith "as vague as all unsweet."

Death is also often called *ta-ku* (大故), the great affair, important matter. It is only, however, to the decease of a parent or a sovereign that this term is properly applied. Thus in Mencius we have Duke Wên of T'êng speaking of the death of his father and saying, "Now unhappily I have come to the great affair (今也不幸至於大故), which Dr. Legge renders, "Now, alas? this great duty to my father devolves upon me." So also the expression "the kingdom has *ta-ku* " means it is in mourning for its ruler, but it may also be used in the sense of having serious trouble such as a rebellion. The decease of a parent is also called *ta-shih* (大事), a term which also means "great or important affair."

Speaking generally death is also called the "great limit" (大限), the bourn which parts irrevocably the quick and the dead. It is also called in common language the "white business" (白事), because in all that relates to it white is the prevailing colour. This term is said to date from the Yin period or from about B.C. 1400, when white was adopted instead of black as the mourning colour. Another name is *ta-ch'i* (大踦), the "great casting off," the quitting hold of life. The *Shuo-wên* calls this a common expression for death, but it is apparently not so at present.[1]

[1] L.C.C., i., p. 105; "*Chu-tzŭ-yü-lei*" (朱子語類), chap. i.; "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. vii.; "Pi-ya," chap. viii.; "Lie-tzŭ," chap. i.; Faber's Lics., p. 13; Hsiao Urh Ya, p. 4; L. C. C., ii., p. 111; "Mêng," chap. v., p. 8; "Chou-li," chap. vii., p. 26; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 6; "Shuo-wên," chap. xi., p. 21.

We go on now to notice some of the phrases which denote the state immediately preceding death. These of course refer only to those who breathe their last among friends and relatives, or at least pass away slowly whether by a natural process or otherwise. When friends and bystanders see that a man's days are numbered, neither they nor he, if he has been a good man, retain the former dread to speak about the approaching event. They may even talk of the coffin, and grave, and the ceremonies to accompany burial. Still few of the terms which we find in use to indicate the approach of death contain the ill-omened word. Let us take note of a few.

A fatal malady, a sickness which is seen to be unto death is called *yen* (阽), a word which has the primitive meaning of a wall threatening to fall. We also find *ping* (病), a disease, occasionally used in the same sense as a fatal malady. When the disease has completely overcome the patient, and he is seen to be dying, he is said to be *mi-liu-chih-chi* (彌留之際). The origin of the expression is to be found in a passage of the "Shu-ching," which Dr. Legge thus translates:—"The king said, Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence and without interruption." In this the second sentence corresponds to the Chinese 病日臻旣彌留 *ping-jih-chin-chi-mi-liu.* The meaning of it is perhaps "the fatal malady has come to a crisis, it is present everywhere and continuously," that is, it has taken complete and permanent hold of me and I may die at any moment. Hence *mi-liu* has come to be a term for *in articulo mortis,* in the last agony of dying. A milder expression of the same kind is *lin-chung* (臨終), approaching death, near the end: and *lin-chung-chih-jih* (之日) is nearly our "dying day." A literary expression with a like meaning is *ming-yü-chung-shih* (命欲終時), the time when life (one's fate) is about to end. There is also the sad expression *kêng-lou-i-chin* (更漏已盡), the sand of the watch glass is already run out, there is no more duty and no more life. This phrase is also occasionally applied to one already departed. Then, as *tuan-hun* is to cut off the soul, to give up

the ghost, so *yü-tuan-hun* (欲斷魂) is to be about to do so, to be approaching dissolution. Another expression with a similar meaning is *po-lao* (魄落), the mortal spirit is fading, the vital forces are falling away. There is also among people of culture an interesting phrase to denote that one is being waited for, viz., *chiang-shu-k'uang* (將屬纊). When used of a dying person this means "ready for the application of the floss," and it recalls a very old practice not quite disused. It was in ancient times the custom to hold a thread or a little floss to the nostrils and mouth of a person at the point of death to observe when breathing ceased. Hence to speak of "being about to use the floss" indicates that the last breath is being waited for (屬纊以俟絕氣). The dying of Tsêng tzŭ, one of the famous disciples of Confucius, has given another refined expression for being on the verge of life. It is recorded of this disciple that as he lay on his death-bed and when life was ebbing away, he found that his sleeping mat was out of order. He caused it to be set right and forthwith passed quietly away. Hence *yi-tso* (易簀) to change (that is, set right) the mat became a scholars's phrase, and it is still in use among the educated. It means that the person of whom it is said has been given up, and that he is prepared for his end which is near at hand. In the "unfenced regions of society" people talk of a man as *yao-ssŭ*, being about to die, and one may use the phrase of himself either in truth or in hyperbole.

Some expressions indicate a state of distress or misery and an unhappy dying. Such a one is *fu-ti-hun* (釜底魂), his spirit is at the bottom of the pot, that is, which is empty. This means that the man of whom it is said is dying of starvation. The good when dying speak words of virtue and wisdom, but those who have led bad lives are seen to quake and shudder when their end is near, and they often talk wildly as if demon-possessed. Hence the phrase *fa-hun* (發昏), to lose one's wits, become confused, is used specifically to denote the mental wandering noticed in some persons when on a death-bed, and thus to signify the state of dying. The very bad sometimes before death see the grim demon—the Satelles Orci—who is waiting to hail their spirit

to fierce tortures in the court below. Hence to say of a man that he "has already seen the demon who is to drag him off" (已見勾引之鬼) is to say that he is dying in terror and agony. There is a special word, *ku* (殑) to denote such fear and distress, but it is not very much used. Many Chinese think that as a man's end draws near he has a kind of presentment or indication such as that noticed above of what is to befal him after the change. This is called the *hsien-ch'ien* (現前) or fore-showing, when it is spoken of the virtuous. They, specially when dying on a sick bed, "through the chinks of the sickness, broken body" see glimpses of the glory of Paradise, and the mild messenger sent to take charge of their spirit when set free. This opinion, however, is of Buddhistic origin, and the Confucian phrases which refer to the dying even of the righteous do not point to a life hereafter. We may take one more example of these. When an official at the end of a long career feels that his mental and bodily powers are failing and that his end is near he pleads old age and retires into the country. It is counted a great blessing for a man to be able to end his days in peace in "the places of his youth," among the mulberry and *tzŭ* trees planted by his forefathers. "There is a spirit of retraction of one to his native country" which is very strong in the Chinese. One of their sages declares, "the bird flies back to his village, the hare goes back to her burrow, the fox dies with his head turned to the hillock of his birth, the water-fowl soars [home] over the water, every one loves his native place." The period of life thus passed at home in feeble old age and hovering uncertainly between life and death is called the twilight, or gloaming. It is the *wan-ching* (晚景) or *mu* (暮)-*ching*, the late or the sunset light by which the day passes gently into night. A synonym for these terms is *sang-yü* (桑榆), mulberries and elms, because for some time after the home-going of the sun his light lingers among the mulberry and elm trees which grow by the cottage. The *sang-yü* is the short and uncertain but soft and peaceful wavering between day and night and between life and death, the twilight of day and of life. But it is also a gloaming which passes into a long

night of deep darkness to which there never comes a day-break—"the twilight of such day

> As after sunset fadeth in the west,
> Which by and by black night doth take away,
> Death's second self, that seals up all in rest."[1]

For the act or process of dying the Chinese language has a large number of expressions, and we now proceed to notice some of these and their applications. Beginning with the sovereign we find it laid down that the correct term to use when mentioning his decease is *pêng* (崩). The character is partly phonetic and the word seems to have denoted originally a natural convulsion attended with noise. Thus we find it applied to the fall of a landslip, and the cleaving of the earth; and the dissolution of the world is called *t'ien-ti-pêng* (天地崩), the loud ruin of heaven and earth. The word is also used of political commotion such as a rebellion, and it is applied to a murrain among sheep. In this last use it is explained as *chün-chi-ye* (羣疾也), a disease of the flock: and it is in other places interpreted to mean a ruin or destruction and a fading or falling away. The loss or decay of music among a people is also spoken of in this way, as when Tsai Wo says that if the superiors in a state do not for three years practise music this must fall into decay (樂必崩), music must go to ruin. In the "Shu ching" we find Wên Wang saying of Show's subjects, according to Dr. Legge's rendering, "*His* people stand in trembling awe of him, as if their horns were falling from their heads." But the words *jo-pêng-chüe-chio* (若崩厥角) in this passage have received other interpretations than that followed by Dr. Legge. Thus they are by some regarded as meaning "as if vailing their horns," that is, bowing their heads in submission to the insurgent chief. The occurrence of the word in the technical sense of the dying of a sovereign is not frequent in the canonical literature. The Shu has it once in

[1] Hsiao Urh ya, p. 4; L. C. C., iii., p. 546; "Shu," chap. vi.; "Shu," chap. xviii. (13): Like *Kêng-lou-i-chen* is the following used of a Buddhist monk wasted by disease and at death's door—*ju-san-kêng-yu-chin-ti-têng* (如三更油盡的燈), "like a lamp at the third watch with the oil exhausted." "Chin-ku-ch'i" (今古奇), chap. x.; "I-li," chap. xl. (13); "Li-chi," chap. ii.; "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. xvii.

recording the death of King Chêng, and in Mencius it is only used of the death of Wên Wang. It is not easy to determine what was the particular idea involved in this application of the word. Some tell us that it points to the confusion and distress caused to a country by the loss of its sovereign; others say that the word is in this sense an expression for great ruin; and others explain it as denoting the falling down of the ruler, that is, from his high eminence above his subjects.[1]

Another way of saying that the Emperor dies is to say that he *ch'i-t'ien-hsia* (棄天下), throws away or renounces the empire, the world. The Emperor is godded while he is alive, and it is only fit he should go to the gods when he dies. So we find that his departure is officially recorded also by the expression *lung-yü-shang-pin* (龍馭上賓), the dragon-rider has gone aloft to be a guest. This form of speech, sometimes varied a little, is often found in Imperial Edicts and other state documents. A reigning Emperor also referring to events after the decease of his father speaks of them as occurring *pin-t'ien-hou* (賓天後) after his father went as guest to heaven. Similar modes of speech are found in other countries as for example India and ancient Italy. Thus we learn that "among all the ancient ruling families of Rajputana the court euphemism for announcing a chief's death is that he has become one of the gods." At Rome it was even known that it was by the Appian Road "divum Augustum et Tiberium Cæsarem ad deos isse."[2]

The dying of an Emperor is also expressed by the euphemism *têng* (登) or *shêng* (升)-*hsia* (遐 or 假), His Majesty has gone far on high. This form of expression is prescribed for use in announcing to a tributary or any foreign state the decease of the sovereign. It is old date, and Lie-tzŭ employs *têng-hsia* to express the death of the legendary Emperor Huang Ti. In this

[1] "Li-chi," chap. i., p. 52; "Lie-tzŭ," chap. i.; L. C. C., i., p. 173; iv., p. 309; i., p. 191; ii., p. 356; iii., pp. 293 and 549; ii., p. 58; "Lun," chap. xvi.; "Shi," chap. v.; "Shu," chap. iv.; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; "Kung-yang" (13), chap. ii.; "Ku-liang" (13), chap. i.

[2] "Han-shu," chap. lxviii.; "Chia-ching's" Edicts, chap. lxii.; A. C. Lyall in Conty. Review for Sept., 1875.

author also and in "Mo-tzŭ" we find a possible explanation of the phrase. They tell us that to the West of *ch'in* (秦), that is, the modern Shensi, was a nation called *I-chü* (儀 渠), that is, perhaps, Aktsü. With this people it was the custom to burn their dead parents on pyres, and from the going up of the smoke the ceremony was called *têng-hsia*, ascending on high.[1]

Another but perhaps rather antiquated term for the demise of a sovereign is *chih* (陟). In this use it is explained by *pêng*, noticed already, and more correctly by *shêng* (昇), to ascend, that is, to heaven. In a well-known passage of the "Shu-ching" this word is used of the death of the Emperor Shun, and there are differences of opinion as to its precise meaning. The words are *wu-shi-tsai-chih-fang-nai-ssu* (五 十 載 陟 方 乃 死); and Dr. Legge translates, "Fifty years after, he went on high and died," a sort of hysteron-proteron statement, as the Doctor saw. The meaning of the words would perhaps be better expressed by "fifty years after he went on high, that is, he died," and they are so understood by some of the native commentators. In another chapter of the same book, King Ch'êng, who had just died, is spoken of as the *hsin-chih-wang* (新 陟 王), newly ascended king, or in Dr. Legge's version, "His recently ascended Majesty." This word *chih* is also used in the senses of advancing or proceeding and of ascending the throne.[2]

The phrase *yen-chia* (晏 駕), to mount in peace, is also used to express the death of a sovereign. But it is also said that properly this phrase applies only to the beginning, the first scene in the act of dying (初 崩). Another classical and literary term to denote the decease of the ruler is *tsu-lao* (殂 落), a compound of which *tsu* means to pass away, and *lao* to fall as a faded leaf. The expression occurs in the "Shu ching" with reference to the Emperor Yao, and in the quotation of the passage by Mencius the character for *tsu* is written 徂, the primary meaning of which is to go or travel. We are told that, in this expression, *tsu*

[1] "Lie-tzŭ," chaps. ii., v.; "Mo-tzŭ," chap. vi. (at close of chap.); Yung-chêng Edicts.

[2] L. C. C., iii., p. 51 and note; "Shu," chap. i.; "T'ung-chien-wai-chi," chap. i.

points to the going up of the spirit *(hun)*, and *lao* to the falling down of the vital principle *(po)*. Some understand by *tsu-lao*, the loss of good fortune caused (or evidenced) by death, taking *tsu* as the equivalent of *tsu* (祖), happiness, prosperity. Others see in the expression only the idea of dropping out of life, as the dead leaf falls from the tree in autumn. Instead of *tsu* we often find *yun* (殞), which means to fall or drop down. Thus of the Emperors Fu Hsi and Shên Nung, who lived beyond the span of mortal life: the fact that they died is recorded by the phrase *yun-lao*, they dropt off in a ripe old age. The term *tsu-lao* is not restricted to sovereigns at present; it may now be used of any one, but it is appropriate only to the death of those who "come to the grave in full age like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."[1]

In announcing or making official mention of the death of a queen or empress the word *pêng* is sometimes used, but we also find the word *hung* (薨). This latter is defined as "the death of a Duke or Marquis," that is, of the chief of a subject or dependent State. The character, according to the "Shuo-wên," is made up of *ssŭ*, to die, and a contraction of *mêng* for a phonetic purpose. The word is explained as indicating the sound of a falling and smashing, or as an expression for a degree of ruin less than that denoted by *pêng*, or as a going into obscurity. In early times *hung* was used even of the sovereign, and Confucius speaks of *chün-hung* (君 薨), "when the sovereign died." In Mencius it is used, according to rule, of the death of Duke Ting, the chief of T'êng. We find it either alone or with other words, as in the compound *hung-shih* (逝), employed when reference is made to the departure of an Imperial concubine. In the "Ch'ün ch'iu" we find it used to record the decease of a chief's wife (夫 人 子 氏 薨). In this latter passage, as Fan Ning points out, the propriety of the expression is derived from the dignity of the lady's husband, who was chief of Lu. This word *hung*,

[1] L. C. C., iii., p. 565; and Shu, chap. vi.; L. C. C., iii., p. 40; and Shu, chap. i.; L. C. C., ii., p. 228; and "Mêng," chap. ix.; "Hsi-yü-chi," chap. ii.; "Fêng-su-t'ung," chap. ii.

which is always a term of honour, is extended to distinguished subjects, specially to such as have deserved well of the State by a long career of useful public service.[1]

But the proper term for the death of a high official is *tsu*. This word is written 卒 and 猝, the latter being perhaps the correct form. In this use *tsu* is explained by *chung* (終) or *ching* (竟) or *chin* (盡), all meaning to end or finish. It is properly death alone which quenches the fire of manly vigour in a public servant and brings to an end his official career. The word *tsu* is also that which a filial son uses in order to avoid the ominous word die when referring to the departure of a parent. It is also a term of respect generally to express the decease of an official, and historians apply it for the most part only to men who, while in office, had been loyal to the *de jure* government. It is used of so high a dignitary as Chou Kung, who had been regent and practically sovereign for a time. In the "Tso chuan" we find the decease of a consort of Duke Hui recorded in the words *Mêng-tzu-tsu* (孟子卒): and the commentators explain that *tsu* and not *hung* was used because the lady dying before her lord had no claim to the privileges of his rank.[2]

Another common term used in recording or mentioning the decease of an official is *shi* (逝). This word means to go away, to depart; and hence to die, *abire*, is *shi* or *ch'ang* (長)-*shi*, to go the long journey, or *kai* (殪)-*shi*, to go away in death. This word *kai* (or *k'o*) itself also means to die, but it is not much used except with *shi* as above, in speaking of the death of a statesman. We often find it recorded of a zealous official that he *tso* (坐)-*shi*, passed away sitting, a circumstance which showed that he had full confidence in the merits of a good life. When a child destroys his own life in carrying out to their extreme the duties of

[1] "Shuo-wên," chap. xi.; p. 22; "Fêng-su-tu'ng," chap. ii.; L. C. C., i., p. 155; and "Lun," chap. xiv.; "Shih-ming," chap. iv.; "Kung-yang" (13), chap. ii.; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; L. C. C., ii., p. 111; "Li-pu-tsê-li," chap. clix.; "Chün-ch'iu," chap. i.; L. C. C., v., p. 8; "Han-shu," chap. lx.

[2] "Shuo-wên," chap. xi.; p. 14; "Kung-yang," chap. ii.; "Shih-ming," chap. iv.; "Kuang Shih-ming," chap. ii.; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; "Tso-chuan," chap. i.; and L. C. C., v., p. 1; "Han-shu," chap. lxii.

mourning for a deceased parent he is said to *shi*, die honourably. The word is used of the child, whether son or daughter, in order to show respect to his or her memory.[1]

To die in office is also expressed by *ch'u-ch'ui* (出 缺), the formula used in reporting to the Throne the decease of any one at his post. The phrase means simply to go out of office, to vacate a post. It may be used of any official who, holding a substantive appointment, dies while in active service; and such expressions as *yin-ping-ch'u-ch'ui* (因 病 出 缺), *he died of sickness while in office*, are very common.

The term prescribed by the Chou dynasty to express the dying of a private individual was *ssŭ* (死): and this has long been the word in general use to denote all that we comprise under the term "to die." The character, according to the "Shuo wên," is made up of *ngo* or *gak* (歹), fleshless bone or skeleton, and *jen* (人), a man, and it originally denoted perhaps a corpse or skeleton. It is explained in the "Shuo wên" and many succeeding books by *ssŭ* 澌, and we find the character also written 𣩠. The meaning of *ssŭ* (澌) is to be run out, to be exhausted, and to die is merely to exhaust the material of life, or the forces and changes which make life. By some authors the word *ssŭ*, to die, is restricted to the untimely dying of the young, and in historical works it is generally, but not always, used of persons whose names the writer wishes to dishonour. But in common writing and conversation the word has an unlimited application without hint of anything base or unworthy. To die is only that the spirit vanishes away (魂 去 亡), *spiritum labi*, or it is merely to end, as to be born was to begin life. There are five kinds of death from starvation—from exposure to cold, in battle, from old age, and from incurable disease. The three former may be avoided, but none can overcome the two latter. When used for these we find *ssŭ* treated as the equivalent of *chung* (終) or *wang* (亡), which mean to die a natural death, whether from old age or sickness. But the word

[1] This word *shi* is also used on special occasions of the death of a friend. At a funeral, for example, the deceased is addressed in set forms of expression, one of which is *t'sung-tzŭ-shi* (從 此 逝), "here you leave us."

is not one which the Chinese like to use, and in their ordinary conversation they generally substitute for it a term less unpleasant in associations, for *ssŭ* is always *jen-so-li* (人所離), that from which all keep aloof. Yet it too has a good and honourable use as in the expressions *ssŭ-chün,* to die for one's ruler, and *ssŭ-ch'in,* to die for one's parent.[1]

A common and acceptable word for to die is *chung* (終), to end or finish, mentioned above. This word denotes a dying at one's appointed time, when the numbered years of one's life are ended (歲數終), or the years decreed by Heaven are finished (天年終). When a good and wise ruler is on the throne one result of his administration is that the old live all their time, finish their destiny (考終厥命). And we find it urged as a reason against keeping men long in the misery of imprisonment that those who are thus kept in jail *pu-tê-chung-ch'i-nien-ming* (不得終其年命), cannot reach their appointed term of years, cannot *annos fatales explere.* But it is only to the death of the "superior man" that *chung* can be properly applied, for this word denotes the completion of something undertaken (終者成其始之辭), *chung* is an expression for the accomplishment of what one began. That which the superior man undertakes is the cultivation of his moral nature, the establishment of himself in truth and goodness, and the giving example and instruction to others. Who aims at doing these does not all die, while the mere worldling, the nebulo, passes away from the world like the prone and belly-serving beast which perishes. Hence it is said of the former that he *chung,* ends his work and stops, and of the latter that he *ssŭ,* all runs out leaving nothing behind (澌盡無餘). The good and fortunate man dies well (終善), has a good end, an euthanasia, on his bed surrounded by relatives. He is also said to *shou* (壽)-*chung,* die of long life, "live long, and in the end, meet the old course of death." The full expression to denote that a man had a quiet happy issue out of this life and according to rules is *shou-chung-chêng-chin* (壽終正寢), his long life ended in the proper

1 "Shuo-wên," chap. xi., p. 21; "Fêng-su-t'ung," chap. ix.; "Pi-ya," chap. viii.; "Sun-tzŭ," chap. xiii.; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvi.

chamber. When a man is found to be near his last moments he is carried to the middle room or to his own chamber and placed with his head to the east. He who dies thus has lived well, and we must call him happy as one "who life has brought to end in loved well-being." A woman should die in her own chamber, which is called *nei-chin*, the inner bed-room, and *shou-chung-nei-chin* (壽終內寢), to end her life in the inner chamber, is the best and happiest death an old woman can enjoy.[1]

To die is expressed also by *mo* (沒), to be not, to disappear. The character is written in two other ways, 歿 and 殁, and it is also pronounced *mu* and *mei*. Of the word as written 沒 the "Shuo-wên" says that it denotes a drowning or submerging in water (*shên* 沈); hence it came to mean ruin and to be ruined. In the "Tso chuan" there is an official letter from Tzŭ ch'an, in which there occurs this expression, "*ho-mo-mo-ye* (何沒沒也)," into what ruin you are sinking! Here *mo-mo* is explained by *shên-mie* (沈滅), to sink and be annihilated, to be drowned in perdition, and Dr. Legge translates, "In what a fatal course are you proceeding." But the common meaning of *mo* is to die a natural death, and in the "Shuo wên" it (殁) is explained by *chung*, to finish life. In some passages of the old literature we find the word used in the sense of ending or finishing generally. It is thus, for example, applied to the ending of a long march in the "Shi ching," and explained by *chin* (盡), to finish or accomplish. From this use of the word may have come that now under notice, the finishing of life's journey, which also is found in the early literature. This is the term by which the decease of Confucius' disciple Tsêng tzŭ is recorded, and, as will be remembered, he died in circumstances of punctilious orthodoxy and in a way perfectly satisfactory. In the "Tso chuan" also we find Shu-chan saying of the king of Chu that he will not have a natural death, using this word (楚王其不沒乎). A commentator here explains *pu-mu* by *pu-i-shou-chung* (不以壽終), he will not die of old age, will not reach the term of his natural life. In one of

[1] "Shuo-yuan," chap. xvi.; "Han-shu," chaps. ix. and xxiii.; "Lun-yü," chap. viii., p. 7, note; "Li-chi," chap. ii.; "Shih-ming," chap. iv.

Han Wên Kung's letters he uses *mo* of the death of a young relative, and in modern literature it seems to be occasionally employed to denote a death which is regarded as untimely. This idea is perhaps implied also in the phrase *ping-mu,* to die of disease. But the expression *mo-shi,* to disappear from the world, is used in a good sense, and one may say with reference to his ancestors *chih-ch'i-mo-shi-chih-hou* (至其歿世之後), when they departed this life.[1]

Another common and literary word for "to die" is *sang* (喪), pronounced in the *ch'ü shêng.* This character will appear again with a different pronunciation and another meaning. In the sense of to die it is explained by *wang,* to be lost, to disappear and never be seen again (亡不可復見). In a passage of the "Shu ching" this word is applied to the setting (or, according to some, the extinction) of the sun, and in this passage it is explained by *wang* as above. The phrase *tsao* (早)-*sang* means to die in early life, but it may also signify, according to the context, "dead long ago." [2]

It has just been seen that a synonym for *sang* in the sense of to die is the word *wang* (亡). From the composition of this character as given in the "Shuo-wên" the original meaning of the word would seem to have been to perish or go into oblivion. Its other uses and specially the one in which we are now interested, appear to follow naturally. In the sense of die *wang* is also an equivalent of *ssŭ,* as in the phrase *hsien-ssŭ-hou wang* (先死後亡), those who died before and those who died after, remote and near ancestors. A faithful widow is a *wei-wang-jen* (未亡人), one who has not yet died, that is, one who is waiting for death to reunite her to her husband. This is an elegant expression said to have been first used by a famous paragon of enduring beauty and virtue in the Lie Kuo period.

Another classical and literary term for to die is *hua* (化), which means to melt, transform. This word, which has several

[1] "Shuo-wên," chaps. xi. and xxxiv.; L. C. C., v., p. 505; and "Tso-chuan," chap. xxx.; iv., p. 422; and v., p. 182; "Yang-Yuan-chi," chap. ix.

[2] "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; L. C. C., iii., p. 175; and ii., p. 4; "Shu-ching," chap. iii.; "Liao-chai," &c., chap. viii., p. 65.

other significations, will meet us again a little further on, and it has Buddhistic uses which have also to be noticed. For the present it is enough to mention the phrase *ta* (or *ts'a*) *hua* (怛 化), to distress a dying person, distract one falling asleep in death. It is used chiefly of wife and children making loud lamentation when the head of the family is passing away.[1]

A word for to die, which has been before us in a different use, is *ku* (故). We may say that a man died *(ku)* simply, or that he died of disease *(ping-ku)*. Of soldiers who fall in the course of a compaign, whether in battle or otherwise, it is often recorded that they *wu-ku* (物 故), deceased, became objects out of date. Native scholars are at a loss to account for this phrase, which they say is merely equivalent to *ssŭ*, die. It is said to have arisen in the Han period, and it occur several times in the history of that dynasty, generally in accounts of battles or campaigns, as in the statement *shi-tsu-to-wu-ku* (士 卒 多 物 故), of officers and soldiers many died. The phrase perhaps means to "become useless for service," *hors de combat*. It is sometimes varied to *yu* (有)-*wu-ku*, to be objects antiquated, that is, to fall or perish. The word *ku* in the sense of die is indifferent; it gives no hint of praise or blame, and it involves no theory or opinion as to what it is to die.[2]

But there are also certain phrases which seem to give an explanation of what occurs at death. Thus one of the common expressions for *to die* is *tuen-ch'i* (斷 氣), which means "to cut off the breath of life." Like it is another phrase *chüeh* (絕)-*ch'i*, with the same meaning, to cut off the breath, to intercept the supply and action of the material constituents of life. The word *chüeh* is also found by itself in the sense of to die, being evidently for *chüeh-ch'i*. Thus the relatives are told that in the case of a parent's death they should *chi-chüeh-nai-k'u* (旣 絕 乃 哭), on the instant life ceases weep aloud.[3] Then there is the phrase *tuan-hun* (斷 魂), used in the sense of to die, and meaning literally to cut off the spirit, to part it from the body.

[1] "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. iii.; "Liao-chai," chap. xvi.
[2] "Shih-ming," chap. iv.; "Han-shu," chaps. 54, 57, 68.
[3] "Hsing-li-ta-ch'uan," chap. xx.

Again there are expressions which imply that to die is to go a journey to man's long home, or to soar to vague far-off bliss, or simply to go away with no hint of whither. Thus the verb *ch'ü* (去), to go, depart, is used in the sense of departing this life, and *ch'ü-liao,* he has gone, is a common euphemism for *he has died.* Of like meaning is *kuo-shên* (過 身), to transfer oneself, that is, pass out of this world. Then there is *kuei* (歸), to return, go home, also used in the sense of going to one's long home. Like it is another popular term for *heimgehen, hui-chia* (回 家), to return home. This phrase is sometimes varied by the insertion of the word *chu* (主), master, but the expression "return to the master's home" seems to divine a deeper meaning. A vague and euphemistic expression is *hsien-yu* (仙 遊), to ramble an immortal, to go to be among the deathless ones who haunt the calm summits of cloud-shrouded mountains. This is used by lovers of Taoist fancies, as is also the phrase *yü-ho* (馭 鶴), to ride a stork, that is, to soar to the Utopia of immortality. Another euphemism of this kind for dying is *t'u-pêng-lai,* to go to Pêng-lai, the far-off isle in the Southern Ocean, the Earthly Paradise in which grows the tree of immortal taste and where men set loose from time's frailties live for ever.

Whether there be another world to which human worth is transplanted when taken from earthly soil may be argued. But this much at least is certain that to die is to leave this world so far as human senses can discern. And the knowledge of this fact is seen in many of the expressions for death in Chinese as in other languages. He who dies disappears, and the common term *k'o-jan* (溘 然), used in the sense of *die,* seems to have meant originally merely to disappear suddenly. It is employed in the sense of quickly or suddenly, but its best known use is in the sense of to die. Another term with the same signification is *yen-hu* (奄 忽), which also means suddenly and is given as a definition of *k'o-jan.* To die suddenly is to go off like dust in a whirlwind—*yen-hu-jo-p'iao-ch'ên* (奄 忽 若 飄 塵). But this latter is rather a literary expression, and there are many popular phrases. Thus we find *ch'ü-shih* (去 世), to go out of the world, used in the sense

of to die, as *ch'u-shih* (出 世) is to come into the world at birth. There are also the literary expressions *wei* (違)-*shih*, to turn the back on the world, go away from it; and *kuo* (過)-*shih*, to pass out of the world. Such expressions are chiefly for those who find no charm in life and no terror in death, who have no hope in this world and no despair about another. There are also phrases which seem to denote that the end is rather welcome than otherwise, and that a man may lay down his life when he pleases, that death is the act of a willing agent. We have *hsie* (謝)-*shih*, to thank the world, that is, to leave it, to decline the festivities of life for the "sublime attractions of the grave." There is also *ch'i* (棄)-*shih*, to cast off the world, to throw it away as something unvalued. This is a phrase held in honour, being one of those used by a son in speaking or writing of the decease of a parent. Another one of like meaning is *tz'ŭ-yang* (辭 陽), to decline light, that is, to leave the world of light and life for the darkness of death. With these we may connect another expression for to die, *ch'i-yang* (棄 養), to reject nourishment, refuse to be maintained. This expression, which has a classical allusion, is also one of those which may be used by a son in referring to the death of a parent, as in the statement *hsien-chün-ch'i-yang* (先 君 棄 養), my father died.

That the act of dying is to some extent voluntary is also implied in such phrases as *pi-yen* (閉 眼), to close the eyes, that is, to shut them in the sleep of death, and *ming-mu* (瞑 目), to dull or darken the eyes, to lose what looks out through them.

It has been seen that the phrase *yun-lao* is used in the sense of to die, and the word *yun* (殞) is often employed in the same manner. It means to fall like a fatal star, or a leaf loosened from a tree; and used of one dying it often implies that he falls in the green leaf. Instead of the simple word *yun* we sometimes find *yun-ming*, to let life fall, lose one's destiny.

The word *i* (殪) is an old one, which means both to die and to put to death. In the "Shuo-wên" it is defined by *ssŭ*, to die, and in a passage of the "Tso Chuan" where it is used of the slaughter of an army it is also so explained. Some tell us that

the word means to go off at once,—*i-fa-erh-ssŭ* (一發而死), to die suddenly. But in the sense of dying it is also explained as going into the darkness of obscurity, and it seems generally to convey the idea that the natural term of life is not reached.

In the speech of the people we often find the word *tiu* (丟), to lose or be lost, used in the sense of to die or be dead. This sad word commonly denotes the loss of some dear friend or beloved relative, often the decease of some "Fair creature kill'd too soon by death's sharp sting." Another phrase of like meaning and application is *mo* (or *mei*)-*tê* (沒得), not to be had, to disappear, or cease to exist. This also is common in the speech of everyday life, and is often used of one snatched away in youth's early promise.

There are, however, many terms and phrases which specifically express the idea of dying before one's due time. To those who believe in a fate which fixes the bounds of human life the statement that one dies before his time is not correct. But the sense of loss and the sorrow for a friend or relative, specially for one who is taken away in youth or what seemed the beginning of a career, make man think of some agency which seems to thwart Providence. In China the thought of envious or angry beings which lie in wait to steal young lives is perhaps universal. It is not they whom the gods love that die young, but those who are logged by ruthless demons seeking to "slit the thin-spun life." As it is not wise to let the evil spirits know that their power is felt and dreaded, most of the expressions for dying young are euphemistic and speak by a hidden meaning. Let us now take note of a few of these terms and phrases for dying while life is unfulfilled.

The first which suggests itself is the classical and literary *pu-lu* (不祿), which denotes strictly to die after attaining the qualifications for office but before getting active employment. The use of this phrase is explained in several different ways, none of which is very satisfactory. The word *lu* is here said to mean *hsiao* (消), to vanish or perish, and *pu-lu* is "not to vanish," that is, to depart leaving a good reputation to survive death. Then the

phrase is also said to mean "not to finish one's occupation," and "not to enjoy the salary of office," *lu* meaning salary or emolument of office. The phrase is sometimes interpreted as implying some baseness or at least unworthiness, but this is not the common use, and is apparently not warranted. It is the official and classical term to express the decease of a *shih* (士) or "scholar," a state-supported or recognised man of learning not in active service as a responsible official. While a *shih* such a man has salary *(lu)*, and dying he *pu-lu*, ceases to draw salary. In former times the phrase was also applied to the decease of a prince or noble, but only up to the time of burial. It is still used occasionally of an official cut off in the beginning of his career, dying when it seemed that he was about to enter into the reward of his long studies and numerous examination.[1]

To die prematurely is expressed by the word *shang* (殤), and "prematurely" is defined as "before attaining manhood (未成人) and while still unfit to bear arms. The word is explained as if it were *shang* (傷), to cause distress, to wound or be wounded. This notion of sorrow for one untimely removed is perhaps present in all cases when the word is used. The thought is developed in a statement like this taken from a private letter of one friend to another—"the untimely death *(shang)* of your niece is very distressing" (可悼 *k'o-tao*). Here we may notice, in passing, is a use of the word *tao* different from that mentioned above and also from one to be noticed presently. Of *shang* as a general term for untimely death there are said to be three degrees. The lowest is the *shia* (下)-*shang*, which denotes the death of a child between eight and eleven years of age; the next is the middle *(chung) shang*, that of a child between twelve and fifteen years; and the highest, *shang* (上)-*shang* or *ch'ang* (長)-*shang*, is that of a youth from sixteen to nineteen years. The word is also used generally of the decease of any young man or woman, and specifically of one who dies between betrothal and the date fixed for marriage. Hence comes the strange expression *chia* (嫁)-*shang*, *ka-siong* in

[1] "Kuang-shih-ming," chap. ii.; "Kung-yang," chap. ii.; "Li-chi," chap. i., p. lii.; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; "Yu-hsio," chap iii.; "Shuo-wên," chap. ii., s. v. 薨.

Foochow, which means "she marries her dead betrothed." This is said of a maiden who becomes the bride of the dead, wedding the ghost of her departed affianced. The use of this word always implies a dying which is unhappy, undesired, and, usually, causing distress to parents. It often refers to the death of a child as a loss or calamity specially to the father and mother. Thus we read of a man *yu-êrh-yu-tzŭ-shang* (有二幼子殤), he had two sons who died in boyhood. On reading such a record one of the first thoughts which a Chinaman has is that the parent was left without any one to worship his manes. The death of a son unmarried is sad and dreadful not only for the father but also for the son. As the latter has not been allowed by fate to raise up a son to his fathers, his own spirit may have to wander about for a long time unhonored and uncomforted. Hence the word *shang* comes to mean also the ghost of a man who dies sonless, and it is in this use explained as *wu-chu-chih-kuei* (無主之鬼), an unowned ghost, one to which no offerings are made and no honour shown. Like *shang* the word *li* (厲) is used in the sense of "to die without leaving any posterity" (死而無後). Then it also comes to denote a lonely ghost, one which wanders about unsolaced by the savour of offerings or libations. In this sense, however, it will come before us again.[1]

As a literary expression for dying early we have *tsao-shih* (早世), that is [to leave] the world early, to die in the morning of life. So we find the statement *pu-lu-tsao-shih* (不祿早世) meaning "unfortunately he has died prematurely;" or as Dr. Legge translates, "he has unfortunately died an early death." And we find the same meaning expressed by such statements *pu-hsing* (不幸)-*tsao-shih.* But the phrase *tsao-shih* may also be used in the sense of having died long ago.

Another expression for dying prematurely is *tuan* (短), literally, short, to be short. This is said to be strictly applied to the death of one under sixty years of age; or, according to another statement, of one not invested with the cap of full age. In the

[1] "Shuo-wên," chap. xi., p. 15; "Shih-ming," chap. iv.; Dicyt. of Foo. Dialt., p. 797; "Hsiao Urh ya," p. 4.

"Shu Ching" the first of the *Liu-chi* (六極), or six greatest miseries, is said to be *hsiung-tuan-cho* (凶短折), which Dr. Legge translates, "misfortune shortening the life." But the three words are also explained here as names for different degrees of shortened life; *hsiung* being to die before shedding the teeth, *tuan* before being capped, and *cho* before being married. In the sense of dying prematurely *tuan* is perhaps for *tuan-ming*, to be short-lived, have a brief destiny. We find this phrase *tuan-ming* used instead of "die" when reference is made to young persons, as in the statement *pu-hsing-piao-ti-tuan-ming* (不幸表弟短命), unfortunately my maternal cousin died prematurely.[1]

The word *cho* mentioned above is also written 殀. It is explained, moreover, as meaning also to die before any of the responsibilities of life are incurred, as to die under thirty years of age, and simply as to have one's life cut short. Of much more common use, however, is the word *yao*, written 夭 and 殀, the former meaning properly "young," and the latter "to die young," but the second form is not popular. Of a maiden who dies between betrothal and the time fixed for marriage it is said *wei-chia-êrh-yao* (未嫁而夭), that she dies prematurely unmarried. The word *yao* is also defined as meaning to die in the vigour of youth (少壯而死曰夭). It is often found in conjunction with other words meaning to die. Thus *yao-wang* is to die in the flower of youth, opposed to *shou*, which is to end a life naturally. So also *yao-shih* is to depart in youth, as in the long expression *fên-i-yao-shih* (憤悒夭逝), I am dying before my time under the influence of mental agony.[2]

The word *hun* (殙) also means to die before marriage, and for this there is classical authority. It is said to be *wei-ming*, dying without having made a name. The word is also written 昏, and is then said to denote a dying in mental distraction.

There are also peculiar terms to denote the dying of those who only visit this world for a short period. Such is the word

[1] L. C. C., iii., p. 343; and "Shu-ching," chap. iv., p. 30; and "Shu-ching" (13), chap. xii.; "Pi-ya," chap. viii.; "Yang-yuan-chi," chap. xv.

[2] "Shih-ming," chap. iv.; "Liao-chai," &c., chaps. ii and viii.

tao (悼) already noticed in other uses. It is the term for the death of a little child, and *shang* (傷)-*tao* is to lament the untimely death of a young son or daughter. This use of the word is acknowledged to be derived from the great distress which the loss of a little child causes the parents, for to weep "*ut si Filius immaturus obisset*" would express in China a real and deep sorrow specially as regards the mother. She, indeed, often speaks of a child who thus goes away from her in terms of sad but bitter reproach. Instead of saying that he died she says that he *pien-jen* (騙 人) deceived people: that he came into the world and seemed about to stay in it, but soon went away. Or the mother says that her little son who died *t'ao-chai* (討 債), called in his debts. It was his due from a previous existence to be born in this world, and as soon as he got his due he left. This phrase is also used in a promiscuous way by parents to naughty troublesome children who are as importunately annoying as dunning creditors.

To die before birth is expressed by *wên* or *wo* (殟), but the character is not much used, and the meaning given in the "Shuo wên" is disputed. The classical term for death in the womb is *tu* (殰), which is explained by *t'ai-pai* (胎 敗), the spoiling of the pregnant womb. But the ways are many in which "that fell arrest without all bail" carries us away willy nilly. It is not only exulting youth which provokes him and makes him "quick to clasp his shivering prey at noon." The mother proud of the son she has brought forth also makes him jealous; and all who misuse fortune's favours or break the laws of Heaven also provoke him. A death which is regarded as untimely is also considered to be a bad one and it is generally undesired. The kinds of death just mentioned may be sad, but they are not necessarily bad and terrible. The child or youth may have "a sweet removal on his mother's breast," soothed by love and tended with skill and tenderness. Here death comes too soon, indeed, but he does his work gently without harshness and without terror. There are, however, other kinds in which death comes with horrors and shows its unmitigated repulsiveness. We may now proceed to notice some of the trems used to express such premature deaths.

To end a bad life with pain and anguish at home is ill enough, but it is much worse to be left to perish in the street or by the road-side. The phrase *ch'i-shih* (棄市), to be abandoned in the market, or simply *shih* in the sense of to die in the market, denotes a kind of death which all Chinese dread. It is contrasted with *shan-chung*, a good end, the former being to die as a cast-away, and the latter to die the death of the virtuous. It is an old saying that "the son of a thousand gold pieces does not die in the market" (千金之子不死於市): and either the man himself who thus dies or his parents must have sinned heinously against Heaven.

To die of starvation is expressed by *chin* (殣), which has also other uses to be mentioned below. The word *to* (殠) also means to starve to death; and the same meaning belongs to the word *p'iao* (殍 or 莩). This last is well-known from its use by Mencius, who says that if a Prince act in a certain manner *êrh-min-yu-p'iao* (而民有莩), then there will be among the people individuals dying of hunger. We also find *p'iao* emphasized by the prefixing of *o* hunger, hungry, as in the expression in Mencius *t'u-yu-o-p'iao* (塗有餓莩), on the roads are those who die of hunger. Here *p'iao* is explained by *o-ssŭ*, die of hunger, and *o-p'iao* is to be hungered to starvation.[1]

To die of a plague or pestilence is *cha* (札). This word so used is explained by *i-ssŭ* (疫死),to die of an epidemic; or by *ta-ssŭ*, a great death, that is, a pestilence which carries off a large number; or by *yao* (夭)-*ssŭ*, which is euphemistic meaning simply to die early or prematurely.

The word *pi* (斃) is often used in the sense of to die a bad death generally whether from starvation or otherwise. The character is composed of *pi*, bad, and *ssŭ*, to die, and the word has a somewhat vague application. It is said of one who is struck dead by lightning, and of one who dies from hunger, or oppression, or other calamity. But *tzŭ* (自)-*pi*, to ruin oneself, is not properly to commit suicide, but to bring misery and ruin on oneself by a course of wicked conduct.

[1] L. C. C., ii., pp. 8, 9, 367; and "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. i.

To die by drowning is *ni* (溺), and to be burnt to death is *shao* (燒) : but these words have also lighter meanings. To perish in the cold, or be frozen to death, is *chiang* (殭). The phonetic part of the character denotes a boundary line, and the word denotes a death which leaves the body stretched out hard and straight. To die in child-birth is *chan-nan* (產 難), to have parturition trouble. This phrase is in common use among the people and is also the recognised expression in writing.

To die in prison while waiting for trial or judgment is *k'ao-ching*-(考 竟), to end the examination. This is used also of the death of one undergoing punishment in jail, but the proper expression for the latter is *fu-t'ien-hsing* (服 天 刑), to bear Heaven's punishment.

There are cases in which it is right or becoming for a man to meet his fate, to offer himself as a martyr for duty or principle, or even to deal doom to himself with his own hand. In such circumstances an untimely violent death has nothing discreditable, and it may even be attended with fame and honour. The soldier who falls in lawful battle, and the public servant who chooses duty rather than life are to be praised, not blamed or pitied. So the phrases in use among the Chinese to express dying in such ways generally contain the thought of praise or approval.

To die in battle is sometimes expressed by *ping* (兵), a word which simply means to be a soldier. Another term for death in battle is *wei* (畏), which means also to fear and to put to death. There are three kinds of death for which there is no mourning, and the first of these is *wei*, a death in a fight or battle. But some regard the word in this connection as meaning cowardice in the field, though others regard it as simply meaning the death of a soldier (兵 死 也). But the common phrase for being slain in battle is *ch'ên-wang* (陳 亡), to be lost from the company, to fall fighting. This is the form of expression used in memorials to the Throne and in state documents generally. Another phrase for dying at the hands of an enemy is *hsün-nan* (殉 難), to go voluntarily to death on account of troubles. This is a phrase of honour, and is used not only of military men dying in battle

against rebels or enemies, but also of all those who commit suicide rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. In like manner *hsün-mu* is to die for a mother, that is, to follow her into the other world. A filial daughter who commits suicide in order not to survive her mother is said to *hsün-mu*, and the act is regarded as evidence of great filial devotion. So also we find the expression *yü-ch'i-nan* (與 其 難), to die with or for one, to share death with another, or die voluntarily in his cause. When an official chooses to suffer death rather than violate his conscience, in so doing he is said to *chüan-chü* (捐 軀), to offer up his body. This phrase is used specially of the statesman who refuses to serve a successful usurper, or to take office under a new dynasty and does so at the cost of his life. The expression *k'ang-k'ai* (慷 慨)-*chüan-chü* has long been celebrated, and is often found in literature. It dates from the rise of the Mongol dynasty, and means to surrender oneself freely to death under a noble impulse. To do this is well but not so excellent as *ts'ung-yung-yin-chüe* (從 容 引 决) to bring on the end by gentle imperceptible degrees. The sharp stroke of death in a noble cause is easy to face, but it is hard to draw out the process of dying by a continued act of the will through a term of years.[1]

The general term for dying by one's own act is *tzŭ-chin* (自 盡), to put an end to oneself, *se extinguere*. The use of this term, however, often implies something wrong in the suicide: it may be an implacable conscience, or a haunting ghost, or the necessity of choosing between two evils. There are various other expressions for dying by one's own act, such as *tzŭ-chu* (自 殊), to commit self-slaughter; *tzŭ-i* (自 縊), to commit suicide by hanging; *tzŭ-wo* (自 刎), to cut one's own throat; and *tzŭ-ching* (自 經), to put an end to one's life, whether by hanging or otherwise.

For the dying of birds and beasts there is a correct language, though it is not generally adopted. When a bird dies the proper term to use is *chiang* (降), a word which means to drop or fall down; and when a beast dies it is said to *tzŭ* (漬), sink down, succumb to death. But it is common to apply to the lower

[1] "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 11; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; "Yang-yuan-chi," chap. xii.

animals *ssŭ* and the other terms which are used of man. So we find such statements as that a deer *chung-ch'i-show* (終 其 壽), ended its natural life.

It remains to notice one or two of the comical or humorous expressions for dying, as the Chinese like others jest with this sharpest of edged tools. To cut one's throat, or generally, to commit suicide, is *mo po-tzŭ,* to wipe one's neck (or throat), a common expression in the north. To die is *têng-t'ui* (登 腿), to stretch the legs; or it is *kan* (幹), to dry up; or *pie* (癟), with the same meaning. Among sea-faring people to be drowned or otherwise die at sea is *chien-hai-lung-wang,* to see the king of the sea dragons, whose palace is at the bottom of the ocean.

In addition to the words and phrases here noticed which indicate the act or process of dying there are many others, I believe, which may be culled in Chinese literature or heard from the lips of the natives. There are some forms of expression which are the property of the Taoists, and there are a few terms for to die which are of Buddhistic origin. The latter will come under our notice presently, but the other words and phrases must be left over for a future opportunity.[1]

Let us now pass on to consider some of the terms and phrases which are applied to those who have ceased to live on earth. It is scarcely necessary to premise that from the nature of the language many of the words already mentioned with other meanings may also be found with that now under notice. The word *ssŭ,* for example, may be used to denote not only death, and to die, but also dead, and a corpse: and it may be employed by the same writer in all these senses. Thus Han Wên-kung says that while we saunter through life by many ways "there is only one beaten track by which we hasten to death (趨 死 惟 一 軌), the "*calcanda semel via leti.*" In another place he speaks of the people dying of famine by the expression *ssŭ-chi* (死 飢): and elsewhere he talks of finding *tao-pien-ssŭ* (道 邊 死), corpses on the side of the road. In like manner *chung,* which has been seen to denote death, and to die, is also used in the sense of

1 "Li-chi," chap. i., p. 52.

deceased. Thus Tsêng tzŭ's advice, "Be careful towards the *chung* (dead) and follow them far" (愼終追遠), is explained as meaning, be careful to perform all the ceremonies due on the death of your parents and to offer the proper worship at their tombs for a long period.[1]

There are, however, distinct terms to denote the dead, and special forms of speech to be used when we are speaking of them. For a corpse the ancients, we are told, used simply the word *ssŭ* (古人謂尸爲死), which in this use is explained as a man from whom breath has departed "whose vital air is dispersed." And in some modern writers who love the antique ways we occasionlly find *ssŭ* with this meaning. But the common term for the body of one who has just died is *shih* 尸 or 屍). In old times it was the custom when a man was seen to be very near death to lift him from his bed and place him on the ground. This was done partly at least with the design of giving him the last chance of recovery. As soon as it was decided that the breath had left the body the latter received the name *shih*. It was replaced on the bed and there arranged in the prescribed manner. Hence, some tell us, came the name *shih* which properly but not always denotes a corpse while laid out preparatory to burial. The word is interpreted by some to mean *ch'ên* (陳), to arrange or set in order. But another explanation, not very satisfactory, is that a corpse is called *shih* as if *shu* (舒), flaccid, relaxed. The use of the word is not restricted to dead bodies laid out on a bed, nor is it properly extended to those which are buried or coffined. Its common use is seen in such expressions as *shêng-min-wei-liu-shih* (生民爲流屍), the living people became floating corpses. Then there is also the classical word *i* (侇) with the same meaning as *shih*, and the two are sometimes found combined in the sense of a corpse. But *i* by itself is rare and rather antiquated.[2]

There is a special name for the flesh of a dead body, *tzŭ* (胔); and a skeleton is called *ko* (骼). Hence comes the well-

[1] "Chang-li-shi-chi-chu" (昌黎詩集註), chap. i., pp. 15, 19; ii., p. 4; L.C.C., i., p. 4; and "Lun-yü," chap. i.; p. 31.

[2] "Shih-ming," chap. iv., p. 21; "Li-chi," chap. i., p. 52; "Chang-li-shi-chi," chap. ii., p. 4; "I-li," chap. xxxvi. (13).

known expression *yen-ko-mai-tzŭ* (掩骼埋胔), which means to bury the corpses left on a field of carnage or the bodies of those who have died of a plague. A corpse uncoffined and exposed is also called *chüan* (捐), that is, thrown away or abandoned. As soon as a dead body is put in a coffin it receives a new name, and is called *chiu* (柩), a word which will meet us again. The deceased "nailed in his chest" is called *chiu*, because he is now to have a state free from change for a great length of time, is if *chiu* (久) long, that is, for ever. The word is also explained by another *chiu* (究), which means ended or completed; because nothing more can be done for the defunct, or because everything is now completed and ready for the funeral. Another well-known name for a corpse in a coffin is *tou-tzŭ* (斗子), from a name for a coffin which will be found below. This is the term used with reference to the breaking open and rifling of graves.[1]

A lost friend or relative is said to be *pu-tsai* (不在), not here, not in existence, as Rachel wept for her children because "they *are* not." Or the sad assertion is avoided and the intimation of a friend's death is conveyed by the question *an* (安)-*tsai*, where is he? So Job says, "Man giveth up the ghost and where *is* he?" the question in each case holding its answer, "gone for ever."

We have already noticed the word *ku* in the phrase *ku-wu*, to die. It is also used in the sense of dead, as in *ku-jen* (古 or 故人), an ancient, one put out of date, one who has become a fact. Hence for "he is dead" there is the common expression *tso-liao* (做了)-*ku-jen*, he has become a man defunct. The dead are also called *wu-hua* (物化), creatures transformed. The saint is a *t'ien-hsing* (天行), heaven-worker, spontaneous agent during life, but death stops him and makes him a *wu-hua*, a creature changed or metamorphosed. His body is then like the sloughed skin of a serpent or the abandoned exuvia of a cicada. It is

[1] "Shuo-wên," chap. xi., p. 28, s.v., 骼; "Shih-ming," chap. iv., p. 21. A mutilated corpse is known by a special name, *tzŭ* (胔), and this is also applied to the buried body undergoing corruption. Thus "*yin-ch'ung-shih-k'u-tzŭ*" (陰蟲食枯胔) is "in the darkness of the grave the worms eat his rotting carcase."

changed, that is, decays and perishes,—"*Quod mutatur enim dissolvitur, interit ergo.*" Thus, as has been seen, *hua* means to die, and the dead are called the *hua-cho* (化者), the transformed. In a well-known passage of Mencius, for example, we read, "Is it not, moreover, perfect pleasure to a man on behalf of his dead [parents] (*hua-cho*), to prevent the earth from touching their bodies?" Then the phrase *hua-cho* comes to be used in the sense of mortals, as contrasted with the *pu-hua-cho* or immortals, who live for ever and know not time's decay nor the changes of accident.[1]

We have seen that one of the terms for to die is *kuei* (歸). This is also a very popular designation for the dead and means gone home, returned. The word is used of a bride going (*kuei*) to her home in the bridegroom's house, of an official going back to end his days at his birth place, and of the sojourner abroad returning home. It has also other uses, as will appear a little below. In the sense of dead it is said to be for *kuei-t'u* (土), returned to the ground, spoken of the body which came from the earth. We find also such expressions as *kuei-ku* (古), gone to the ancients, gathered to one's forefathers; *kuei-shih* (世), gone from the world; *kuei-jen*, a man returned, gone to his rest; and *kuei-t'ien*, gone home to Heaven, a phrase in use among the Hakkas who are not Buddhists.

It is the rule in China to speak of friends and relatives recently deceased in terms differing in many respects from those applied during their lifetime. The rule extends also to the sovereign, and it is observed in many cases towards relatives long dead and buried. No one speaks of the personal name of a friend deceased as his *ming* (名). This is the term used of him while living, but after death his name is called *hui* (諱). This word means to avoid or forbear to use from a feeling of reverence or superstition, and then that which is treated with respect by not

[1] "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. vi.; "Huai-nan-tzŭ," chap. vii.; L. C. C., ii., p. 98; and "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. iv., p. 20. Another phrase of similar meaning with *hua-cho* is *i-wu* (異物), a strange substance. a different thing. This may be used of men and animals, and *hua-wei* (化爲)-*i-wu*, "by transformation to become something different," may be applied to a faded flower.

making use of it. When a man dies his friends and relatives abstain as far as possible from using his name for sometime either in writing or speaking.

The epithet *ta-hsing* (大 行), lit. great journey, is given to an Emperor or Empress from the time of death until a posthumous name is assigned. Hence the expression *Ta-hsing Huang Ti,* the Emperor who has gone the long journey, means "His recently deceased Majesty." The words *ta-hsing* here are explained as signifying "gone the long journey from which there is no return."

Of his dead father a son speaks and writes as *hsien-ta-jen* (先 大 人), "his deceased Excellency," and this expression may be used by friends in conversation with the son. But if the father dies leaving his own father alive the son of the former only styles him *hsien-tzŭ* (子), deceased son. The phrase *hsien-chün* (君), "the deceased gentleman," may be used by or to a son of his departed father; but *hsien-yen* (嚴), "deceased stern severity," is applied only by the son to his dead father. On tomb-stones and obituary notices a son generally calls his late father *k'ao* (考), which in this use in explained as meaning *ch'êng* (成), perfected or finished. It is also said to be a synonym of *yin* (引) in the sense of protracted, having life long drawn out, that is, *verewigt.* Before the word *k'ao,* we generally find *hsien* (顯), illustrious. Up to the Yuan period the common phrase was *huang* (皇)-*k'ao,* "the imperial defunct," but the second Emperor of that dynasty ordered the use of *huang* in this way to be discontinued and that of *hsien* substituted. At present it is only the sons of a deceased Emperor who can use the phrase *huang-k'ao* with legal sanction and propriety. Instead of *k'ao* we occasionally find on tomb-stones *kao* (槁) in the same sense. This is a word borrowed from the farm and denotes grain in the ear ripe and dry.

A son speaks of his late mother as *hsien-tzŭ* (慈), my deceased tender-hearted one. On tombstones and in obituary writings he styles her *pi* or *hsien-pi* (顯 妣). As the father is perfected *(k'ao)* by death, the mother, his mate in life, becomes after death his mate (比) again, equal with her husband in virtues, and sharing equally with him all posthumous honours. In old

times these words *k'ao* and *pi* were used alike of the living and dead, and *fu-pi* (婦 妣), for example meant simply my wife's mother, and *fu-k'ao*, was "my father-in-law."

A widow calls her late husband *hsien-chün*, my deceased lord, the phrase which, as has been seen, is used also of a deceased father. But at present the common expression for "my late husband" is *p'i* or *hsien-p'i* (先 辟), "my deceased lord," *p'i*, like *chün* meaning master or sovereign. So also the term for a departed wife is *pin* (嬪), a word which properly denoted a chief concubine of a sovereign in former times. The social distinctions of this world are all kept up in the next, but death commonly gives promotion. As another example of this we may notice the term *ju-jen* (孺 人), the dependent person, the woman attached to and subject to a husband. This was in old times the prescribed title for the wife of a *T'ai-fu* or high official, and it is still the official designation of the wife of a civil mandarin from the seventh rank down. But it is now extended to the wife of a tradesman or any other private subject when she is dead, and it is very common on tomb-stones. The wife of a man when buried beside him is called his *fa-ch'i* (髮妻), or simply *fa*, and she is so described on the tomb-stone to their common grave. The term *fa*, hair, in such cases always denotes the first or principal wife, the wife of the marriage contract. It is properly the bride of a man's youth, the first wife of his life, taken by him when love and duty were realities to both.[1]

Most of the expressions just quoted refer mainly to the dead regarded as corpses, as the bodies of defunct men and women. A few seem to contain a hint that death may be only a passage to a new life, a change from one kind of existence to another, that, in the words of one philosopher, life and death are one process of change (以 生 死 爲 一 化). There are also, however, many expressions in which the suspicion that life may go on at least for a time after the dissolution of soul and body appears to have become a certainty. The living we see are men and women

[1] "Fang-yen," chap. xii.; "Urh-ya," chap. iv.; "Kuang-ya,"; "Fang-yen," chap. vi.; "Li-chi," chap. i., p. 46; L. C. C., iv., p. 44 (先 君); "Shih-ming," chap. iv., p. 21.

of flesh and bone and spirit, but the dead we do not see are spirit only. They are ghosts—*kuei* (鬼)—which linger for a time about the tabernacles they have quitted now being dissolved. They take phantom forms of these occasionally for special purposes, and darkly wreak their wrath on those who wronged them while in the body. A ghost is called *kuei*, say some, because it is spirit which *kuei* (歸) returns, that is, to its original state of formless air. Before doing so, however, it has for an indefinite period a lonely existence generally restless and unhappy. The ghost of one who has died a bad death is for the most part working mischief, and it is never in any circumstances a welcome visitor. One name for the dead, not mentioned above, is *pu-shu* (不淑), the bad, the unlucky—*jen-ssŭ-wei-chih-pu-shu* (人死謂之不淑), the dead are called the bad (or, unfortunate). Some, however, tell us that the term *pu-shu* applies only to those who do not die a natural death. In one of the odes of the "Shi Ching" we find it said of (or by) a woman with reference to her hard lot in being parted from her husband by famine, *yü--jen-chih-pu-shu-i* (遇人之不淑矣). Dr. Legge translates, "She suffers from his misfortune," but the meaning is perhaps rather, "She suffers the loss of her husband from famine" (or, I experienced the loss of my husband from famine). Then the word *yang* (殃), which means originally a plague, disaster, or calamity, comes to denote a ghost and particularly that of one's dead father. Thus when a man is choosing a site for his father's grave he is warned *pi-yang* (避殃), to keep out of the way of, that is, avoid offending his father's ghost. Further as the departed are generally credited with the possession of superhuman powers the term *ling* is applied to them. Thus the living and dead are spoken of as the *shêng-ling* (生靈). The word *ling* includes the ideas of spiritual efficaciousness of the power to grant requests in a miraculous way, and it is applied to nearly everything that is connected with the deceased.[1]

[1] "Urh-ya," chap. iv., p. 14. The *ku-kuei* (古鬼) are "the dead of old"—those long deceased, and *hsin* (新)-*kuei* are "the modern dead." "Tso-chuan," chap. xv., p. 8; and L.C.C.,v., p. 234; *Jih-chih-lu* (日知錄), chap. xxxii.; L.C.C., iv., p. 117; and "Shi-ching," chap. ii., p. 40; "*Wu-hsio-lu*" (吾學錄), chap. xix.

A very curious phrase used in speaking of the departed is *huang-ch'üan* (黃泉), which would seem to mean "yellow spring." But in this expression *huang* is usually interpreted as meaning the soil or earth; and *huang-ch'üan* is that depth below the surface of the ground at which water is reached; or it is the depth of soil within which seeds germinate and vegetable life goes through its early processes. So those whose bodies have been committed to earth are described as being *huang-ch'üan-chih-hsia,* below the meeting of soil and water. Thus it is said of a father that when alive he has the upper seat, when dead he is buried "below the meeting of soil and water." To be dead and buried is *ju* (入) *huang-ch'üan,* to have entered soil and water; and *huang-ch'üan-lu* (路), the road of earth-springs is the region of the shades. So also *i-sang* (以喪)*-huang-ch'üan,* is to observe mourning for those who are dead and buried. One of the most interesting occurrences of the phrase is in the first chapter of the "Tso-chuan." We there read that Duke Chuang of Ch'êng, on account of the unfair conduct of his mother, vowed that "except at the earth-springs he would not see her again" (不及黃泉無相見也); in Dr. Legge's rendering, "I will not see you again, till I have reached the yellow spring [*i.e,* till I am dead and under the yellow earth]." The Duke was afterwards sorry for his vow, and an ingenious way out of it was found for him by a high official of great filial piety. "If you," said the clever adviser, "scoop out the earth to the springs (及泉), make a tunnel and 'see her again' there, who will say that this is not as you vowed?" The son acted on this advice and had a happy meeting with his mother, thus keeping his vow and satisfying his conscience. In the above passage the words *huang-ch'üan* are explained by *ti-chung-ch'ih-ch'üan* (地中之泉), the springs within the earth, and further as *ti-hsia,* under the ground. Not only do the dead see and recognise each other in the *huang-ch'üan,* they also retain there the feelings of human beings. Thus a man says to one who has rendered him a great service, "I will feel your kindness even in the next world" (我在黃泉感你恩), in the *huang-ch'üan.* We find the phrase sometimes varied by the substitu-

tion of *jang* (壤) for *huang*. The word *jang* also means soil or earth, and is used as an equivalent of *huang* in this sense. The expression *i-kuang* (以光)-*ch'üan-jang,* means "to shed glory on the dead and buried," and sometimes "to glorify my deceased father." So also the young widow who cut off her left ear and put it in her husband's coffin said that by the act "the demons and spirits knew she would wait to meet him in the other world," the *ch'üan-jang.*[1]

Another interesting and common literary expression for the place of the departed, and thence for the departed themselves, is *chiu-yuan* (九原), or *chiu-ch'üan* (九泉). These two terms seem to have the same meaning, which is literally "nine springs," but in the use now under consideration they are names for the tomb or tombs. As such specifically they will come before us again, and for the present we notice them only in the expressions which denote "the place of the dead." A common phrase for this is *chiu-yuan* (or *ch'üan*) *chih-hsia* (九原 (or 泉) 之下), below the tombs. Thus Liu Pei, before putting to death the traitor Mi Fang, said to him, "If I pardon you, when I go below the tombs (lit. nine springs, 至九泉之下), how shall I face Kuan-kung?" the murdered Kuan Yü whom you deserted. So also K'ung-ming says to the hoary old traitor Wang Lang, "You are to go home (*kuei* 歸) this day below the tombs (lit. nine springs), and how are you to face the twenty-four Han Emperors?" In a private letter from a celebrated statesman to a relative we find a curious example of the use of the phrase *chiu-yuan.* The writer pleads with his relative to be fair and kind to his two nephews, and says to him, by so doing "you will close our father's eyes in the tomb," lit. the nine springs (瞑先人之目於九原), that is, you will enable our progenitors to have peace in their graves. While there is trouble in the family the departed parent does

[1] L. C. C., v., p. 2; and "Tso-chuan," chap. i., Cf. "Han-shu," chap. xxi., p. 3; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv. The uses of the phrase *huang-ch'üan* may be further illustrated by quotations from a beautiful old poem. Of the wedded couple it is said *huang-ch'üan-kung-wei-yu* (黃泉共爲友), "lovers to death." Then the faithful husband says *wu-tu-hsiang-huang-ch'üan,* "I go alone to the other world;" and the true wife answers, *huang-ch'üan-hsia-hsiang-chien* (黃泉下相見), "I meet you in the next world." "Ku-shi-yuan," chap iv., 1st poem,

not shut his eyes, and hence the term in the above expression *ming-mu*, already noticed, is not only to die but also to have peace in death, to sleep in the grave undisturbed. In this last example it will be seen that the term used for the place of the dead is simply *chiu-yuan*, the tomb or tombs. The phrase *chiu-ch'üan* is used in the same manner, as when T'sao P'ei's mother says to him, "When I go to the grave (*chiu ch'üan*), moreover, I shall sleep in peace" (吾至九泉亦瞑目也).[1]

It has been seen that the phrase *huang-ch'üan-chih-hsia* is explained by *ti-hsia*, below the ground; and this term also is often used to express the place of the dead. Thus we meet with such statements as that of certain two wives who refused very tempting offers, saying, "How could we face our husband's fathers in the other world?" lit. below ground (何面目見大父于地下). Further, ghosts live behind the sun in the dark north. Hence dead bodies are placed and kept with the head towards the north, and the term *pei-shou* (北首), head turned to north, means deceased. It is also mostly in the darkness of night that the ghosts come out to cry and peep their woes and wrongs and scare dreaming mortals whom they owe a grudge. So the word *yu* (幽), darkling, in the shade, is used to denote the dead, those who wander in death's shade. This word *yu* refers also to the dark sunless region in which the ghosts wander, as does also *yin* (陰), a word of similar meaning. To these are opposed such terms as *ming* (明) and *yang* (陽), which denote clear light, the bright day of life. Another term for the place of the dead is *t'a-hsiao-chih-chai* (太宵之宅), the house of the grand night. They who are in this, to wit, the grave, are "hid in death's dateless night," *t'ai-hsiao* being the equivalent of *ch'ang-ye* (長夜), the long (that is, unending) night.

The dead are also said to be in the *ming-fu* (冥府), court of darkness, the gloomy halls. Thus a person deceased is said to have gone to (至), or to have seen (見) the *ming-fu*. To be dead

[1] "San-kuo-chih," chap. xlv. and chap. xlii.; "Yang-yuan-chi," chap. xv.; "San-kuo-chih," chap. xl. For *chiu-ch'üan* we sometimes find *ch'ung-ch'üan* (重泉), "the many springs," and the dead are *ch'ung-ch'üan-hsia* or simply *ch'uan-hsia*, below the springs.

and buried, also, is to travel the dark road, *ming-t'u* (冥塗), the passage to the gloomy halls of the king of the lower world, the *tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida.* This *ming-fu*, as a poet nearly said, is a place much like Peking, where "there are all sorts of people undone, and there is little or no fun done." There are Courts and Public Offices, and Registers are kept of the shady inhabitants. Hence a well-known phrase for "to be dead" is *têng-kuei-lu* (登鬼錄), to be entered on the ghost's register, to have one's name and surname recorded among the dwellers below. Another expression of a like nature is *ju-kuei-mên-kuan* (入鬼門關), to have entered the ghosts' confines, to be down among the dead. In the *ming-fu* there are also *kuei-kuan*, ghost officials, and *kuei-ts'u* (卒), ghost turnkeys or bailiffs, and to encounter these is to be dead and buried.

There is a literary expression for dead, which may be mentioned here. It is *ju-yü-yuan* (入虞淵), "to go into Yü-yuan." The sun was supposed to set at this place, and death is the setting of man's sun, and *ju-liao-yü-yuan* is "he is dead." Of a teacher or a distinguished scholar his death may be described by the words *mêng-tien* (夢奠), "he dreams of a libation." The phrase is derived from a passage in the "Li-chi," and it is or has been used in the senses of "know that my end is at hand," to die, and to be dead buried and receiving worship.[1]

Returning from the realms of the shades, which we who have not yet seen our last evening can do, let us wait for a little near the body of one recently bereft of spirit. There is a crowd of expressions to denote the services performed to or on account of the body, but we can notice only a few. And the first to claim our attention is the well-known *chao-hun* (招魂), to summon the spirit, to call the departed spirit back to the body it has just left. In old times, when a death occurred in a family, one of the members, taking the clothes lately worn by the deceased, went

[1] "Yuan-chien-lei-han," chap. ccxlvi., p. 23; "Li-chi," chap ii. (檀弓上) for *mêng-tien*. The expression *pai-jih-ju-yü-yuan* (白日入虞淵) is said to mean "die in youth or manhood," to set in the day time. It seems to have other meanings, however, and it is not very common. "Ku-shi-yuan" (古詩源), chap. vi.

to the roof of the house. There with face turned to the north, the ghosts' quarter, he *chao-hun*, called on the departed spirit to return. This ceremony is still gone through, but now commonly at the door, or near the house, or at the *T'u-ti-miao*, temple of the Genius of the place, and most frequently by a woman for a son or husband. The classical name for the ceremony is *fu* (復), to return, bring back. No one believes that the spirit will come, but the performance of the service satisfies the sense of duty in the mind of the bereaved mourner.

Another old and curious ceremony, often noticed, is that denoted by the phrase *mai-shui* (買 水), to buy water, an expression which is confined apparently to this particular ceremony. Soon after a parent dies, the eldest son, or whoever is representative of the deceased, dressed in all the trappings of woe, with one arm bared, and attended by the chief among his relatives, goes to "buy water." For this purpose, having provided himself with a bowl and two copper *cash*, he proceeds to a stream or spring at some distance, and outside the city if possible. Arrived at the water he drops his two cash into it and fills his bowl. Weeping bitterly all the time, he now returns by a different road from that by which he had gone. On his arrival at home he presents the water, kneeling, and it is perfumed and used to wash the face and hands of the deceased. The two cash are necessary, in order to have the cleansing recognised by the powers below, the water is bought, as it were, from them and so it cannot be regarded as earthly water. This custom is very common in the Kuangtung province, but it is not even known in many other parts of the empire.

Another custom, and one continued from the earliest times of Chinese history, is indicated by the word *han* (written 含, 唅, and 琀). The meaning of this word is to hold or put in the mouth, or to put a gem or jewel in the mouth, to wit, of a deceased person. In old times a piece of jade, or silver, or a pearl, or a few cowries and grains of rice were put in the mouth of one about to be buried. The ceremony was called *han*, and this term was explained by *shih-kou* (實 口), to fill or stop the mouth, or

to do so with jade, that is, a precious stone (以玉實口). Morrison says, "This observance was considered an expression of personal attachment, accompanying the deceased to the grave. The modern custom is, for some person, nearly related, to take a few grains of rice, a few leaves of tea, with some particles of incense, and put them all into the mouth of the corpse, which observance is commonly called *shih-k'how,* 'to stuff the mouth.'" The phrase thus used means to place something substantial in the mouth that it may not go away empty. The jade or cowries and rice were not considered necessary for the deceased, nor were they given to supply him with nourishment, but they were placed in his mouth to satisfy the feelings of relatives who could not bear to see him empty-mouthed. This word *han* denotes at present the putting of a gold or silver pill (or both) into the mouth of an individual dead and about to be shrouded. Those who are rich and liberal use solid gold or silver, but many only gild the pill or use imitations. The object of this procedure is to enable the departed ghost to have the power of speaking in the other world. The old meaning of *han,* however, is still retained, as we see by such expressions as *kuei-han* (歸含), to send a present of pearl or jade for the mouth of a deceased friend. And the importance attached to the service of "stopping the mouth" may be inferred from the current expression *han-lien,* "to stuff the mouth and shroud," which means to observe all the formalities due between death and burial.[1]

A duty which is strictly attended to on the occurrence of a death in a family and specially the death of a parent is the making of the fact publicly known. For this purpose paper lamps of a particular kind are placed outside of the chief entrance of the house, and certain other signs are displayed for general observation. The local deity, the guardian genius of the place, is also informed of the occurrence in the following manner. When a man, say a father of a family, dies, his eldest son or other representative goes to the "Ch'êng-huang," temple in the town

[1] Morrison's Dict., vol. i., p. 367; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 48; "Ch'ün-ch'iu," chap. xiv., p. 11; "Tso-chuan," chap. xv., p. 13; L. C. C., v., p. 240.

or to the T'u-ti temple. He there performs worship and has the fact of his father's death proclaimed, the surname, name, age, and other particulars being carefully announced. The common expressions for this ceremony are *pao-chung* (報鐘), to tell the bell; or *k'ou* (叩)-*chung*, to strike the bell; or *pao-ti-t'ou* (報地頭), to tell the head of the earth, that is, the local genius. The tolling of the bell is made to give the years of the deceased, and the ceremony, which in some places is regarded as of the utmost importance, is designed to announce to the guardian deity the departure of one of his people. The death of a parent or other near relative is also made known to friends in a special manner. This is done by a statement written usually with blue ink on greyish paper, and is called *fu*. This word is written in two ways, 訃 and 赴, but the former, which is of comparatively late origin, is used exclusively in this manner, while the latter is in this use antiquated or pedantic. The full expression is *fu-ming*, to announce a death, but the word *ming* is usually omitted. The character 赴, which also means to hasten, is found in old literature in the sense of "announcing a death" (告死曰赴). Thus when Po-kao, an esteemed friend of Confucius, died in the Wei country, the fact that his death was reported to Confucius, is expressed by *fu-yü-k'ung-tzŭ* (赴於孔子). In making the formal announcement of a death, and in letters to friends during the period of mourning, there are certain terms by which law or usage requires that the writer should designate himself. Thus a son, whose mother is living, when reporting his father's decease, describes himself as *ku-tzŭ* (孤子), or fatherless son; if he is reporting his mother's death while his father is alive, he calls himself *ai* (哀)-*tzŭ*, bereaved (distressed) son; and if both his parents are dead he is *ku-ai-tzŭ*.[1]

Returning to the corpse, after the lustral water has been applied, the next duty to a dead body is to dress it for burial. This is done usually on the day after the death, technically called the *yüeh-jih* (越日), the day which passes over [the day of the death]. If the deceased was an official, he is dressed after the manner of

[1] "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 15.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

an official of the Ming dynasty; and if a private individual, in the fashion of a gentleman of that period. The dressing of the corpse is called *hsiao-lien* (小 斂 or 殮), the minor shrouding, and the clothes are euphemistically called *shou-i* (壽 衣), longevity clothes, and sometimes simply *i*, clothes. In Mencius, with reference to the funeral ceremonies for a relative, we find mention of the *kuan-kuo-i-ch'in* (棺 椁 衣 衾), the inner and outer coffins, the clothes and coverlet. The *ch'in* is a large robe or sheet put on outside the clothes, and is properly in three pieces. We have also the term *hsi-shih* (襲 事), the shrouding business, to denote the dressing of the body. The word *hsi* here is explained by *chou-tsa* (周 匝), to wrap round; and the term *hsi-shih* expresses rather the act known by the very old name *chiao-chin* (絞 紟), to wrap the corpse with long stripes of cloth. The whole body in court dress, as it were, after lying in state for a day, is enveloped in folds of cotton, which are wound tightly round every part, hiding from view the ugly change that has commenced. In some places the corpse is treated for several days as though it were a living creature, but this is not according to general consent or old custom. The term *chiao-chin* is sometimes used for the whole process of dressing and setting out a corpse. Another term is *chuang-kuo* (裝 裹), to dress and wrap, that is, to put his dress on the deceased and then wrap him in winding sheets. This is also called the *ta-lien*, or great shrouding, to distinguish it from the mere dressing—*hsiao-lien*—mentioned above. After this ceremony, which should be performed on the third day after death, the deceased may not be seen again.

On this third day the body is placed in the coffin, surrounded and covered with the clothes of the deceased and many folds and layers of cloth. The coffining is also called *ta-lien*, but the old and correct term is *pin* (殯), a word which has come to be used in a vague loose way to denote all the ceremonies preparatory to burial and sometimes the act of interment also. It means "to treat the deceased as a guest," and it is properly to put the shrouded body in the coffin and place this on a pile of wood covered with earth at the west wall of the chamber. Behind

this a curtain was drawn in old times, and within this curtain the female members of the family performed their prescribed wailing. From this comes the phrase still used of a woman crying over a lost father or husband, *wei-pin* (帷殯), literally, to curtain the shrouded corpse. In the general sense of preparing a body for burial, *pin* is of frequent occurrence in literature, ancient and modern. It is recorded of Confucius that he said, if a friend dies, and there is no one, the disposition of the body devolves "*yü-wo-pin* (於我殯), it is for me to prepare him for burial." In popular speech at present the whole process of shrouding and coffining is called by the vague euphemism *shou-shih* (收拾), to set to rights, to put in order. The meaning is to dress and adjust the body properly, making it ready for burial. Great importance is attached to these services, which are performed by relatives or experts, hired for the purpose. One of the worst things one Chinese can say to another is *ti-pao-shou-ni*, the constable, do you up, that is, may you die a pauper and an outcast.[1]

Let us next take note of some of the terms for the services required on the occasion of a death from the friends of the departed. These services have a large group of words and phrases to themselves, but we can notice here only a few of those which indicate specially acts done for the deceased or his relatives before burial. One of the first of these ceremonies in order and in importance is expressed by *tiao* (弔) or *tiao-sang*, to condole, to join with the survivors in lamenting the fate of the departed. The meaning which the "Shuo-wên" gives to the character is simply "to ask about a death" (問終). That work also presents the character as made up of the characters for "man" and "bow," the explanation being as follows. In old times the dead were not coffined and buried, but were merely carried out into the country, laid on the ground, and covered with branches of trees and grass. In order to keep away birds and beasts of prey relatives watched for a time armed with bow and arrow. So also when a friend came to condole he brought his arms—his bow—and

[1] L. C. C., ii., p. 54; "Wu-hsio-lu," chap. xvi., p. 8; L. C. C., i., p. 99; and "Lun-yü," chap. x., p. 29; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 36; "Shih-ming," chap. iv.

sat beside the mourner, helping him to drive away the birds and beasts. Hence in process of time the word for this, *tiao,* came to have the general meaning of assisting at a death, and of expressing sorrow for the lot of the departed. It is now used of the condolence offered as soon as possible after a friend has died. On the other hand, to soothe and comfort the mourner, is expressed by *yen* (唁), to condole with him for the loss he has sustained. This word is used only with reference to the living when applied correctly. It may denote the condolence offered after a defeat or the loss of a kingdom, but it is especially used of the sympathy for the orphan mourning a deceased parent, "to console a filial son, that is, on the death of a parent is called *yen*" (慰 孝 子 曰 唁).[1]

It has always been the custom, moreover, to contribute something material to the dressing and burying of a deceased friend. Thus in old times horses and carriages were sent as a token of respect to him, and this service was called *fêng* (賵). But as the use of horses and carriages ceased this word lost its technical signification, and came to be a general name for all honorary presents to the dead; and so it is explained by *kuei-ssŭ* (歸 死), to send presents to the dead. There is a special word, *sui* (襚), to denote the clothes and wrappings (衣 被) given to help in shrouding a deceased friend. For gifts of useful articles, including money, the general name is *fu* (賻). This word comprehends all the contributions from friends to the mourning relatives to help in providing a decent funeral. At present the prevailing custom is to send only money, and there are various euphemisms for the contributions thus made. Commonly they are called *hsiang-i* (香 儀), incense etiquette. Another name for them is *chu* (楮)-*i*, because the subscriptions were formerly given in bank-notes made of paper from the *chu* or paper-mulberry tree. A general term in common use for all kinds of complimentary services on the occasion of a death is *tsu-wei* (助 威). The literal meaning of this phrase is "to assist the gravity," and it is properly used by an inferior of the duty which he pays to a deceased superior.[2]

1 "Shuo-wên," chap. xxiv., p. 53; "Yu-hsio," &c. (幼學故事瓊林), chap. iii.

2 "Kung-yang," chap. i., p. 18; "Ku-liang," chap. i., p. 14; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 62; chap. i., p. 25.

Coming now to the coffin we find for it also a special vocabulary. The Chinese, as all know, attach great importance to the kind of receptacle in which a deceased parent is to be interred, and generally the quality of a coffin is a matter of great concern to all interested. In some places the carpenter has to make coffins as a part of his ordinary occupation, but in other places the making and selling of these form a separate kind of employment. The mechanic or tradesman so engaged, however, is called by some euphemistic title like artisan or carpenter. This has been the custom for a very long time, as we find in Mencius the word *chiang* (匠), a craftsman or carpenter, used in the special sense of coffiin-maker; and in the same work we find the general term *chiang-shi* (匠事), artisan's business, employed with the particular meaning of coffin-making.

The common and universally understood name for a coffin is *kuan* or *kuan-ts'ai* (棺材). In literature this word *ts'ai*, which is properly material of any kind, is often used in the special sense of material for a coffin. The character for *kuan* is made up of the classifier for wood and a phonetic: and so it was devised after the substitution of timber for the earlier materials. But even when made of other substances a coffin is still called a *kuan*, and so we have a *wa* (瓦)-*kuan*, or tile coffin, and a *shi* (石)-*kuan*, one made of stone. The word is explained as if it were *kuan* (關), because a coffin shuts up and hides from view the body inside; or as if it were *wan* (完), because it makes an end of the body, putting it out of sight for ever. Then the various kinds of coffins are known by different names, as, for example, the *chu* (朱)-*kuan*, or red coffin, the use of which is restricted to officials from the fifth rank upwards. The term *ta-kuan*, great coffin, is occasionally used in writing instead of *ko* or *kuo* (槨 or 椁), to denote the shell or outer case in which the coffin was formerly enclosed. The custom of using this outer case arose during the Yin period and continued to prevail for many centuries. Its name *kuo* is explained by some as if it were *k'uo* (廓 or 郭), meaning capacious or a spacious inclosure.

As we use the word lead to indicate coffin—"all thy friends are lapp'd in lead"—so the Chinese use the word *mu,* wood. Thus the phrase *ju-mu* (入木) is to put into wood, to coffin. The name *shou-pan* (壽板), long life boards, is given to the coffin which an old man provides for himself or friends present to him. The proper number of these boards or pieces of wood is six, and a coffin made of so many is called a *ch'uan-ch'êng* (全城), a perfect city-wall, that is, one not having any opening. In some places this name is given when eight pieces are used, but it is then improperly applied. Among literary people there are several other common designations by which the coffin provided during life is mentioned or described. Such are *i-chia* (椸椵) and *p'i-kuan* (椑棺), derived from the old classics. The *i, chia* and *p'i* are all trees yielding valuable timber, and the first was specially employed as impervious to water in making one of the coffins in which the body of a sovereign was interred.

A small coffin is called *sui* (槥) or *tu* (櫝), or *sui-tu,* these two words having the same meaning, viz., a chest or box. The cases in which the bones of soldiers are sent from the place of death to their homes are called *sui* or *tu,* and the latter word is used also for the case in which a dead animal, for example a horse, is buried.

There are also special names to designate a coffin which is occupied. Thus the term *tzŭ-kung* (梓宮) is applied to the coffin which contains the body of an Emperor deceased and not yet buried. The term means "the palace of *tzŭ,*" a valuable wood, hard and lasting. The word *chiu* (柩), noticed above, is often used in the sense of a coffin with its corpse. The word perhaps originally denoted merely a coffin ready or on its way to burial. We read of meeting a *chiu* on the road, of following one to the tomb, and it is an old rule not to sing when looking in the direction of one (望柩不歌). The epithet *ling,* of supernatural efficacy, is very often prefixed to *chiu,* as to other objects connected with the dead, and by itself *ling* may be used to denote all that is expressed by *chiu.* Other common terms for a tenanted coffin are *pin* (殯), already noticed with another meaning, and

ch'ên (櫬). This latter word is explained as meaning *ch'in* (親), that which is one's own, that which is very close to one. But in old literature, and in modern works set with antique gems, *ch'ên* is often used in the sense of an empty coffin, one waiting for its occupant. One says expressly, "an empty coffin is called *ch'ên.*" There is an old classical phrase found also in modern literature, which illustrates this use of the word. The phrase is *yü-ch'ên* (輿 櫬), once to draw, now to bear a coffin ready to receive a particular body. In old literature we sometimes find the word *sang* (喪), which has occurred to us already, used to denote a coffin with a corpse. Thus in the "Ch'un-ch'iu" we meet with expressions like *kung-chih-sang-chih-tzŭ-Ch'i* (公 之 喪 至 自 齊), the Duke's coffin arrived from Ch'i. And again we read in the same book that in the spring of the ninth year of Duke Ch'êng "the Earl of Chi came to meet the coffin (喪) of the Duke's third daughter to take it home." In such passages, however, the word *sang* may perhaps be sometimes rendered more appropriately by funeral or funeral procession. Further we have to note a term which is in common use among Taoists and Fêng-shui doctors. This is *chin-tou* (金 斗), gold peck-measure, which is used to denote a coffin either ready for interment or actually buried. But to say of a piece of land that it conceals a gold peck (內 藏 黃 金 斗) may mean no more than that it is a good site for a grave.

There are also many names for the different parts of a coffin. But these are not all in general use, nor are they applied everywhere in the same manner. Thus the lid and bottom are sometimes called by the common terms "upper and lower (lit. Heaven and Earth) boards" (天 板 地 板). They are also known respectively as sun and moon, and the former has the further designation *pie-chia* (鼈 甲), turtle's shell. This last term is also used to indicate a coffin with its contents, but it does not seem to be of common occurrence. The joining place of a coffin and its lid is sometimes called *jen* (袵), a word which properly denotes the meeting of two edges of a garment. Used in the sense now under notice it is rather a book term, and in common

speech the meeting-place of lid and coffin is called *hsiao-yao* (小要), the small essential, a phrase which dates from the time of the Han dynasty. Another name for this part of a coffin is *chien* (緘), which is properly to bind or fasten with cords. In very old times the use of nails was not known, and the coffin was secured only by leather thongs. These in time came to be replaced by hemp strings which were called *chien*, which were kept fast by pegs fixed at the junction of lid and coffin, and hence perhaps that use of the word now under notice.[1]

Coming next to the funeral we find that the acts and ceremonies connected with it furnish many expressions of a curious or interesting nature. Of these a few may be taken as specimens, and principally such as illustrate at once the character of the language and the customs of the people.

When the body duly swathed and surrounded with all that is considered needful or desirable has been properly laid in the coffin, the lid is nailed down on the latter. This act is expressed by the euphemistic phrase *an-ting* (安釘), the nailing to rest or peace. For the carrying out to burial there are several expressions, of which the most common perhaps is *ch'u-piu* (出殯), to go out to bury. Another phrase with the same meaning and also in general use is *ch'u-sang* (喪), to go out to mourn or go out to bury. In some places words of ill omen are avoided, and to carry out for burial is expressed by *ch'u-shan,* to go out to the hills. But the use of this euphemism is not sanctioned by the strictly orthodox, and the phrase has other meanings. It is sometimes used in the sense of to worship at a tomb, and very commonly it means to go into office, to take active service under government. In this last use the phrase is taken in the sense of to leave or go out from the hills, and it is opposed to *tsai-shan* (在山), which means to be

[1] L.C.C., ii., pp. 80, 96; and "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. iii., p. 76; iv., p. 18; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 6; "Shuo-wên," chap. xvii., p. 63; "Pai-hu-t'ung," chap. iv.; "Yü-pien," s.v. 棺; "Wu-hsio-lu," chap. xvi.; "Han-shu," chap. i. 下; chap. x., p. 4; "Shuo-wên," chap. xvii.; Phon. S.W., vol. iv., p. 92; "Li-chi," chap. i., p. 25; chap. ii., p. 44; "Hsiao-urh-ya," p. 4; "Tso-chuan," chap. ix.; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 40; L. C. C., v., pp. 69, 132, 268, 368; and "Ch'un-ch'iu," chap. xv., p. 12; chap. xx., p. 3.

The lid of a coffin is also called *liu* (槨), properly "a willow;" but in some places this name is given to the sides while the lid is called *kuang* (廣). As to *ch'ên* the meaning of "coffin with body" is still retained in the phrase *chung-ch'ên* (重櫬), the heavy coffin.

in the hills, that is, living privately or in seclusion. Another expression for carrying to burial is *fa-yin* (發 引) which, however, refers properly only to the starting of the procession. The original meaning of the phrase is "to let out the traces," and it keeps up the memory of an old state of affairs. In early times a hearse was used to convey a body to its last resting place, and the ropes by which the hearse was drawn were called *yin*. Hence *fa-yin*, to let out the traces, meant to begin a funeral procession. In those times it was required of the friends who came to attend a funeral that they should take hold of the ropes and help to draw the hearse. The rule was *tiao-yü-tsang-cho-pi-chih-yin* (弔 於 塟 者 必 執 引), the mourners at a burial must take hold of the drawing-ropes. The hearse long ago ceased to be used, but the name *yin* continues. It denotes the white strings attached to the front of the bier, which is always carried by hired coolies. But friends continue to observe the form of taking these strings in their hands as the funeral procession advances. In popular language the term *yin-pu*, guiding (or leading) cloth, is applied to these bier-strings, and they are often merely strips of white paper.

Another phrase *chih-fu* (執 紼)has a history like that of *chih-yin*. The word *fu* is often found as a synonym for *yin* in the sense of a rope for drawing a hearse; but it is also used to designate the ropes by which the coffin is lowered into the grave. General custom, dating from a long time back, requires friends attending a funeral to take these ropes in their hands when the act of interment is taking place. Thus we read *tsu-tsang-cho-pi chih-fu* (助 塟 者 必 執 紼), they who help at a burial must take hold of the coffin-ropes. While doing so the friends are, by old rule, required to look serious and abstain from smiling.

We see another survival from antiquity in the present use of the word *i* (輀 with several variants). This word is explained in the "Shuo wên" by *sang-ch'ê*, funeral carriage. It was once a name for a hearse, each of the four corners of which was in old times adorned by a fish-like ornament. These ornaments were called *i* as if *i* (耳 now *erh*) that is, ears or handles. Such fish-like

"ears" are still to be seen adorning the large biers used at grand funerals. The name *i* has long been transferred to the bier, and a popular phrase for having a funeral is *chia-i* (駕輀), originally, to mount on a hearse. In like manner the word *liu* (輀) once denoted a hearse, a *tsai-chiu-ch'ê* (載柩車), a vehicle for carrying a coffin. But it also now denotes a bier, the successor of the hearse or its substitute. It is not in common use among the people though familiar to all the learned.

In the use of the term *kung-pu* (功布), literally "merit (or mourning) cloth," we have another relic of antiquity. It was once the custom for a friend, while taking part in a funeral procession, to carry a duster made of a strip of white cloth attached to a stick, and with it from time to time dust the coffin. The custom is still observed in some places, though it is often only an empty form. But usually even the form is not kept up and all that the friend does is to carry in front of the bier a piece of white cloth or a strip of white paper merely. Even this latter is called by the old name *kung-pu*. And this name has been extended to another object of a different character, also borne in front of the bier. The correct name for this other object is *ming-ching* (銘旌), inscribed flag; and it denotes a scroll commonly of red silk inscribed with the names and titles of the deceased. In the front of a funeral procession there may also be generally seen a man carrying a small banner of a triangular shape. This is called *fan* (旛 and other characters), a term which is applied also to banners and bannerets of other kinds. Often the *fan* at a funeral has on it only the names of the deceased, and it is then borne by a relative. When it is inscribed with words like Omito Fo it is carried by a Buddhist monk. The *kung-pu* was (and perhaps still is) used for making signals to the bearers of the bier.[1]

[1] "Shih-ming," chap. iv., p. 23; "Li-chi," chap. viii., p. 24; chap. ii., p. 44; chap. i., p. 25; "Yu-hsio," chap. iii.; "Yü-pien," chap. 中, s.v. 輀 and 轜. At the present time we still find the bier designated *i-hsien* (written 轜軒) and sometimes *ling-i* (靈轜), the carriage (or hearse) of the dead. "Shuo-wên," s.v. 輀. At a modern funeral the coffin is usually preceded immediately by a sedan-chair. This is either quite empty or contains only a tablet or sheet of paper inscribed with the names of the deceased. It is called in common language *hun-yü* (魂輿), the spirit's carriage. "Ch'ung-ting-wên-hsüan-chi" (重訂文選集), chap. vii.

As soon as a man's parent has died, the site for his grave must be determined if the parent did not choose one during his lifetime. To obtain a good site is a matter of great concern, not so much on account of the dead as for the interests of the living. The poor who cannot fee the Yin-yang Professors, bury their dead on any slope or down to which they have access. And in old times the rich and great perhaps did no more in selecting a site than choose one where the soil was deep and free from stones and water. In the "Hsiao-ching," Classic of Filial Piety, it is indeed written that the filial son determines by divination the burial place of his parent and lays him to rest. The words are *pu-ch'i-tsê-chao-êrh-an-ts'u-chih* (卜其宅兆而安措之). Here *tsê* and *chao*, which are to meet us again, are explained to mean respectively the grave proper and the place of the grave. Because the choice of a site is a serious matter, the son first consults the gods *(pu)*, and on learning from them, he decides a spot to be a good one in which to make a parent's grave. That was a good spot in which the dead body might lie in peace, and from which the spirit well-pleased might send blessings on sons and grandsons. But the Fêng-shui theories arose, and the question of a site for a grave became one of a technical and artificial nature. With the spread of these theories many new phrases came into use, and many old terms received new and special applications. The use of the word *hsüe* in expressions like *chie-hsüe* (結穴), a focus of good influences, comes before us a little below. This phrase means simply a good site, but in common speech it generally denotes a grave in a situation declared fortunate by the Fêng-shui experts. So also the bugbear *fêng-shui* is largely connected with ancestral worship and the unseen powers of the tomb. A good (*hao*) *fêng-shui* is a paternal tomb, which brings good luck to the family or a place which would make a site for such a tomb. So *chan* (佔)-*fêng-shui*, to seize (or encroach on) *fêng-shui* is to spoil the good luck of a grave, interfere with the course of its influences, an offence which may be made a cause of action in the Magistrate's Court. Further the words *hsiu-cheng* (休貞) mean prosperous and auspicious, but the phrase *hsiu-chêng* is used to

denote a fortunate site for a grave. The expression *k'ao* (考)-*hsiu-chêng* means to search out such a site, to find by inspection and examination a lucky place for burial.[1]

There are several expressions which illustrate the kind of site deemed good, one of which may be given here. That man is happy who has secured for his parents' graves a *niu-mien-ti* (牛眠地), cow's sleeping place. This denotes such a spot on the slope of a hill as would be selected by a cow wishing to enjoy calm rumination and peaceful slumber. But the theory and the phrase come from an old story told somewhat as follows: In the time of the Chin dynasty there lived a man T'ao-k'an (陶侃) of small means and good repute. It came to pass that one of his parents died, and very soon after he also lost a cow which wandered away. As T'ao was looking about for a good spot to serve as burial place for his parent he met an old patriarch. To him T'ao told the nature of his quest, and the old man advised him to go to a certain hill, on a terrace of which he would find a cow sleeping, adding that if he buried his parent there he would rise to the highest place in the state. T'ao went as directed, found his lost cow on the spot indicated and there buried his parent. He afterwards rose to be a great minister, and the tomb became a source of much and lasting blessing. Riches were added, sons and grandsons were multiplied and grew up to honour, and parents and grand-parents lived to enjoy the grateful homage of their virtuous descendants. Hence the phrase *niu-mien-ti* became proverbial, and it still remains a stock expression.[2]

When a site has been chosen and the exact position of a grave determined it remains to clear the ground and dig the grave. One expression for the former is *k'ai-ying-yü* (開塋域), to open (that is, clear) the cemetery. This is done by cutting away all thorny bushes and unlucky plants, and removing stony and other obstructions. But man may not do any violence to the earth in order to hide in it his corrupting dead until he has appeased the local god and owned his sovereignty. So we have the expression

[1] "Hsiao-ching," chap. ix. (13); "Hsing-li-ta-ch'uan," chap xx.
[2] See the "Ch'ên-chien-t'ao-chi" (陳檢討集), chap. xvi.

ts'ŭ-hou-t'u (祠 后 土), as the name of a solemn rite which precedes the opening of the earth to make a grave. It means "to worship the ruler of the place," that is, the spirit which dwells at and presides over the locality, the *t'u-ti-shên* (or *p'u-sa*) of common language. For the actual work of excavating a grave there are many expressions, generally euphemistic, of which one or two examples are given. The old word *ch'ui* (竁) is sometimes used in this sense, though it is found perhaps more frequently as a synonym for *k'uang* as denoting the hole dug. The word seems to have denoted first the scratching away of earth as by a burrowing animal, and then the scooping out of soil by human beings, whether by the hand or otherwise; thence it came to denote any excavation, but specially one made to receive a dead body. To make a grave is commonly expressed in some places by the euphemism *k'ai-shan*, to open (or clear) a hill; and other expressions for the same of a like character are *p'o-t'u* (破 土), to break earth, and *chan-ts'ao* (斬 草), to cut grass. An old term for measuring and preparing the ground for a grave is *mu* (撫). This character is also read *wu* and used in the sense of a grave, but it does not seem to be of common occurrence. When a funeral procession arrives at the place of interment the coffin is reverently taken from the bier. The proper term to express this act is *chü* (舉), to raise, with *chiu* (柩) or *ling* (靈). It is decent to hold the coffin suspended for a moment before lowering it into the grave, and the technical term for this is *lüh* (綍), a word which also denotes a rope for drawing or pulling. The actual lowering of the coffin is sometimes expressed by *hsü* (徐), which means "slow and solemn." It is also denoted by *pien* (窆), a literary term used in this sense, for example, by Han Wên Kung; and a common phrase is *chin-k'uang* (進 壙), to imtroduce into the grave. But the whole process of burying is generally expressed by the word *tsang* (葬 or 塟), which was perhaps originally merely to hide or store away either in the ground or under bushes. And a synonym for *tsang* is *mai* (埋), which also means to put away in the earth, but when used for the putting away of a dead body it sometimes conveys a suspicion that it was

done irregularly. It is also the term applied to the burial of a dog, for example, of Confucius' dog, and of a horse. The words may be used separately or together, *tsang-mai* being the most usual expression for "to bury." Here as in other instances the importance of the interment of a parent over that of any other is seen in the use of language. For we find the word *tsang* employed by itself to indicate the burial of a parent, and the student of Mencius will remember its use in that book to denote the funeral ceremonies of a mother. So also the precept *tso-fên-an-tsang* (做墳安葬), to "make tombs and bury to peace," refers first and chiefly to a son's duty to his parents. Further, like the corresponding Latin word, *tsang* came to mean simply to dispose of a dead body, and thus we have in Chinese also expressions like "bury by fire," *huo-tsang*, though there is also the phrase *huo-hua* (火化), to transform by fire, used to denote cremation. To bury one naked is *kuo* (倮)-*tsang*, to coffin and inter the corpse without dressing it or adding any covering or ornament to hide the ugly change. Opposed to this is *hou* (厚)-*tsang*, which means to give one a magnificent funeral, the body being well clothed and the coffin sumptuously furnished. The "naked burying" is associated chiefly with Yang Wang-sun, and the "substantial burying" is said to date from Sung Wên Kung of the Chou period. To have a false burial is *chia* (假)-*tsang*, to pretend to be burying Lin, while really burying Chang, an artifice of which history gives several examples. When husband and wife are buried in the same tomb they are said to be *ho* (合)-*tsang*, joined in burial, and the phrase applies only, by itself, to husband and wife thus buried. These during life were *t'ung-shi* (同室), and it is meet that in death they should *t'ung-hsüe* (同穴), be in the same grave. The old and literary expression for burying husband and wife together is *fu* (祔), that is, to reunite them by religious rites. In old times a *fu* or united burial meant that the two coffins *(kuan)* were put in one case *(kuo)*, either close together or with a partition. But for a long time the terms *fu* and *ho-tsang* mean only that the two coffins are buried in one grave and under one mound. Combined with *tsang* we occasion-

ally find the old word *i* (瘞), which was once used in the sense of to bury. It still survives in some literary phrases, such as *i-yü*, "buried jade," that is, the jade-stone tree buried in the earth, an elegant euphemism for a buried friend. Another old word, not much used at present, is *i* (or *ssŭ* 肂), which is explained in some books as meaning simply to lay a corpse down or inter it by the road side.[1]

When the coffin has been laid in order in the narrow house the earth is filled in and a mound raised. For this word there are several names, one of which is *fêng* (封), a word also used to denote, along with other things, the mound thus raised.

Notwithstanding the great importance which the Chinese attach to an interment in due time and fitting place, they often leave their dead for a long time unburied. In some parts of the country this may almost be said to have become a custom, but usually they do it as an exceptional measure for one of several reasons. Sometimes it is because a man has died far from his native place and his relatives are too poor or otherwise unable to take the remains home. Often it is because the Fêng-shui professors decide against one site after another and so delay the burial; and very frequently the sons are ambitious and will not bury their parent until they can do it in an imposing manner. For whatever reason it is done the undue deferring of burial is condemned by moral and political writers, and it is a bad custom unknown to the primitive families of earliest times. But it is at present and has been for a long time very common, and it is distinguished by a special nomenclature. Thus we find expressions like *t'ing-sang* and *t'ing-sang-pu-tsang* (停喪不葬), to stop the mourning and not bury, that is, to defer the funeral, a criminal offence. Where this is done the coffin is usually carried away from the house, and in some places it is merely laid on the ground in the country or placed there in a small shed. This shed

[1] "Hsiao Urh Ya," p. 4; "Li-chi," chap. xii. Instead of saying that during life husband and wife were *t'ung-shi*, housed together, we have "while living we may have to occupy different apartments (穀則異室)," L. C. C., iv., p 121. For *kuo* (written properly 椁)-*tsang*, see "Shuo-yuan," chap. xx., p. 12; "Jih-chih-lu," chap. xv.; "Tso-chuan," chap. xxi., p. 11; and L. C. C., v., p. 341; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 81; and Commentary, chap. ii., p. 76. (埋 used with reference to burial of dog).

has, as one of its names, *ts'o* (厝), a word which also denotes a house of any kind; and *an-ts'o* (安 厝), to house in rest, is often used in the sense of placing a coffin in temporary shelter until it can be duly buried. There are other expressions for this, such as *t'ing* (停)-*ts'o*, *fu* (浮)-*ts'o*, and *t'ing-ling* (停 靈), each of which means to leave a coffin for a time in a shed, temple or dead-house. This is to be distinguished from burial above ground which takes place in some places where the soil is very damp. One of expressions for this is *fu* (浮)-*tsang*, to bury on the surface, that is, to leave the coffin permanently on the field or plain. One of the phrases in most common use at present for the ceremony which supposes the contemplation of interment hereafter is *ch'uan* (權)-*ts'o*, to house for expediency, to lodge the coffin in shelter under the necessity of temporary circumstances. There are special buildings provided for this purpose and maintained by guilds or other societies. These are euphemistically called *chuang* (莊 or 庄), a hamlet or village, and *i-chuang* is a free dead-house of this description (義 莊).

Coming now to the place of interment we find here also a rich store of terms to distinguish the various kinds of tombs, their parts and adjuncts. Of these terms, however, for the present only a few and chiefly such as are in common use are taken to illustrate our subject. And the first to claim our notice is the old and universal name *mu* (墓). Some native scholars explain this word as if it were *mu* (慕), to think of with sad longing or regret, because the tombs of his parents are to a dutiful son subjects of thoughtful anxiety (思 慕). In old times when the practice of interment began the grave was simply a hole scooped or dug in the earth and filled up level with the surface after the coffin was deposited. So the word *mu* denotes originally and properly a grave without any mound, and it is so defined in the "Fang-yen." But in the "Shuo-wên" it is explained by *ch'iu* (邱), a hillock, and in another work by *chung* (冢) with the same meaning, and it has long been used to denote any kind of sepulchre with or without a mound.

According to one old story Confucius was the first who marked the burial of his parents by a heap of earth; and his

action in so doing was soon imitated by others until the custom became general. But this tradition is at variance with other statements, and the raising of a heap of earth over the grave seems to date from a period long before that of the sage. The grave thus marked by a mound received the name *fên* (墳), a word which originally denoted merely a heap or pile of earth. In the "Fang-yen" it is given as the term for a grave in the country which forms the borderland of Shansi and Shensi, but it has long been in common use over the empire. In the "Shuo-wên" it is explained by *mu*, noticed above; and we find the double term *fên-mu*, *χῶμα μνημεῖον*, in constant use everywhere to denote a grave with a mound. The heap of earth which Confucius raised over the burial place of his parents was four feet high, but there does not seem to have ever been any rule of law or custom as to the size of the *fên*. A *shêng-fên* (生 墳), living tomb, is a place laid out and prepared for the reception of the body of a person still living. This strange phrase is used also with other meanings, very different from the above.

Another very common name for a tomb is *chung* (冢 or 塚), originally a mound or hillock. The word is applied to any grave which is made conspicuous by a ridge or heap of earth, *tumulus*, and it is also used of a tomb of any kind. One or two phrases in which this word occurs may claim a passing notice. The expression *fa-chung* (發 塚), to free a grave, in official language, means to open one for unlawful purposes, such as robbing the corpse. In common speech it is used also of the lawful opening of a grave by the relatives of the buried, in order to have the bones removed to a better locality. Then we have the curious expression *i* (疑)-*chung*, doubt tombs, that is, structures made like graves and purporting to be such for purposes of deception. In Chinese history two men of unblessed memory are recorded to have made these *i-chung* in the vain hope of saving their bones from being disturbed. One of these was Prince P'ing of T'su, who had false tombs made to baffle the vengeance of Wu Yun, whose father and brother had been murdered by the prince. But Wu came and found the real grave, and exhumed the Prince's skeleton, which

he lashed with his whip, thereby satisfying his own mind and appeasing the sullen shades of his father and brother. The other was the great Ts'ao Tsao, who caused seventy-two tombs to be made inscribed with his name. In this case the artifice seemed to be successful, but at length fate came and showed the hated bones. When a maiden dies soon after her betrothed, and the two are buried together, their tomb is called poetically *shuang-yen-wo-chung* (雙燕窩塚), the sepulchre which is the nest of a pair of swallows—the *suggrundarium*. It must be stated also that this word *chung* has moreover the sense of "a grave-yard," as in phrases like *i-chung* (義塚), a public cemetery.

A grave is also called in popular language *k'uang* (壙), a word which means properly the pit dug in the earth to serve as grave. Thus, to follow a coffin to the grave, made to receive it, is *ts'ung-chiu-chi-k'uang* (從柩及壙), and all who did so were in old times supposed to take hold of the ropes for lowering the coffin (執紼). But the word is also used in the sense of a tomb, *tumulus*, as in phrases like *k'uang-lang* (垠), the high sepulchres of the country, and *k'uang-ch'ien-chi* (壙前祭), to worship before the tombs [of one's ancestors]. Like *k'uang* the word *hsüe* (穴), a hole or pit, is also used in the sense of a grave, as in the "Shu-ching," where the words *lin-ch'i-hsüe* (臨其穴) mean "when he came to the grave." But in common speech this word is applied to a good site rather than to a grave already made. Thus *tien-hsüe* or *tien-hsüe-chang* (點穴塲) is to select a lucky situation, that is, for burying. So also *chie* (結)-*hsüe* is a good site, a place in which all the invisible good influences of a district are concentrated. In literature and the talk of the learned a place of interment is often called *chao* (兆 written also 垗 and read *tao*). This word denotes properly the boundary of a sepulchre marked out after the inspection of signs and aspects, the site as determined by priest or expert. It was the ridge made to mark out and enclose the spot devoted to services of worship to the gods or to one's ancestors. This word *chao* is often found with *yü* (域) in the sense of a grave or a cemetery. By itself *yü* means a district or country; but it is also used in the sense of a place of

burial, as in the words of the "Shi-ching," "The convolvulus spreads all over the tombs" (域). Another literary but well-known name for a tomb is *fan* (墦), derived from a famous passage in Mencius. That philosopher tells of a man of Ch'i, who represented himself to his family as faring sumptuously with great people. His wife became suspicious and determined to follow him some day and find out how he got his food. She did so and discovered that her husband subsisted by begging what remained after the feasts of those who came to make offerings at the tombs of their ancestors outside the east wall of the city (東郭墦間之祭者). Hence "to be among the tombs *(fan-hsien)* has come to be applied to one who being in reality very poor yet keeps up an appearance of grandeur. But the words of Mencius are also still used in speaking of the worship of ancestors in spring.

The word *ling* (陵), a hill, is also used to denote a tomb, specially one with a high mound. In books it is often in this usage preceded by such words as *shou* (long life), or *yuan* (garden). But it is properly applied only to the burial places of members of the Imperial family. Thus there are the *Shi-san-ling* or Thirteen Imperial Tombs of the Ming dynasty, and the Tung Ling, East Tombs of the reigning dynasty. The word *ch'in* (寢) is often joined to *ling* when used in the above sense. It means to sleep, a sleeping, and the place of sleeping, and then the tomb, the place of the "long night's" sleep. A common name for an imperial tomb is *ling-ch'in,* and that of the Emperor's concubine is called *yuan-ch'in,* the garden sleeping-place. Like *ling* the word *ch'iu* (丘 or 坵) was first a hill or hillock and then came to be applied to a grave with its mound. This latter use of the word is very old, though it was perhaps never universal. Another old name for a grave or a cemetery is *ying* (塋), a term still in common use. In the "Shuo-wên" the character is explained by *mu,* a grave, and in other books it is defined by terms like *mu-ti,* grave-land or burial place. It is now found most commonly used with such words as *ti* (地) or *yü* (域), to denote a family grave-yard.

We pass over several terms for graves and grave-yards given in dictionaries because these terms are either obsolete now or

are used only by those who affect the archaic, and we proceed to take note of a few of the more distinctly euphemistic designations. The use of words like *shan*, a hill, and *yuan*, a garden, in the sense of a grave or cemetery, has been noticed already. A name often found on tomb-stones and in books is *chia-ch'êng* (佳 城), the excellent walled-city. The coffin is the house in which the dead one abides, and the tomb is the walled city, which keeps the house safe, and to disturb the buried bones is "to open the excellent city" (開 佳 城). Other designations of this kind for the tomb are *shou* (壽)-*ch'êng*, the city of long life; *shou-tsang* (壽 藏), the store-house of long life; and *shou-yü* (域), the land of longevity. This last is in common use, and is often taken by literary men as a name. Strict purists among the Confucianists do not sanction the application of the above terms to tombs already tenanted, and confine them to places for graves, sites selected and prepared. In literature we often find the tomb mentioned by such names as *yü-tsê* (輿 宅), the world's home, or *yin-tsê* (陰 宅), the dark home, the abode of the shades. It is also called *ye-t'ai* (夜 臺) or night terrace, because it is the haunt of night-walking ghosts. But others explain this phrase as meaning simply the mound of darkness, the tomb of night. The notion that the filmy spirit, when separated from its body, still lingers about the spot where the latter is buried has given, according to some, another name to the tomb, *shên-tao* (神 道). This phrase means, along with other things, the spirits' way, or the ghosts' walk, but it is said to be in this sense correctly applied only to the pathway which leads to a tomb.

For this last there is also the word *ch'ien* (阡), originally a raised path bounding a field in a North to South direction, as *mo* (陌) was the bounding path which ran East and West. Then it came to mean *mu-tao*, the grave-way, and thence the tomb itself. Thus the phrase *hsin* (新)-*ch'ien*, new grave-path, is used by the poet Tu Fu and by other writers in the sense of a new or fresh tomb. The use of this word *ch'ien*, in the sense of burial-place, became popular among the literati from the time when Ou-yang Hsiu (A.D. 1007–72) buried his mother at a place called Tuan-

Kang Ch'ien. Another name for the pathway to a grave is *yen* (埏), but the phrase *mu-yen* denotes the grave's district or a piece of land set apart for burial purposes. There is also the word *yen* (羨), properly used to designate the tunnels sometimes made to connect the buried coffin with the world above. In old times the sepulchres of kings were often furnished with these *yen* or subterranean passages that the restless ghosts of the departed might have fit places in which to walk. The word is still used, but its old meaning and application have passed away, and it is now often employed to denote the ordinary pathway leading to a grave. Another old name for the tomb is *yuan-lu* (元 廬) for *hsüan-lu,* the black hut, the dark shed. This term is still in use, but only among the educated. Instead of *ye-t'ai,* given already, we sometimes find as a designation for the grave *chang-ye-t'ai* (長 夜 臺), the Long Night's Terrace, "If I wait, the grave is mine house; I have made my bed in the darkness." [1]

Distinguishing names also are given to the parts and divisions of a modern sepulchre made according to Fêng-shui rules. Thus its east and west sides are called *mu-shou,* the tomb's arms. Further, as a man well buried and duly worshipped blesses his posterity the Fêng-shui doctors divide the sepulchre into three parts and assign to each the fortunes of a son or grandson. The left (properly right) side is called *chang-fang* (長 房), the House of the Eldest, because it is the mansion, as it were, of all the good luck which comes to the eldest son or the representative of the buried one through the merits or influence of the latter. In like manner the middle and the right (properly left) side of the sepulchre are called respectively *êrh-fang* and *san-fang,* Second and Third house, because they are the homes of the fortunes of the second and third sons. The mound which forms the *tumulus* is called *lung* (壟), a word which denotes a ridge of earth, such

[1] "Fang-yen," chap. xiii., last page (with commentary); "Shuo-wên," chap. xliv., p. 36; "Li-chi," chap. ii.; "Kuang-tung-hsin-yü," chap. xix.; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 44; "Shuo-wên," chap. xliv., p. 29; "Urh-ya," chap. iii.; L. C. C., ii., p. 217; and "Mêng," chap. viii.; L. C. C., iv., p. 186; and "Shi-ching," chap. iii., p. 31. An old line half-Buddhist runs *ku-hun-hsiang-ku-yü* (孤 魂 翔 故 域) and here *ku-yü* means "the place of the dead," "the bereaved spirit hovers over the grave" is the meaning of the sentence. "Ku-shi-yuan," chap. v., p. 21.

as is made by a plough. In connection with a place of burial it is more correctly applied to the ridge or bank of a horse-shoe shape by which in many places the mound is surrounded on all sides except the front. In some districts the term *lung* is extended to denote the whole tomb, and this is also an old use of the word. The mound proper is known as the *ma-lie-chih-fêng* (馬鬣之封), the horse-mane *tumulus*, or shortly as *ma-lie*, horse's mane, that is, neck. This name dates at least from the middle of the Chou dynasty when it denoted the hatchet-shaped mound which was then the fashion in some parts of the kingdom. Confucius preferred this kind of *tumulus* to the various other kinds, and the all-explaining commentators say that his preference arose from the fact that the horse-mane mound required more labour than any other. This name *ma-lie* is still in use, but as the style of horse-mane mound has long since passed out of fashion, the term is now applied to the common round *tumulus*. This, which is now general over most of the empire, is also known in some places by the name *fu-ting* (覆鼎), or inverted caldron, because the appearance of the mound is like that of a pot turned over to cover something. The pit or grave proper is called by various names, such as *ch'ih* (池), a pond or lake, and *k'an* (坎), a pit. The use of the latter word in this sense dates from a long time back, and the old ritual in laying down the law for the making of a grave prescribes that *ch'i-k'an-shên-pu-chih-yü-ch'uan* (其坎深不至於泉), the depth of the pit is not to reach to the water. Other names for the hollow receptacle of the grave are *k'uang* (壙) and *chin-tou* (金斗), which have been noticed above. It is also known, chiefly in literature, as the *t'un* (or *chun*)-*hsi* (窀穸), the enduring night, the darkness of obstruction: and this phrase is used to denote the tomb, literally and figuratively. The space in front of a duly made tomb and forming part of it is known by several names, one of which is *mu-ch'êng* (墓埕), the bank (or terrace) of the grave. This is reserved for religious purposes and it is often furnished with an altar and sacrificial vessels (or imitations of them) made of stone. Here the filial sons, and in some places the wives and daughters

also, at the spring festival spread the cold viands, burn incense, and worship in honour of their deceased parents, and then have a merry feast enjoying the family reunion. A tomb is generally marked by a stone inscribed with the home, names and titles of the buried person and with the names of the relatives who set up the stone and the date of so doing. This stone is called by various names, such as *mu-pei* (墓 碑), the recording tablet of the grave, or simply *pei*, the stone tablet. It is also known as *chie* (碣), a memorial stone of a rounded form, and as *chih-shi* (誌 石), the recording stone; but *pei* (or *mu-pei*) is the only term in common use at present. The burial places of great scholars and rich literary men are often marked by round poles or columns of stone. These are called *wang-chu* (望 柱), pillars of beholding, or *hua-piao* (華 表), elegant indicators, a name which is also given to the commemorative arches erected at the tombs of brave men and chaste women. The simple column pointed at the top is taken to represent a pen, and so to symbolise the honoured profession of the deceased. By an old custom, not yet out of use, the approach to the tomb of a sovereign or high official is often adorned by stone figures of various numbers each side. The history and probable explanation of this custom have been given by Mr. Mayers, to whose pages the reader is referred for information on the subject. The figures are collectively designated *shi-hsiang-shêng* (石 象 生), stone images of living creatures. The statues of men are distinguished as *shi-jen*, stone men, but they are also known as *wêng-chnng*) 翁 仲), a name which comes from the following old story. In the service of the famous Ch'in Shi Huang-Ti was a warrior of great stature and noted prowess. By his deeds of mighty strength and fierce daring he had become a terror to the Hsiung-nu, who were wont to fly at the sight of his person or the sound of his voice. When this great hero died the Emperor caused a huge bronze statue to be made of him and set up outside his palace gate. When the Hsiung-nu came and saw the gigantic figure they thought it was the invincible warrior in person, and fled panic-stricken. The name of this hero was Yuan Wêng-chung (阮 翁 仲), and from it came the literary

name for the statues, often of gigantic size, which guard the approach to a great tomb.[1]

Most of the terms mentioned above as denoting places of burial indicate only individual sepulchres. A few like *chung* may be used in such phrases as *i-chung*, a public cemetery, and *ts'ung-chung* (叢冢), crowded tombs, to denote a collection of graves or a piece of land set apart for public burial purposes. Such places are often called euphemistically *yuan*, garden (already noticed), and *i-yuan* (義園) is a grave-yard owned and kept up for the burial of the poor by a guild or other corporation or by the government. Another name for a cemetery is *chiu-yuan* (九原), which we have seen before in an expression of posthumous existence. Here we notice it in its earlier sense of tomb or rather place of tombs. It was originally the name of a hill near what is now Chiang-chow (絳州) in Shansi. In the latter part of the Chow period when China was divided into small kingdoms that of Chin (晉) had its capital near this. The Chiu-yuan hill was a little to the north of the capital, and it was the burial place of the great statesmen and high officials of the kingdom. In the "Li-chi" we find this hill referred to twice, and on each occasion as a place of burial. In one place Chao Wên-tzŭ, a Chin statesman, descended from ancestors who had also been statesmen, speaks of his going by a natural death to his ancestors in Chiu ching. Here the word *ching* (京) is used instead of *yuan*, because the two characters had the same meaning, or by a mistake of a copyist, or because they were originally alike. In the other passage the same statesman and a friend are described as *kuan-hu-chiu-yuan* (觀乎九原), contemplating *chiu-yuan*. This statement is explained as meaning that they were visiting the tombs of former statesmen on the above hill, and the explanation is borne out by

[1] "Wu-hsio-lu," chap. xix.; "Fêng-su-t'ung" (for *lung*), s.v., 陵; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 86; "Yu-hsio," chap. iii.; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 72 (坎); L. C. C., v., p. 458; "Tso-chuan," chap. xxxvii., p. 9; Mayers in Journal of N. C. B. of R. A. S., vol. xii., art. i.; "Shang-yu-lu," chap. xv., p. 54; "Wu-hsio-lu," chap. xvii. There is some diversity of opinion among the learned as to the origin and meaning of the pillars to be found at certain tombs. Instead of stone columns wooden poles, painted, red, are occasionally erected. Also in some parts of China sepulchral columns of any kind are scarcely known, while in other districts they seem to be of frequent occurrence. The addition of stone figures of men and animals to tombs seems to be rarely made at present, and the custom is perhaps passing away.

the context. This passage is quoted in various treatises and sometimes with the substitution of *ching* for *yuan*, and the story is referred to a different original. From the name of the above hill came the use of *chiu-yuan*, to denote any hill occupied by graves, and afterwards a cemetery generally. When the origin of the name was lost *yuan* was supposed by some apparently to be used in this phrase in the sense of spring of water, and hence perhaps arose the other expression *chiu-ch'uan* (九 泉), nine springs.

The word *ching* (京), however, is also explained as denoting a confluence of water, and it is interpreted simply by *shui*, water. But in the expression *chiu-ching* the word *ching* is by some said to have the meaning of a high mound, and *chiu-ching* is the Nine Tomb-mounds. It is probable that the word *chiu*, in this term, is to be taken in the sense of *many* or *several* rather than in its proper one of *nine*. Some have suggested that it has here the special signification of *earth* and have regarded *chiu-yuan* as merely a synonym for *huang-ch'uan*. But in any case the use of the form *chiu-ch'uan*, in the sense of a tomb or cemetery, is condemned as unauthorised. We may note in passing that the expressions *chiu-yuan*, *chiu-ch'uan* and their variants generally, perhaps always suggest the idea of an after-life and a possibility at least that the buried may rise again to life in this world. They who do not want to look beyond the tomb see in the phrases nothing more than names for places of interment or aliases for terms which denote the end of life or tell that the end has been reached. A well-known poet has the striking expression with reference to a scene revisited—"Guests and host are all *chiu yuan*" (客 主 皆 九 原), are all tombed, dead and gone. Su Tung-p'o had a careless faith and he perhaps meant no more by these words than to say in respectful classical language that his old acquaintances were under the sod. But they who dream of or believe in life in other states, linked on to that on earth, take the above phrases as holding the hint of another world, the counterpart of this but much better regulated.[1]

[1] "Li-chi," chap. ii., pp. 76, 79; Callery's Leki, p. 12; "Li-chi," chap. x. (13 ed.); "Fêng-su-t'ung," chap. x.; "Jih-chih-lu," chap. xxxi.; "Han-shu," chap. xciv.; Tu-tuan (獨 斷), p. 6.

One hears at a Chinese funeral now only the ee, aw of the bearers, the harsh noises of the musicians and the wailing of the female mourners. But it was otherwise in very old times when friends all sang as they accompanied the dead to the grave, and the remembrance of this ancient custom is kept up by the phrase *wan-ko* (挽 歌). This phrase, which now means an "*in memoriam*" poem, an elegy on the death of a friend, has an interesting history. We are commonly told that it arose from the following incident in the reign of Han Kao-tsu: That sovereign, in the beginning of his reign, summoned to court T'ien Hung (田 橫), who had been Prince of Ch'i and a rival of the Emperor. On receiving the summons T'ien set off with two of his trusty officers and 500 followers. But when he reached a place, some miles from the capital, he resolved not to lower himself by paying homage to his former peer, and accordingly committed suicide. It was necessary for his followers to present the body of their chief to the Emperor, and as they brought it to the palace, not daring to weep, they uttered their sorrow in a song. From the fact that this song, which became very popular, was sung as the men were bearing (or drawing) a coffin it was called *wan-ko,* the bearers' song, and this became a name for any dirge or funeral chant. But the custom of singing or chanting at a funeral existed long before the Han dynasty, and the earliest name for such dirges was perhaps *o* (謳), a word which still survives. As the custom died away the terms *o* and *wan-ko* ceased to denote songs sung at a funeral. The latter name was then given to short sad poems, which mourn a lost friend and tell how life is frail and short, uncertain in all respects, except that it must end in death by a law from which there is no escape. But the dirge which T'ien Hung's followers sang remains in Chinese literature and is not likely ever to perish. It tells how though the dew which to-night falls on the shallots is quickly dried up by to-morrow's sun, yet still the dew will next night fall on the plants again; but man's life is not so, for once it goes it comes again no more. Now of this song two words, *hsie-lu* (薤 露), literally "shallot dew," came to be used as a synonym for *wan-ko,* and to this day these words may

be quoted among literary men to denote an elegiac poem. The word *lei* (誄) also points back to a very old time. It signifies rather a poem or prose writing, which answers somewhat to a funeral oration as it is supposed to recite the virtues of a deceased friend or acquaintance. It has to some extent an official character being occasionally part of a state ceremony, and we read that it was first granted to *shi* (士), state professors, in the time of Chuang Kung (B.C. 692 to 661).[1]

We next take the vocabulary connected with rites of mourning for a deceased relative. This is a very large vocabulary, and only a very few specimens can be mentioned at present. Many of the terms in it are specially interesting, not only to the student of the language but also to the explorer of Chinese antiquity. The funeral of a Chinese gentleman to-day with the rites and observances by which it is preceded and followed represent to some degree the culture of 3,000 years ago. At it ceremonies are observed which old custom had made into law many centuries before the beginning of our era. In matters of detail long time and altered circumstances have made changes, and many acts have lost their first meaning. But the altered modes have generally the old names, and the ceremonies which are now only forms keep the titles they owned when they were realities.

One official term for mourning is *chih* (制), an old word still in use. It denoted originally, we are told, *to cut up* whether cloth to make a garment, a tree, or a sacrificial victim. Then it came to mean to *regulate*, and a *law* or *decree*, especially one made by the sovereign. Thus the statement *shi-ssŭ-chih* (士死制) means "the inferior officer dies at the command of the ruler," that is, he will incur death in following out the orders of his sovereign. It is from this sense of the word that its use to denote mourning comes, for the etiquette to be observed by officials on the death of a relative is fixed by law. Thus the expression *fu* (服)-*chih*, to submit to regulation, is to assume the mourning appointed by law. This is expressed more fully by *tsun-chih-ch'êng-fu* (遵制成服), "to go into mourning according to law."

[1] "Chung-ting-wên-hsüan-chi," chap. vii.; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 8.

The phrases *yen* (嚴)-*chih* and *tzŭ* (慈) mean respectively the appointed mourning for a father and for a mother. Officials generally have *chih* added at the top of the name on their visiting cards during the period ot retirement on account of the death of a parent.[1]

A general term for mourning is *fu* (服), an old word which has a great variety of meanings. Among these are *to be attached to* or *dependent,* to submit to, and clothing. The dress of daily life is called *chi* (吉)-*fu,* or good fortune clothing, when it is distinguished from *hsiung* (凶)-*fu.* This latter, which means bad unlucky dress, is used to denote mourning and specially that for a deceased parent. Confucius, we are told, riding in his waggon and meeting any one so attired bowed his head to the cross-bar. By itself also *fu* has this meaning of mourning costume, and *ch'êng* (成)-*fu* is to assume the dire garb on the third day after a death, and generally to put on mourning attire, and *yu* (有)-*fu* is *to be in mourning.* Again the expression *kwo-fu* (國 服), which is used on the death of a sovereign, means *national mourning.* Then there are the *wu-fu,* the five degrees of mourning representing as many degrees of kinship. In old times the territory over which the sovereign of China claimed to rule was divided into five *fu* or *dependencies* as we may call them. Of these the first and centre one was held under the sovereign immediately, the one next to it was held by chiefs who received their lands from the sovereign, and those beyond held by a slighter tenure as they receded to a greater distance from the place of the sovereign. Something analogous to this is seen in the five-fold classification of mourning which is used in the Courts to designate the degrees of kinship among relations having the same surname.[2]

The first of the five, used by a son for a parent, is called *chan-ts'ui* (斬 衰) or 縗) or simply *chan or ts'ui.* The word *chan* here means unhemmed, and *ts'ui* is properly the piece of coarse hemp-cloth which makes part of the costume, but it is commonly

[1] "Shuo-wên," chap. xii., p. 13; L.C.C., iv., p. 235; "Li-chi," chap. i., p. 41.

[2] L. C. C., i., p. 100; and "Lun-yü," chap. x., p. 30.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

used for the whole of the outer robe worn at funerals. This term *chan-ts'ui* is found in the old ceremonial writings, and the formalities which it includes now are much the same as they were when those works were composed.

By those who had to keep the *chan-ts'ui* mourning in old times the hair was set free and then fastened up loosely in a coarse net by a large hair-pin as part of the mourning. This rite was called *chua-fa* (髽 髮), and it is still performed by women. The term, however, came to be appropriated to women, and *kua* (括)-*fa,* to bind the hair with a band of coarse hemp-cloth came to be reserved for men. This expression is still in common use though since the introduction of the queue the formality has become hard to observe.

For the mourning cap of the man observing *chan-ts'ui* and for the parts of the cap there are various names. The cap is of the kind called *kuan* (冠), and is in fashion like that worn 1200 or 1300 years B. C. Commonly it consists of a circlet with a band crossing over the head and a string. In some places there is also a cap proper with a hood covering the back of the head and the neck. The general name is *sang-kuan* or cap of mourning, as in the old rule *sang-kuan-pu-sui* (喪 冠 不 綏), the mourning cap has no tassels to its string. The band which crosses the head is called technically *a bridge—liang* (樑 or 梁). Before the time of the Chou dynasty this band in caps for ordinary wear was a strip of cloth in three folds lengthwise. During the Chou period the folds were made across and were indefinite in number, the mourning cap retaining "the bridge" apparently. The earlier style is still to be seen in the mourning cap which is hence called the *san-liang-kuan,* the "three-bridge cap." The band over the head is also still called by another old name *san-pi-chi* (三 襞 積), the three-fold plaiting. The circlet round the head is technically called by the old name *wu* (武), and in common speech *huan,* a circle. In the tufts of cotton at the ears we may perhaps see a memory of the *tien* (瑱) or ear-ornaments which adorned the cap in and before the Chou period. The tufts of cotton are called *mien-jui* or *mien-t'uan* (棉 蕤 or 團), and

they are used one for each parent according to rule, but the rule seems to vary in different districts.

We come next to the mourning robe, which is made of the coarsest hemp-cloth and hence called *ma-i* or *ma-san* (麻衣 or 衫), the hemp garment. The skirt of this is unhemmed and the seams are turned outwards. On the back is a square piece of sack cloth called *fu-pan* (負版). This term means literally "the record-tablet borne on the back," and the cloth is inscribed with the name and other particulars of the deceased. A similar piece of cloth, coarse and ragged, extends from the throat to the heart. This is the *ts'ui* properly so called, say some, and it is so named as if *ts'ui* (催), because it is a symbol of the grief which oppresses the mourner's heart. The word *tie* (絰) in old literature is used for the fillet worn by the mourner round his head and for the hempen girdle with which he was bound. Hence *ts'ui-tie* came to be used for all the trappings of woe, and *li-ts'ui-tie* (理縗絰) is to manage the mourning arrangements.

Then there are the mourning sandals which are called *chien-ts'ao-li* (菅草履), sandals of the *chien* grass. These sandals, which are now made of rice-straw or any coarse dry grass, are also called *ts'ao-hsie* (草鞋), grass slippers, or *fei* (菲), an old term with a similar meaning, or *pao-chü* (苞屨), another old term with a like signification.

The last of the outward signs of the *chan-ts'ui* mourning which we have to notice is the stick or baton. This is borne by the eldest son or other representative of the deceased and is now often deposited at the grave. In the Chou period the staff borne at the funeral of a father was called *chü-chang* (苴杖), and that borne at the funeral of a mother was called *hsiao* (削)-*chang*. But this distinction is not much observed now, and *chü-chang* is a general name. The staff is called also *k'u* (哭)-*chang*, the staff of weeping, and *ai* (哀)-*chang*, the staff of sorrow. It is also known as the *hsiao* (孝)-*chang*, in Foochow *ha* or (*ha-ch'i*)-*tiong*, the staff of filial piety. It is now usually a small piece of stick or bamboo pasted over with white paper. Originally it was a real staff on which the son exhausted by three days' fasting and

mourning leaned to support himself at the funeral solemnities. The *ts'ui-tie-chü-chang* controlled the expression of grief otherwise violent and at the same time set off sorrow to advantage. Now the staff or baton is only a survival and a symbol which does not symbolise anything.

The second degree of mourning is that called *tzŭ-ts'ui* (齊衰), or even, that is, hemmed mourning coat. It is also known as *hsi* (錫)-*ts'ui* to denote that the hemp-cloth of which it is made has been calendered. This again is divided into four classes or degrees. There is the *chang-ch'i* (杖期) or "staff year" in which a staff is kept and the mourning lasts for one year. There is the *pu-chang-ch'i* or year's mourning without the use of the staff. Then there is the *wu-yue-tzŭ-ts'ui* or five months' deep mourning; and the fourth is the *san-yue-tzŭ-ts'ui* or three months' deep mourning.

The third of the *wu-fu* is that called *ta-kung* (大功) or great merit. This name is explained as meaning *coarse work*, the material of which the mourning robe is made being coarse and the robe made with little art. But the explanation is not satisfactory and is perhaps wrong.

For the fourth degree of mourning the name is *hsiao* (小)-*kung* or little merit. This is said by some to mean that the work is fine and the material good.

The fifth degree is that known as *ssŭ-ma* (緦麻), literally "silk thread hemp." The robe is made of properly woven material, and the mourning is only for three months, the length of a season.

There is also a four-fold classification of mourning which is recognised all over the empire by law and custom. First we have the *chêng-fu* (正服), the strictly legal mourning from which there is no departure. There is the *i* (義)-*fu*, or mourning which becomes due or right by circumstances.

Then there is the *chia* (加)-*fu* or "added mourning." This is required in cases where peculiar ceremonies have to be performed by an individual. Thus if the eldest grandson has to superintend the services to his grand-father he observes the three

years' mourning and not that for only one year. The fourth class is that called *hsiang* (降)-*fu* or "diminished mourning." This is a term of common occurrence, and is used in all cases where circumstances have lessened attachment. Thus a married daughter is severed from her own family, and so on the death of her father or mother she observes the *hsiang-fu* or diminished mourning for one year.

An expression which shows that the mourning for a parent has the first place in a Chinaman's thoughts is *ch'uan-hsiao* (穿 孝), to wear filial piety. The phrase is properly used only of mourning for a parent, but it is also extended to mourning generally.

A peculiar phrase in common use is *tan-wên* (袒 免), to bare a shoulder and bind the hair with a band of white cloth. Mourning of this kind denotes a distant relative or only a friend. The arm is not bared now but the white band is worn as in the days of the Chou dynasty. Then we have *sang* (喪), a character which has been noticed with other meanings, used commonly in the senses of to *mourn* and *mourning*. Thus used the word is said to be in the *p'ing-shêng*, and for this reason and because the character is made up of *k'u*, to weep, and *wang*, to be lost, the present may be regarded as the first meaning of the word.[1]

When a parent of a man in office dies the law and social feeling require that the son resign office and go home. He then remains in seclusion for twenty-seven months, nominally three years, and the technical term for this is *ting-yu* (丁 憂). Here *ting* is said to be for *tang* (當), and the phrase is interpreted as meaning "to be in sorrow." The expressions *ting-fu-yu* and *ting-mu-yu* are to be in retirement from office on account of the death of a father and a mother respectively. A similar expression is *ting-chien* (丁 艱), to be in distress, that is, for a deceased parent. *Wai* (外)-*chien*, "external distress," is mourning for a father, and *nei* (內)-*chien*, "home distress," is mourning for a mother.

[1] "Ta-ch'ing-lü-li-hui-chi," chap. ii.; 鄉黨圖考, chaps. i. and vi.; "Li-pu-tsê-li" (禮 部 則 例), chap. clxvi.; "Yu-hsio," chap. iii.; "Li-chi," chap. ii., p. 1; vi., p. 35, &c.; "Hsiao-ching," chap. ix. (13); L.C.C., v., p. 475; and "Tso-chuan," chap. xxviii.; "I-li," chap. xxviii. (13); "Liao-chai," &c., chaps. ii, vi.

It would be easy to produce many more terms used to denote or describe the inward sorrow and the outward mourning of a son or daughter for a parent or of a wife for her husband. But this chapter has already exceeded its proper bounds, and the rest must be left untold. So also no mention can be made here of the numerous and interesting words and phrases used in designating the rites and ceremonies of worship with which the dead are honoured. It would fill a moderate sized volume to give the terms in Chinese connected with dying, and death, and burial, and posthumous treatment. In this chapter there are doubtless many omissions to be observed, and many explanations may be regarded as bad or doubtful. But the reader will be able to form for himself from what has been given here combined with what he knows to have been left out of sight an estimate as to the extent of the Chinese vocabulary in this one department.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN WORDS IN CHINESE.

The next subject to be considered in our studies in the Chinese language is the existence of foreign elements in its vocabulary. It has been often said, and the statement may be accepted, that the number of words in this language which are not native is very small in proportion to those which are native. Indeed if the student of Chinese literature confines his reading to such books as treat only of Confucianism, Taoism and other matters which are peculiar to the country he may find few or no foreign expressions. But on the other hand he cannot read the great poets nor study the books of history, geography and the natural sciences without meeting here and there with words and phrases which are not native. It is true, as Schott has pointed out, that these foreign terms are chiefly of a technical character and that generally they are described as foreign.[1] But is not by any means uncommon to find a Chinese author introduce a "barbarian" phrase in native disguise and without any hint to the reader that it is other than native. The poets especially seem to indulge in this practice and to think it is within the scope of their licence. And even when an author tells us that a word he uses is taken from a particular language it is seldom that he has been at pains to learn whether his statement is correct. Nor is it usually in his power to do this, the needful information not being accessible. In the ordinary orthodox literature until a comparatively modern period all ethnographical distribution was of a character simple and comprehensive but vague and fanciful. It was based on the old teachings of the canonical scriptures which none had called in question. In the Middle Kingdom lived the "people" blessed with the arts of civilisation and inheritors of high wisdom handed down without interruption from immemorial antiquity. Outside the hills and streams which

[1] Chinesische Sprachlehre. S. 2.

marked their boundaries lived four large groups of "barbarian" tribes. Those on the East were called I, the men who knew to draw long bows. They painted themselves, wore their hair as nature made it, and did not always wait to have their food cooked. On the South were the Man, who were bandy-legged, tattooed the forehead, and did not shrink from the uncooked. To the West were the Jung, with hair unkempt, clothed with skins, and not always having grain for food. On the North were those called Ti, who wore hair and feathers for clothing, lived in caves, and did not depend on grain for their food. This was the distribution of mankind recognised in the period of the Chou dynasty. It is probably still accepted as sufficiently accurate by some Confucianists who do not know the present and rate too high the teachings of antiquity.

In the course of time, however, extended intercourse led to the knowledge of other tribes and regions. The names of these, whether native or foreign, came gradually into use among the Chinese. Some of them were taken into the language as parts of the names of certain foreign commodities to indicate the countries from which these originated. Such a term is *hu* (胡), which has long been in use as a common Chinese word. It was at first used vaguely as the designation of any tribe to the West of China proper, including Turks, Tartars, Indians and Persians. But from the seventh century of our era its application has been restricted by learned and careful writers to the nomad tribes between China and India.[1] It became nearly a synonym for Mongol, while India and the countries adjacent became the *hsi-yü* or West Lands. But the old use of *hu* survives in the names of several products derived from various countries. Thus we have onions from Kashgar called Hu onions—*hu-ts'ung*, and pepper from India called *hu-chiao*. The term *hu-ma*, Hu hemp, is loosely applied to foreign flax and to sesamun. The cucumber has as one of its names *hu-kua*, and the carrot is *hu-lo-po*, the Hu turnip.

As new countries yielding new products became known to the Chinese these added to their vocabulary by occasionally giving to new commodities the names of the regions from which they

[1] 翻譯名義 *Fan-yi-ming-i*, chap. i.

were obtained. Thus benzoin was brought from the country named An-hsi, and so it got the name *an-hsi-hsiang* (安息香), the fragrant substance from An-hsi (Parthia), and this continues to be the designation of all benzoin, no matter whence derived. Another country which gave its name to several articles of commerce was that known as P'o-ssŭ, a term by which Chinese writers often indicate merely a Western land of vague situation and extent.

Of examples in later times only two need be mentioned. The kingdom of Chiam-pi (part of Cambodia) at one time supplied a portion of China with upland rice of a very excellent quality and with "water-rice" also better than that grown in China. The people of South Fuhkien called this foreign rice *chien-abi* (占米), Chiampi rice. And this term or simply *chien-a* is still used in some districts of Fuhkien to designate rice of a peculiarly good quality. But the origin of the name and its history have been lost from the memories of the people who use it. The other instance to be given is the use of the word *ho-lan* (荷蘭 et al). This was the name by which the Dutch first became known to the Chinese, but the latter came to extend the name to Europeans generally. Thus sodawater is called wherever it is known in China *ho-lan-shui* or Dutch water. So also one name for the potato is *ho-lan-shu*, the Dutch tuber; and in some districts at least European peas are known as *ho-lan-tou*, Dutch peas.

In the history of China we seem to have three chief periods which are marked by a great increase in her active relations with foreigners. These may be distinguished as the periods of the Han, T'ang and present dynasties. In the first the empire had almost constant dealings of war or peace with the Hiung-nu and other tribes on its frontiers. The Chinese also extended their intercourse and influence to the lands about India, the restless hordes on the North, and the rich lands beyond the Ling-nam. During the T'ang period the Chinese became well acquainted with India and the countries beyond, and also with the Mahometans from the South and West. And now the present dynasty

has seen all the great nations of Europe coming to ask for trade and treaties and for the privilege of living in China. Her subjects also have travelled to foreign lands and mixed largely with the "Ocean men." They have read books which tell of the arts and sciences, the natural and artificial products, and the languages and religions of all countries. Some of them have even compiled such books or otherwise described the foreign lands and peoples with which they became personally acquainted.

Reserving the consideration of Indian words in Chinese for the next Chapter I now give some examples of foreign other than Indian terms to be found in the spoken or written language. The examples to be given do not belong in an equal degree to what is properly the language of China. Some of them, it will be observed, have been for a long time treated not as aliens but as citizens, while others are at most only tolerated as recent squatters from abroad. Some, moreover, are recognised as current only in one part of the empire, or in certain districts, or among peculiar classes and societies. It must also be admitted that the foreign words in Chinese, brought together here, are only examples, only occasional specimens picked up by the way. They are not discoveries reached by patient study and critical research directed to that end, but merely findings in the desultory reading of an indolent amateur.

Honouring, as is meet, the classical languages of ancient Greece and Rome we begin our circuit with them. It cannot surprise us, however, to find that very few expressions from these languages seem to have found their way into Chinese. Even the names of the countries seem to have been scarcely known in the Midlde Kingdom until a comparatively modern period. Among the specially educated native scholars we find a few who know at least the name *Latin*. This word is transcribed *la-t'i-na* (拉體納) and *la-t'i-no* (喇提諾), and it occurs now and then in the writings of scholars who profess to describe European countries. It is used to designate our Western letters and writing.

We find, however, certain terms, even in a comparatively early period of the Chinese language, which seem to have at least

a common origin with their equivalents in Greek and Latin. Let us take as an example the common name for the turnip—*lo-po* (蘿蔔). In China the beet, carrot and other vegetables are all known by this name with certain defining adjectives prefixed. There are several ways of writing the word, but the correct pronunciation is said to be something like *lo-po,* in the Canton dialect *loh-pāk.* It is given in the "Shuo-wên" and in the "Urh-ya," the latter having the form *lo-pu* (蘆葩). There is no hint that the word is not native, but it has a suspicious resemblance to Rapa and the kindred terms in Latin and Greek. The "Pên-ts'ao" and other books give several terms as synonyms of *lo-pa,* an old one being *t'u* (葖), which is given in the "Urh-ya." But *lo-po* was the name used in Ch'in, the state which became predominant.[1]

Then there is a well-known drug which has long been in use among the Chinese and which is said to have been derived from Persia or some other foreign country. Its name is *lu-hui,* written 盧會, and these characters in this combination cannot be said to have any meaning. The drug has been identified as the product of an aloe, and it is perhaps possible that *lu-hui* may stand for the Greek word *aloe.* This, however, is merely a conjecture, and the correct explanation may be found hereafter.

One of the many good results of the Western learning which the old Jesuit missionaries taught the Chinese was that the latter learned to make maps. They also adopted the Latin word mappa, which they transcribe *ma-pa* (瑪八), and they still use it occasionally to distinguish a map from a native plan or chart.

Let us pass on to take note of some of the expressions which have passed or are passing into Chinese from European languages. It is only within a comparatively late period that the Chinese have become really acquainted with the nations of Europe and America. But the commercial and political relations which have resulted from this acquaintance have already become of great importance, and China has wisely begun to supply her deficiencies by importing from the West. This is true not only of the material, natural and mechanical, products but also of culture and science.

[1] "Urh-ya," chap. xiv.; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxvi.

SPANISH.

The Spanish and Portuguese were among the earliest European foreigners with whom the Chinese became acquainted. But though the Portuguese have long been living among the Chinese and been much mixed up with the people of the Canton province we do not find many Portuguese words even in the dialect of that province. There are, apparently, none whatever, or at least very few in the other dialects or in Mandarin. But from or through the Spanish certain foreign terms have come or are coming into general use among the Chinese, either in speech or in literature. It is not strange to find the word Padre, common to Spanish and Portuguese, adopted in some districts of China as the title of address for the Dominican and other missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church. It is pronounced *pa-li* or *pa-lei,* and is written generally, but not always, 巴禮. These characters were evidently selected by native Christians, as, although the combination is perhaps meaningless, it suggests something good and respectful. From this word comes the expression *pa-li-yuan* (院), Padre's Hall, one of the names for a Christian place of worship.

The cochineal of commerce is known in China by the name *ya-lan-mi* (呀蘭米). Of these characters the last denotes husked rice, and *ya-lan* (or *ga-lan*) represent a foreign word. They are probably for *grana,* which is the Spanish name for cochineal. This last word, as is well known, is derived from *coccum,* which is originally a grain or berry and then the name for the insect from which the material for the dark purple dye is obtained. The carmine obtained from the cochineal insect is also known in China by its Spanish name *carmin,* which becomes *hia-erh-min* (夏兒敏). It is from the Spanish language also that the word cigar (cigarro) has passed or is passing into Chinese. The word is usually pronounced *ssŭ-ka* and written 士加 *shih-chia* ; and it is used with or without the addition of *yen* (tobacco). Cocoa and chocolate also have been made known to the Chinese by recent intercourse with Western nations. The former commodity, the cacao of Mexico, is in Chinese pronunciation *ko-ko* (柯柯 and

other transcriptions). The berries are called *ko-ko-tzŭ* (子) or cocoa seeds. It was probably through the English and not from the Spaniards immediately that the Chinese got the word chocolate, which they pronounce *chih-ku-la* and write 之古辣 and otherwise. From Western doctors the Chinese have, moreover, in late years learned the virtues of quinine, and with the introduction of the medicine came its Spanish name quinquina. The recognised characters for this word are 金鷄納 *chin-chi-na*, that is, *kin-ki-na*, said by Dr. F. P. Smith to have been first used by Dr. Hobson. For the sulphate of quinine, as sold by druggists, the common name is *kin-ki-na-shuang* or *sūn* (霜). This last character denotes hoar-frost, and has reference to the white flakes of the medicine.

Neither the Dutch nor the Germans have supplied the Chinese with new words or expressions of any importance. The Germans, however, have given at least one word which deserves to be noticed. Within the last few years the well-known Krupp cannon have become popular with the Chinese, who call them by the name of the maker. This they pronounce *ko-lup* or *k'o-lu-pu*, writing the word in two or three different ways. Of these 克鹿卜 *k'o-lu-pu* is perhaps the most common and it has official sanction. It would seem that there is some risk of Krupp before long ceasing to be for the Chinese a proper name and becoming a synonym for *p'ao* or cannon.

The French language has given the Chinese a few words but they are of rare occurrence. Being of a technical character, moreover, they are used only among natives who have intercourse with Europeans. One of these words is *mètre*, which the Chinese have adopted to some extent calling it *mi-t'u* (米突). A square mètre is "*fang-mi-t'u*," *fang* being the native word for square. Of French money a frank is known and designated by its name which becomes *fo-lang* (佛郎). These characters have been well selected, for they are often used in writing to express the word France. The Chinese name for enamel is *fa-lan* (or *lang*), written 發藍 or 王法琅, and this is apparently, as is commonly supposed, the word Frank. But there seems to be some doubt as to the identification.

ENGLISH.

Of all the peoples whom they designate "Western barbarians" the Chinese have always regarded the English as the most self-asserting and intractable, the most eager for gain and the most reckless in its pursuit. But as there has been for many years a large and valuable trading intercourse between China and England, by this means and by the continued migration of Chinese to English possessions the two nations have been brought gradually into intimate relations and a better mutual understanding. Moreover, the English has become, to some extent at least, the commercial language of a large portion of the East. And so at the open ports and in the surrounding districts the Chinese have learned to use a large number of English words and phrases. These are generally, as one would expect to find, names of commodities and other terms of commercial intercourse. The Chinese have also books compiled by native linguists for the instruction of their fellow-nationals in the English language. These books are of various degrees of merit, and some are merely pronouncing vocabularies, while others aim at teaching grammar also. They are, however, of a very practical character generally, and the use of them among aspiring young Chinese seems to be on the increase. But they are neither full nor correct, and they are for the most part badly arranged. The compilers of these guides and vocabularies, moreover, are never at pains to distinguish between English words and phrases and those which belong to other languages. Hence and by reason of the great intercourse which exists between English-speaking peoples and the Chinese the latter learn from the former many terms which belong to other languages. Such words often keep the English pronunciation and are to the Chinese English rather than Spanish or Malay or whatever may be their proper language.

In taking notice of some of the words adopted by the Chinese from the English language we may begin with the old and familiar "Company." The earliest form in which this term was transcribed is perhaps *kan-pa-ni* (甘巴尼), in Cantonese *kum-pa-ni*. But the way of writing the word which was formerly

the best known and the most used was *kung-pan-wei* or *kung-pan-ya* (公班衙 or 牙). In this as in several other cases the Chinese adopted a foreign expression for which they had a native equivalent, "Company" being explained as another name for *kung-ssŭ* (公司), which denotes a mercantile association. The native designation alone has in this case survived, "Company" having ceased to be used by the Chinese. But traces or rather fragments of it still remain not only in books but also in the common language. The characters for *kung-pan-wei* were used to denote as well the Netherlands as the English East India Company, the first and greatest Companies with which the Chinese became intimately acquainted. When used without any qualifying word these characters denoted only the English East India Company. Now certain commodities imported by this Company were regarded by the Chinese as much better than like articles sold by other foreign merchants. Hence a native dealor in foreign wares was wont to use the word Company as an epithet of his goods when he wished to make it known that these were of the best quality. But the three characters in which the word was transcribed were tedious and awkward to write, and so it came that only one or two of them at most were retained in common business. Thus we find *pan-pu* (班布), Company's cloth, to denote the best calico; *kung-pan* (or more usually *kung* only) with *t'u* or *yen* added (公 or 貢 班 土 or 烟) for the best opium, and *kung-t'u* in this sense is still in common use throughout the empire.

Another mercantile term which the Chinese adopted in recent times is "insure." With the Cantonese merchants this word becomes *in-shoh* and is written 燕梳 and in several other ways. Lately, however, a new native phrase—*pao-an*—has been introduced and been made to translate "insure," and in consequence the English term is not widely known and is perhaps passing out of use. Again the Chinese have a native term corresponding to our word "cheque," but the Cantonese who dealt with foreigners found it expedient to use the English name. They pronounce it *chik* (writing it 則) and make hybrid expressions like *ngan-chik* (銀則), money cheque, and *yat-chiong-chik*, that is, one cheque.

A word which, though not specially English, has been derived by the Chinese from the English is Consul. This word seems to be passing into the language, and it will perhaps soon lose its foreign character. In the Treaties and other official documents the Consul is designated by the absurd Chinese expression *ling-shih-kuan.* But the Cantonese wisely learned the foreign term and made it their own. They say and write *kong-sŭn* (公臣 or 江臣). The latter is the favourite way of writing the word, and the Chinese are fain to read a meaning into it, the phrase "River Minister" seeming to indicate the character of a Consul's office. So well known and so common is this name *kong-sŭn* among those who have intercourse with foreigners that the first syllable is often dropt. The Consul is thus cut down, as usual, and reduced to a syllable *sŭn* (臣). This use of the one character instead of the whole word sometimes causes no little embarrassment to the uninitiated.

English weights and measures and, to a less extent, English money, have been made known to the Chinese by foreign trade, and in some cases their names have been received into the Chinese language. Thus the word "pound," pronounced *p'ang* or *p'ong*, or *pêng* and written 磅 or 棒 usually, is well known as the name of a weight. But it also acquires a new meaning in Chinese and is used to denote not only a pound but also the act of weighing, and a weight simply. Hence the Chinese tea-merchants and other native traders commonly express the act of weighing by *kuo-p'ang* (過磅), to pass the pound, to put through the process of weighing. Sometimes we even find the single word *p'ang* used in this sense, as in the Cantonese *p'ong-fo*, to weigh (literally, to *pound*) the goods. When the Chinese have to express a pound sterling they also use the words for a pound weight and write them as above. But this use of the word is rare, as little is known of English money among the people of China. We find it, however, in the native newspapers and in books which treat of English affairs. In like manner we meet occasionally with the denominations of the smaller sums, shilling and penny. The former is properly expressed by *hsi-lin* (喜林), but it is now

written by business people generally *hien-ling* (*i.e.*, *sin-lin* 先 令). For the word penny the transcription is *pên-nei* (本 納 for 內), but this is little used. On the other hand the plural form *pence*, which becomes *pien-shĭ* (辨 士) is well known to those Chinese who have business dealings with English merchants.

Going back to the weights and measures we observe that in addition to the name for *pound* the Chinese use also that for *ton*. This they pronounce and write *tŭn* (噸 or 墩 or otherwise). The port charges, known as tonnage dues, were originally called *ch'uan-ch'ao* or ship-money, but they are now commonly called *tun-ch'ao* (噸 鈔) or ton-money. The word *ounce* becomes *an-sha*, or *on-sa* (安 沙) in Cantonese. It is not, however, much used except in places like Hongkong, though it may be found occasionally in written and printed documents. Of names of English measures foot and inch seem to be the best known. The former becomes *fu-t'u* (幅 土) and the latter *yin-chih* (因 制); but beside these, which are the recognised transcriptions, there are several other ways of writing the words in use among the people. In books and documents which treat of English matters we sometimes find the characters *mai-lu* (邁 路). These represent the word mile, but they were probably chosen to do so because they seemed to contain a meaning something like "a long road or journey." The Chinese seem to like the word dozen, which they pronounce *ta-sŭn* and write 大 臣. It is common in the talk and correspondence of those who have dealings with Western peoples, but it is not common in books. Among the native shop-keepers and tradesmen generally the term is now so familiar that the second part of it is often dropt both in talk and writing. Thus such people use commonly expressions like *san-ta* (三 大), *wu-ta* (五 大), meaning respectively three and five dozen. The English word quarter has also been adopted by the Chinese, but in a mutilated form. It is heard as *ko* or *kok* or *kuat* and is written in various ways (such as 刮 and 角). The latter way of writing seems to prevail at present and it is used for a quarter of an hour or a quarter of a dollar. It has also, perhaps from a remembrance of its proper meaning, come to be

somewhat incorrectly applied as a designation of a ten-cent coin or the sum of ten cents. Thus expressions like *yang-wu-kok* (洋五角), that is, fifty cents, are of daily occurrence in market quotations and similar documents. It is somewhat remarkable that, while the Chinese generally have only a native name for the dollar, they always call the cent by its foreign name. This they generally use in its plural form, saying *sen-ssŭ* and writing 先士 (or 時). There are, however, several other ways of writing the word, and sometimes we find only the syllable *sen* or *sin* used to denote a cent or cents. It is written 先, and this character alone is occasionally employed to stand for the word *shilling*.

Many miscellaneous terms and phrases, chiefly such as relate to commercial intercourse, have passed or are passing from English into Chinese. Of these we may now take note of a few as examples. When flannel was brought to China by the English the Chinese had no name for it, and, though they have since made native phrases to denote it, many prefer to use the foreign name. This is generally shortened to *fo* or *fu-lan* (咈囒), and in this shortened form the word is used as substantive or adjective promiscuously. The Chinese have no native pins, and when the English brought pins the Chinese in many places took the name with the commodity. They call it *p'in* or *pin* (品), and they use this word in making compounds. Thus the people of the Amoy district call a pin-cushion a *chiam-pin*, in which *chiam* is native and *pin* foreign. The name rifle has been naturalised and taken the form *lai-fu* (來扶 or 復 or 福). A musket or gun of any kind is in the native speech a *ch'iang* (鎗), and using this the Chinese form the mixed compound *lai-fu-ch'iang* to denote a rifle. They have also found it convenient to adopt to some extent the word ball, which they pronounce *po* or *p'o*, writing it 波 or 玻. They apply it not only to rifle and cannon balls, but also to those used in rackets and billiards and perhaps to those given at country clubs.

Among the imports into China we find one set down as *pa-ma-yu* (吧嗎油). This name is loosely applied to various resinous substances, including tar and dammar. The *pa-ma* is perhaps a contraction for *pa-erh-sa-ma* (巴爾薩嗎) or balsam; and *pa-*

erh-sa-ma-yu, that is, perhaps, oil of balsam figures as one of the articles of tribute brought by the people of the Western Ocean. In some of the seaport districts of South China the boat called a gig is known among certain classes of natives by its English name. The character used to express this word is 玉, which in the Swatow and Amoy dialects has a sound like gig (*ngig* or *gēk*). In mandarin the phrase *yü-jen* (玉 人), literally "jade man," denotes a fair charmer, a lovely nymph, mortal or immortal and moral or immoral. But in the Swatow dialect these characters are pronounced *gēk-lang* and are used to designate a coolie who pulls in a gig. And the Consul who found the characters in a petition and, reading them *yü-jen,* had the petitioner called before him experienced, it is said, some disappointment. The title captain, pronounced *ka (chia)-pi-tan* (甲 必 丹 and 加 必 旦), has been for some centuries in use among those Chinese who mix with Europeans. The word is regarded as not only English but also European, and some native writers explain the word as being the equivalent of *Che-hsien.* It is applied not only to the officer properly styled captain and to the masters of vessels but also to a chief or headman, and even to an ambassador. In Java and the Straits Settlements it is applied to the Chinaman who is responsible for the good conduct of his nationals in a particular district. The word merchant also has been adopted by the Chinese and applied in a peculiar manner. They say *ma-chin* and write it in several ways (馬 占, or 嗎 呫, or 孖 氈). They apply the term to brokers and compradores and commission agents, whether foreign or Chinese. As the *ma-chin* is always supposed to know English, pidgin English generally, he is sometimes described as if merely a linguist or interpreter. A youth who is serving an apprenticeship, with the view of becoming a compradore, is called by the Cantonese a *ma-chin-tsai,* that is, a merchant boy, an apprentice compradore.

The use of the word protest has long been known to Chinese ship-brokers and other Chinese having dealings with Western foreigners. During the Franco-Chinese troubles this word found its way into State papers as *p'u-lu-t'ai-ssŭ-t'ê* (普 魯 台 司 特).

Another very recent importation into the written language is telephone. The Chinese were quick to adopt this useful invention and with it the name which they pronounce *tê-lü-fêng* (德律風) or *tie-li-fêng* (爹釐風). The marine measure "knot" has also been introduced into Chinese as *no-t'a* (諾脫).[1]

MALAY.

We next take up a vocabulary of the Malay language and we find that this also has supplied Chinese with a number of useful terms. This circumstance is not to be wondered at when we reflect that for many centuries there has been constant intercourse between the inhabitants of the Kuang-tung and Fuhkien provinces and the islands ofthe "Southern Ocean." In these islands there were formerly certain well known places of rendezvous for the trading junks of the East, and to them came also during the last three centuries the ships from the far-off Western Ocean. The Chinese traders brought to these marts the silks and other products of their country and carried back to China cargoes of foreign merchandise. This trade intercourse gradually produced the common use of certain words and phrases which were mutually understood. Many of these seem to have been found in the Malay language or what the Chinese so regarded. But the vocabulary of this language is largely composed of contributions from various foreign sources, and when we say that a word is Malay we do not commit ourselves to any more precise assertion than that it is found in a dictionary of that language. The word may be as to origin Sanskrit, or Arabic, or Portuguese, or English, but if it has been adopted by the Malays and modified to suit their ways of speech it is for practical purposes a Malay word. Hence we find the Chinese having for names of commodities terms which belong to various languages but which became known to them as Malay simply, just as many non-English words have reached them through speakers of English. Let us illustrate by a few examples.

Among the Malay words which found their way into Chinese before direct European trade with China began is one Saklât or sahalat. This word, which is used to denote woollen cloth, is

"Hai-kuo-t'u-chih" (海國圖志), chaps. xiv., xix., lx., &c.

found in the modern historical and geographical works of the Chinese and in the old Treaties. In these it occurs in at least two ways of writing, viz., *so-hsie-(hia)-la* (銷鞋喇) and *sa-ha-la* (撒哈喇). It is actually the Persian word suklāt or sakarlat, which denotes woollen cloth of a scarlet colour, and it is possible that among the Chinese it had at first a similar restricted application.[1]

Tobacco seems first to have been first brought to China at some time about the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. That it was Malays who introduced it to the Chinese may be inferred with some probability from the form which the name received. This became *tan-pa-ku* (淡巴菰), representing the Malay name tambacao. But the Chinese soon came to use a native term *yen*, meaning "smoke," and thereby pointing to the final cause of tobacco, and this before long drove out the foreign name. The latter, however, is supposed to lead a maimed life in a name given to cigarettes, *ma (*or *ba)-ku-yen* (孖菰烟), a term in very common use among the Cantonese and Fuhkeenese at the Ports.

From the Malays also the Chinese received sago, first the prepared flour and afterwards the tree itself. But sago is not a Malay word originally, and Crawfurd thinks that the tree is indigenous to one of the Molucca Islands, and that it was from the language of these islands the name was originally derived. It is the Papuan word for bread, sago being to the Papuans and many others their chief article of food. The name, however, has long been widely spread over the East, being saku in Cochin-Chinese, sāgu in India, and sagu in Malay. The Chinese sometimes say and write *sha-ku* (砂穀), which might be said to have the meaning "sand grain." They also now frequently use the form *hsi*, that is, *sei* or *sai-ku* (西谷), showing that they are using a Western pronunciation of the word. We also find sago called *hsi-kuo-mi*, the rice of Western countries, though *hsi-kuo* was perhaps originally only phonetic. But the word *mi*, rice, is often found added to *ha-ku* and *sai-ku*, and we have business people using

[1] "Ming-shih," chap. cccxxv.; Hob-Job, s.v. Suclát.

the short name *hsi-mi* which, if translated, would mean simply "Western rice or grain."[1]

It was apparently from the Malay archipelago that first the fruit of the Areca Catechu and afterwards the tree itself were introduced into China. The Malay name is pinang, which was adopted by the Chinese and became *pin-lang* or *nang* (檳榔 or 梹榔). There is no native name in China either for the tree or for its fruit when prepared for use. But the foreign name has ceased to be regarded as foreign and has received an interpretation as if Chinese in origin. The fruit, known to English people as betel-nut, is among the Chinese of certain districts as among the natives of some of the Malay Islands a token of friendship and of hospitality. When two friends meet, whether on the road or in a house, they at once proceed to exchange betel-nuts. And when a friend comes to visit a family one of the first and most significant acts of attention to the guest is to present betel-nut. So learned Chinese tell us that the fruit came to be called *pin-lang* as if 賓郎, the guest man. The name was probably introduced by the Swatow or Amoy traders, and in their speech *pin-lang*, as thus written, might have the above meaning. Another name for the betel-nut to be found in Chinese literature is *jen-pin* (仁頻), which is apparently the Javanese name jambi. This word, however, is old in Chinese literature, and it is not much known or used except among the learned.[2]

Again, from the Malays the Chinese got the name for the Jack fruit *(Artocarpus integrifolia)* and perhaps the tree also. The book form of this name is *nang-chia-chie* (囊伽結), which is an attempt to reproduce Nangka. But this Malay word has been shown to be only a corruption of the Malayalam name jaka (or chăkka or tsjaka). In the island of Hainan, where the jack tree abounds, it has another name—*p'o-lo-mi*—which will come under notice in the next chapter.[3]

Another well known fruit of South China, the mango, has a

[1] Crawfurd's Descve. Dict. Indian Islands, s.v. Sago.

[2] Crawfurd's Des. Dict. s.v. Areca; Ch. Notes and Queries, vol. iii., p. 132; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxi.

[3] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxi.; Crawfurd's Dict. s-v. Artocarpus; Hob-Job, p. 335.

Malay name along with one which is regarded as native. The latter is in the Amoy dialect *suai^ng*, and the former is pronounced *mêng-ko.* This is written in at least four or five ways (as 檬 or 檬 or 芒 with 菓 added). This last character *kuo* means "fruit," and it may have been at first significant and not phonetic in these combinations. So the Malay or rather Sunda name for the fruit, mangga, is from the Tamil mānkāy in which *kāy* also denotes *fruit.* But a Cantonese transcription of mangga is *man-kao* (蚊 膠), and this is evidently purely phonetic, and so also are the other forms at present in use so far as the spoken dialects are concerned. The name *suai^ng*, mentioned above, is perhaps not Chinese but Annamite. In that dialect and in Cambodian the mango is called suai or svai, and the Amoy traders may have brought the name to their native place.[1]

The terra-japonica of commerce is known at least in some districts of China by its Malay name Gambier. Thus the Swatow people, who are the great cultivators of it in the Straits Settlements, call it in their dialect *kam-bi* (甘 蜜). Sometimes we find native names assigned to it specially by Western compilers of vocabularies, but these are generally mistakes. The Uncaria Gambier is not grown in China, nor is gambier known in this country otherwise than as a foreign importation.

The sappan-wood, from the tree *Cœsalpinia sappan*, largely used by the Chinese for dyeing purposes, is well known to them by the name *su-fang* (or *su-pang*)-*mu* (蘇 方 木). It is also called shortly by business people *su-mu* and *su-pan.* The word *su-fang* or *su-pang* is intended to represent the Malay name for the wood, which is sâpang. This is the name by which the sappan-wood first became known to the Chinese, and they still retain it, although the wood is now imported into the country from several remote regions.[2]

We often find mention of a fragrant wood called *chia-nan* (that is, *ka-lam*)-*hsiang* (伽 南 香) imported into China and brought as tribute from Malacca and other places. This wood is

[1] Crawfurd's Dict. s.v. Mango; Hob-Job, p. 423.

[2] Crawfurd's Dict. s.v. Sappan-wood; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxv. (part 2).

evidently not the Agìla or Eagle wood, which has a distinct and well known designation. It most likely represents Kalampac (Calampac), the name both of a region in Siam which yields a tree with very fragrant wood and of the wood itself. But the Malays give the name Kalambak to the Eagle wood, though they have also for this the name gaharu or gahru, derived from the Sanskrit.[1]

Though Camphor is produced in China and exported from it to other countries yet the Chinese have long been accustomed to import a different kind from abroad. There are in the East, as is well known, two quite distinct kinds of trees which yield this substance, viz., the *Laurus camphora*, which grows in South China, and the *Dryobalanops camphora*, which flourishes in Borneo and Sumatra chiefly. The camphor from the latter tree is imported into China direct from the Straits Settlements, and is known by its Malay name kâpur. This, which in Chinese becomes *ko-p'o-lo* (羯婆羅), is only a modification of the Sanskrit karpura. There is also in China a common native name for this camphor as sold in druggists' shops, for it is valued only or chiefly for its medicinal qualities and sold as a "medicine." The port in Sumatra from which the camphor was formerly shipped was named Barus, and this word came to be added to kāpur to denote Sumatran camphor. But the name kāpur-barus or Baroos-camphor has now a much wider application. The Chinese also know this foreign camphor as *po-lü-hsiang* (婆律香), the fragrant stuff from Barus. This name, however, is not much used, and it is perhaps applied to several other substances.[2]

The general name, as distinguished from euphemisms and other misnomers, for opium all over China is *a* (or *ya*)-*p'ien* (阿 or 鴉片) with local varieties like *a-pin* and *a-pien.* These all represent the Malay word apiun, and point to the channel through which opium was first introduced into this country. But the Malay word in turn is only an attempt to pronounce the Persian and Arabic afyun, the letter f being impossible of utterance to the Malays.

[1] Finlayson, Mission to Siam, p. 260; Crawfurd's Dict. s.v. Agila.
[2] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxiv., Crawfurd's Dict. s.v. Camphor.

We find it sometimes stated by Western writers on Chinese that the term *ka-pan* in the expression *ka-pan-tsun* (or *shun*) is the Malay word kapal. But a *ka-pan-tsun* (夾板船) is a square-rigged vessel, and the inhabitants of the Malay archipelago, it seems, never built or used such vessels. The Malays have the word kapal, but it was adopted from the Telingas of the Coromandel Coast, who had square-rigged vessels which they called kappal. It is to be noted, however, that the Chinese find a meaning for themselves in the term *chia* (*ka*)-*pan*, which may after all be native. It is supposed to point to the overlapping of the planks in the sides of foreign vessels, which gives the appearance of a succession of planks sandwiched *(chia-pan)* between other planks.[1]

For soap, especially that imported from Europe, the Chinese in Fuhkien and Kuangtung and to some extent in other districts often use a name like *sa-pūn* or *sa-būn*. In the Amoy dialect we find the word pronounced like *sap-būn*, and the sounds of these syllables are represented in writing by 雪文, which are read *hsüeh-wên* in Mandarin. It seems that the above name is not from the Portuguese but is the Malay word sabūn. This last is, however, only a slight modification of the sâbūn of the Arabian and Persian languages, which in turn comes from old German through the Latin *sapo*. In addition to the foreign name the Chinese have a native name for soap, current perhaps throughout the whole empire.

We may notice one or two other Malay words to be found now and then in Chinese modern books and State papers and to be heard in the speech of Chinese who have lived among Malays. The leaves of palm-trees used as a substitute for paper and also for thatching houses are called kajang in Malay. The Chinese adopt this word pronouncing and writing it *kao-jang* (茭葦). But they use it apparently only in the sense of a leaf for writing purposes. The well known sarang of the Malays becomes *sa-lang* (沙郎) in Chinese. The word for chief, Datoh, becomes *na* (pronounced *da*)-*tu* (那督), and it is explained as

[1] Crawfurd's Dict. s.v. Ship; Caldwell's Gram. Dravn. Langs., p. 501.

meaning "an eminent official." The Chinese words *pu-la* (不刺) and *pa-lieh* (鈀鑗), pronounced like *pa-leik,* stand for the Malay *pedang,* corrupted to *badik.* The word means a sword or dagger, and sometimes the Chinese treat it as a native word, adding the character *t'on* (頭), head, as a distinctive affix.[1]

PERSIAN.

From the notice of Malay words in Chinese we pass naturally to that of Persian and Arabic and first of the former. As has been indicated already the word *p'o-ssŭ,* Persia, is used in a loose vague way by Chinese authors. They have made it include beside Persia itself Syria, Turkey and the Roman Empire, and sometimes they seem to use it as a sort of general designation for the abode of any barbarian people to the South West of the Middle Kingdom. Hence we find vegetable and other products of several different Western countries all referred by the Chinese to Persia. As an example of the loose way in which the word is used let us take the expression *p'o-ts'ai* (菠 or 頗 菜), more fully *p'o-ling-ts'ai* (菠薐菜). According to Dr. F. P. Smith this name is applied to the *Convolvulus reptans,* which has a flavour like that of spinach. But the term seems to mean only "the Persian vegetable," and it has been applied to a kind of spinach and even to beet and carrot and other vegetables not indigenous in Persia. The explanation of the name, moreover, is not free from doubt, and it may not have anything to do with Persia.[2]

The vocabulary of the Persian language is very mixed, containing Aryan, Semitic and Turkish elements in different proportions. It has directly or indirectly yielded a considerable number of names of objects to Chinese, and in taking note of a few of these here no attempt is made to refer them to their origin.

A Persian word in Chinese, which has been long ago pointed out as such, is the name for the monoxide of lead, known in commerce as Litharge. This is called by the Chinese *mi-t'ê-sêng*

[1] Groeneveldt's Notes on the Malay Archipelago, pp. 40, 46; Hob-Job, p. 107; "Ming-shih," chap. cccxxv.

[2] "Hai-kuo-t'u-chi," chap. xxii.; Ch. Mat. Med., p. 71; Notes and Queries, vol. iv., No. 69.

(密陀僧), which has been shown to be an attempt to represent murdā-seng (or murdar-sang) the Persian name for the commodity.[1] For the saffron now imported into their country from various regions the Chinese have several native names, such as *fan-hung-hua* (番紅花), that is, foreign safflower. But they know it also by a foreign name written differently as *tsa-fu-lan* (咱夫藍) and *sa-fa-lang* (撒法郎) and perhaps in other ways. These are intended to reproduce the Persian name za' faran (in Arabic za' fran). It would seem that this product was first imported into China from Persia direct or at least obtained immediately from Persian traders. The saffron flower (*Crocus sativus*) has been cultivated for many centuries in Persia and Cashmere. From these countries, especially from the latter, it is at present taken to Tibet, where it is known as the "gift of Cashmere" (k'a-che skyes). Then from Tibet it is sent direct to China where, however, it is still remembered as a Persian product, though it is also called erroneously "the safflower from Tibet."[2]

For the almond which does not grow in China the native authors and others have apparently only the Persian name which is Bádán. This the Chinese transcribe *pa-tan* (八擔 or 巴旦) and perhaps also, as suggested by Dr. Bretschneider, *pa-lan* (杷欖). But they have mixed up the foreign almond with their native apricot. The name of the latter is *hsing* (杏), and the kernels of its fruit, when dried for food, are called *hsing-jen* (杏仁). This name is given also to the kernels of almonds as imported into China from their resemblance in appearance and to some extent in taste to the seeds of apricots. On the other hand the Tibetans give the name *P'a-tin*, that is, Bádán or almond, to the "sweet dried apricots" imported into their country from the West, and *Chu-li* or k'am-bu to the same fruit when fresh or native. Then for the sweet date of Persia the Chinese have a mixed name, calling it *Pa-tan-hsing*, that is, almond-apricot. But they know it also by its Persian name Khurma, which their

[1] Endlicher Ch. Gr., p. 22 (Note) ; Ch. Mat. Med., p. 136.

[2] Dr. Bretschneider in Chi. Rec., vol. iii., p. 222 ; Ch. Mat. Med., p189.

authors write in at least three different ways—*kü-mang* (屈莽), *k'u-lu-ma* (苦魯麻) and *hu-lu-ma* (忽鹿麻).[1]

The importation of Oak-galls from Persia into China is of old date, though the Chinese do not seem to know even yet the origin of these natural products. In the "Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu" there is a description given of them and of the tree which yields them, but as has been said, it is plain that the writer describes only from report and that he did not know what galls are. These are usually denoted among the Chinese by names such as *mo-tsê* (澤摩) or *ma-t'u-tsê* (麻茶澤) or *mo* (or *mu*)-*shi-tzŭ* (墨 or 沒石子) or *wu* (*mu*)-*shi-tzŭ* (無食子), which are apparently all foreign. They are supposed to represent the word mázú or májú, which is the Persian and Hindostani name for galls or oak-apples. The kind of oak tree on which these are produced is called in Persian ballút, and this is adopted by the Chinese as *pa-lu* (拔屢) or *pu-lu* (蒲盧). Adding their native word *tzŭ* (子), seed, to this the Chinese make *pa-lu-tzŭ* as a name for the acorns which the oak is supposed to bear in alternate years with its other fruit the galls.[2]

Under the name *wu-hua-kuo*, fruits without flowers, the Chinese include several species of *Ficus*, and among them the *Ficus Carica* or common fig. For this last, however, they have also in literature a foreign name, which in some books appears as *a-chu* (or *tsu*), written 阿駔. The second character here is evidently a misprint, and we should substitu te 馹 *yi* or *nyi* or *jih*. This word perhaps pronounced *a-jih* stands, we are told, for anjer, the Persian name for the fig. Another and a more correct way of writing this Persian word is *ang-jih* (映日), which also is found in books as a name for the fig.[3]

Under the names *nao-sha* (硇砂) and *nung* or *nao-sha* (磠砂) Chinese druggists sell various saline substances, and among

[1] Dr. Bretschneider in Chi. Rec., v., p. 198; and iii., p. 265; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxix.; Ch. Notes and Queries, vol. iii., p. 149. Another way of writing Bádán in Chinese is *pa-tan* (把胆). "Ming-shih," chap. cccxxvi. The Persian word Badan is said to be a corruption of a Sanskrit word "vātāmra," from *vāta*, wind, and *āmra*, a mango; Jæschke Tib-Eng. Dict., p. 363 s. v. Ba-dam.

[2] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxv. (second part); Chi. Mat. Med., p. 100.

[3] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxi.; Notes and Queries, vol. iii., p. 20.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

them an impure variety of what is known in commerce as Sal Ammoniac By the word *nao-sha,* which is commonly found in the former of the two ways here given, the Chinese probably intended at first to represent either núshádir, which is the Persian name for Sal Ammoniac or the Hindustani name for the same, which is Nau-shādar, a modification of the Persian word.[1]

The common name for the lion over all China is *shi* (獅), and, as has been already pointed out by others, this is most probably the Persian name for the animal Shír. Persia is the land of the lion, and the Chinese do not seem to have even known him except by pictures or imperfect descriptions. They have also other names for the lion, some of which are to be noticed hereafter, but these are to be found only in the writings of the learned.

The word Shahr, meaning a city, has passed into the modern language of China from Persia, but through Turkestan. It is commonly written *sha-êrh* (沙爾) and translated by *ch'êng* (城) with the same meaning. We find it ocurring chiefly in the names of certain places, such as Ying-chi-sha-êrh, new city, and Khara-shar, black city.

A word which we have to regard for the occasion at least as Persian is that which is transcribed in Chinese by the characters pronounced *ti-ya-ka,* in Peking Mandarin *ti-ye-chia* (底也伽 or 地野伽). By these characters, as has been shown by others, the Chinese intended to represent the word Tiryāk. This last is of course only a slightly altered form of the Greek word Theriake, which denoted the cure for the bite of a wild beast. But with the Persians tiryāk came to mean not only a valuable antidote but also a pill pleasant to take as medicine. One of the chief ingredients of this pill was opium, and hence tiryāk came to be used to some extent as a sort of synonym for afyūn. The Chinese may have learned from Persian traders the use of "opium pills," and these are still euphemistically called cures or antidotes, though the name tiryāk does not seem to be ever used by the Chinese now.[2]

[1] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xi.; Ch. Mat. Med., p. 190; Hanbury, Science Papers, pp. 217, 276.

[2] Hirth's Romn. Ort., p. 277; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. l. (2nd part); Ogilby's Persia, p. 53.

In some of the native almanacs for the use of the Chinese people the days which are our Sundays are indicated by the characters *mi-jih* (密 日), that is, *mi* day. The character *mi* here, perhaps to be pronounced *mih* or *mit*, is declared by some investigators to be the Ouìgour name for the sun. But it is probably rather the old Persian mihr, which was a name of the sun or sun god (Mithras). This word is still preserved in such terms as mihr-máh, sun-month, the seventh month in the solar year.[1]

One Chinese author who gives *mi* as the Ouìgour name of the sun, gives also the expression which in modern mandarin is *yao-shên-wu* (曜 森 勿) as its *p'o-ssŭ* or Persian equivalent. Now in the inscription on the celebrated Nestorian Tablet in China the date is given in characters which contain, apparently, the above word. We have there the expression "*ta-yao-shên wên-jih*" (大 耀 森 文 日), and Mr. Wylie accepts the view that "*yao-sen-wan*," in his transliteration, represents the Persian yekshamba (yaksamba), Sunday. But while it is certain that the day here indicated was a Sunday it is not quite so certain that the three Chinese characters read "*yao-sen-wan*" stand for yakshamba. It is to be noted that in this interpretation the important word *ta*, great, is left out, and Mr. Wylie, with his wanted candour, admits the difficulty. Must we not then with the help of that sinologist's very learned and interesting communication construe the expression in a different manner? It is perhaps possible that *ta-yao*, great luminary, may be used here as a designation for the "greater light," the chief among the "seven regulators." In Corea the days which are Sundays are still called *yu-yil*, that is, *yao-jih*, or Sundays. The Coreans, it may be mentioned, prefer the expression "seven luminaries" to the common Chinese "seven regulators." Then the two characters, read *shên-wên*, or "*sen-wan*," or "*sĕn-bun*," may represent a Syrian form of the Hebrew name for a week. The last or seventh day of the week was Shabat or Sabbath (in Persian, Shamba), and this word was thence used to denote a week. A familiar example occurs in the 1st verse of the last chapter of

[1] Notes and Queries, vol. iv., No. 27; Mayer's Chi. Reader's Man., p. 358.

St. Matthew's Gospel, where we read—"Now late on the Sabbath day (sabbatōn), as it began to dawn toward the first of the week (sabbatōn)." Now taking *ta-yao* to denote "sun" and regarding *shên-wên* as a word meaning "week," we may translate the date of the inscription thus—"The 2nd year of Chien-chung, the 1st moon and 7th day of the moon being the Sun-day of the week."[1]

One of the terms to denote a "co-wife" in Persian is *hamshúi,* and among the Cantonese the term *ham-shui* also denotes a supplementary or vicarious wife. They explain the words as meaning "salt water" (鹹 水), and *ham-shui* with a disparaging addition is commonly applied to those Cantonese women who attach themselves temporarily to barbarians from over the ocean. That the Persians and Cantonese should have the same sounds to denote similar objects is in this case perhaps only a coincidence and one from which no serious inference can be drawn. It is possible, however, that we may have the Persian word Fīrūzah in the Chinese *pi-lu* (碧 碌). This with *shih* (石) as tone added is a name for the turquoise which in Persian is Fīrūzah. Lastly *Asa-fœtida,* with which we have to meet again, has as one of its names *a-yü* (阿 虞), which is apparently for the Persian Angudán or Angúzeh, the gum resin of the *Asa-fœtida* plant.

ARABIC.

The existence of the Arabian language has long been known to the Chinese by the designation *hui-hui-hua* (回 回 話), that is, language of the Mahometans. For this name *hui-hui,* which apparently is not Arabian, no satisfactory explanation seems to have been yet given. *Hui-hui-kuo,* country of Mahometans, is a popular expression in China for various Mahometan countries, and is not confined to Arabia. This last is known in Chinese literature by several other names, such as *ta-shih* (大 食), *t'ien-fang* (天 方), that is, the Heavenly Region, and, in modern times, *a-êrh-pi* (阿 爾 璧) Araby. The language is also known among the scholars of modern learning as the *a-êrh-pi-yü* (語) or speech of Arabia. From

[1] Notes and Queries, vol. iv., pp. 16, 38, 77, 103; Wylie in Ch. Rec., vol. iv., Nos. 1 and 2.

it the Chinese have derived mediately or immediately a considerable number of vocables. Some have gone first into other dialects, such as the Malay and Persian, and thence passed into Chinese, and these have generally suffered change in the passage. Those terms, however, which are connected with the religion of the Mussulmans have here, as in other countries into which Mahometanism has been introduced, undergone no further modification than the necessities of the language required. But such terms are comparatively little known, even to the native student of ordinary Chinese literature. For the most part they are used only in books and documents which treat of Mahometan countries and peoples, and in the oral and written intercourse of native Mahometans with their friends and acquaintances. Of these terms a few are now mentioned by way of illustration before proceeding to take note of the more popular Arabian importations.[1]

Let us begin with the word Muslim, which becomes in Chinese *mu-shih* (or *ssŭ*)-*lin* (穆士林). This term is well known in some parts of China as an accepted designation of those who profess the religion of "resignation." The word Imâm, which occurs often in native Mussulman literature, becomes *i-ma-mu* (曦嗎穆 or 以嫣目). It appears to be rarely used by Chinese Mahometans in the sense of leader or founder, and denotes with them rather a priest or the president of a religious establishment. They know the Koran by that name, and they are careful to give it in full *ku-êrh-a-ni* (古爾阿尼). Another name for the sacred book is Fúrqán, and this also is used by the Chinese Mahometans, who transcribe it *fu-êrh-k'o-ni* (輔爾嗑尼). True faith, defined as "the belief of the heart and the confession of the mouth," is Imām in Arabian. The Chinese Mahometans, who make much use of the word, generally transcribe it *i-ma-na* (以嫣納). They call it the "true blessing" (or gift) from God, and praise it as the pure moral constitution imparted by God to man, the source of the understanding of virtue and vice, truth and error. The man who possesses īmām or true saving faith knows to appreciate at

[1] 天方典禮擇要解, chap i.; Dr. Bretschneider in Notes and Que., vol. iv., arts. Nos. 69 and 107.

their proper value this world and its good things, that is, to regard them as vile and worthless. Judged from this point of view the world is called Dunyā. This word the Chinese Mussulmans have adopted, writing it *tun-ya* (盹 了), and explaining it as meaning *chên-shih* (塵 世), the world of dust. Lastly, the day on which the creation of the world was commenced, according to Mussulman teaching, was Sabt (Sabbath) in Arabian. Chinese writers, Mahometan and others have adopted this word, which they write commonly *sé-pu-t'i* (色 卜 替).[1]

Proceeding now to expressions of a secular character we may mention a few of those which are more or less in common use. And first let us take the word Sultan which, though common to Mahometan countries in general, is perhaps originally Arabian. In Chinese literature it is of frequent occurrence, and in its full form it is expressed by *so-lu-tan* (鎖 魯 檀) or *su-lêh-tan* (蘇 勒 担). But it is often found shortened to *su-tan*, which is written in various ways, such as 素 丹 and 算 端. Sometimes the Chinese author translates or interprets the word using *wang*, king, as its equivalent.[2]

One of the earliest Arabian words to be found in Chinese literature is Yâsmīn (our Jasmine). There are several ways of writing this word, but the common one is *ye-hsi-ming* (耶 悉 茗). The flower and the name were introduced into China apparently about 1600 years ago. Though another name, a native one, *su-hsing-hua* (素 馨 花), has arisen since, the jasmine, or rather properly the *Nyctanthes arbor tristis* or Night jasmine, is still known by the old foreign designation. It is to be distinguished from the *Mo-li-hua* or *Jasminum Sambac.*[3]

The Arabic word Harak or Arāk, now common to several languages and known as Arrack, was introduced into China about six centuries ago. It is found as *ho-la-ki* (阿 剌 吉), *a-lek* (啞 叻) and in various other forms according to the dialect of the transcriber. The Chinese did not obtain arrack from the Arabs directly, but from

[1] See *e.g.* 正 教 眞 詮, chap. i.; 天 方 典 禮, &c. as above.

[2] See 欽 定 元 史 語 解, chap. i.; Ch. Rec., vol. v., p. 193.

[3] Ch. Notes and Queries, vol. ii., pp. 33, 47.

the Mongols apparently. They regard it as a sort of *shao-chiu* (燒酒), like their own strong distilled drink with that name.[1]

In modern times the word Coffee, the Arabic qahwah, has become well known to many Chinese through intercourse with Europeans. It is generally pronounced *ka-fei,* but it is written in many ways slightly different as 加非, 架非, 珈琲. The Pekingese pronounce these characters *chia-fei,* and they speak of a cup of *chia-fei-ch'a,* that is, Coffee tea, which the Southern people call *ka-fei-ch'a.*

Myrrh, which Chinese writers vaguely tell us is a product of *P'o-ssŭ,* is known in China by the names *mo-yao* (沒藥) and *mei* (末)-*yao,* different varieties of the same name. The syllable *mo* is phonetic, and *yao* means medicine, but it also was perhaps originally phonetic. By *mo* or *mei* the Chinese represent the Arabic *Murr,* which they adopted as the name of the commodity. This word *murr* is common to the Arabian and Persian languages, but it was probably from the former that it passed into Chinese.[2]

In Chinese accounts of Arabia and the parts about we often find mention of an animal called *fu-lu* (福祿 and otherwise). These characters are intended to express the word *fara,* which is one of the names in Arabian for the wild ass. This animal is sometimes described as piebald (*hua* 花), and the expression *hua-fu-lu,* as it is sometimes written, might seem to mean "flowered woollens."[3] An Arabian word for wool and woollen cloth is Sūf, and this was adopted by the Chinese who had no equivalent in their own language. They pronounce and write the word *so-fu* (瑣服 or 鎖幅) or *shu-(su)-fu* (梭幅). But the Chinese apply the name not only to woollens, but also to various foreign fabrics of a very different character.[1] Myrobalans, with which we meet again, are known in Chinese medicine by several names, one of which is *ha-li-lê* (訶黎勒). This is plainly the Arabian Halileh, a name for Myrobalans.[4]

1 "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxv.

2 "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxiv.; Hanbury Sc. Papers, p. 378.

3 "Ming-shih," chap. cccxxvi.

4 Ch. Rev., vol. v. pp. 123, 169; "Ming-shih," chap. cccxxv.; Dymock's Veg. Mat. Med., p. 318.

TURKISH.

From an early period in her history down to the present China has always had tribes or nations of Turkish origin on her frontiers. With some of these tribes she has often had long and fierce wars, and she has in several ways suffered from them great damage. But she has also had with them peaceful and friendly relations, including a barter trade of considerable importance. It is not to be wondered at then if terms and phrases from the Turkish dialects are found in Chinese, nor is it to be considered strange and unlikely that by use and time many of these words and phrases have lost their foreign garb and assumed a native appearance. A wide and careful study of the vocabulary of the Chinese language would probably lead to the discovery in it of many Turkish words more or less disguised. It would perhaps be found also that some of these were common to the two languages, not borrowed by one from the other but both derived from an older language. "The device of a foreign origin" is not a very popular resource of native scholars as a means of explaining the apparently inexplicable. But it is an expedient which must be resorted to at times, and it may afford the clue to the only true solution of a difficulty. How words and phrases which are foreign in Chinese quite lose that character is well known to all students of the language and literature. Instances of this loss of foreign appearance will be found among the examples of terms imported from the Turkish dialects into Chinese to be now noticed.

In the records of the great conflicts between the sovereigns of the Han dynasty and the fierce nomadic invaders known as the Hiung-nu we often meet with a word to be read Tangri or Tïngri. This, we are told, is the Hiung-nu or Turkish term for God or Heaven. It is sometimes interpreted as meaning *t'ien* (天), Heaven, and it is perhaps, as has been already suggested by others, etymologically of the same origin as *t'ien*. One of the old ways of writing the Turkish word was *tang-li* (撐犁); and in the early historical literature we find the phrase *tang-li-ku-t'u* (撐犁孤塗). This means son of Heaven, the Chinese *t'ien-tzŭ*, and is used as the title of a Sultan or Emperor. Other and

later ways of writing the word *tangri* are *t'ung-chi (i.e., ki)-li* (統急里) and *t'êng-ko-li* (騰格哩). It is still current with the sense of God or Heaven in Mongolian and other dialects.[1]

From the Turkish tribes also the Chinese derived the word Khan, a term which has long been in common use among native writers to denote the chief or sovereign of a Turkish tribe or people. In the older literature the word is usually written *k'o-han* (可汗), and this form is still occasionallly used by writers who wish to be precise. But generally we now find only one character used to express it, viz., *han* (汗) or *k'an* (罕). This name Khan has, moreover, been extended by the Chinese to countries not Turkish, and, like many other terms in their language, it is applied somewhat indiscriminately. Thus the Czar of Russia is called the *chag'an-khan* (察罕汗) or White Khan, *chag'an* being the Mongolian word for white. The Emperor of China also has long been the Great Khan (or *kan*), in the dog-Latin of our forefathers the *Canis Magnus*.

The consort or the concubine of a Khān is said by Chinese writers to be called *k'o-tun* (克敦) or *k'a-tun* (哈屯). There are also other ways of writing the word, which is evidently the Turkish Khatŭn or Khātun. But this word now at least denotes among those who use it simply a wife or lady. Chinese writers use it to designate the Czarina of Russia, and by them it is perhaps always applied only to the wife of a chief or sovereign. The Chinese do not seem to know or use *khānum* or *khānim*, the feminine of khān.

Another Turkish designation for a chief or lord has become well known among the Chinese, especially within the last few score years. This is the title Bég or Bek, which when first used was commonly represented by the two characters *pai-k'o* or "*peh-k'êh*" (伯克). It is now, however, usually expressed by only one of these characters, *pai* or *peh* (伯), the second being dropped. A Bég is properly a chief like an Amīr, but the Chinese have, at least in some cases, lowered his status, and they profess to regard the word as merely the equivalent of their own *kuan* or official. Mr. Mayers tells us that the title Beg "universally in use among

[1] "Han-shu," chap. xciv. In the modern mandarin 撐 is read *ch'êng*.

the followers of Islam, is employed among the Chinese Mahommedans of Turkestan and the region of Hami as a generic designation for the local chieftains."[1]

The common name among all the people of China for a Buddhist monk is *ho-shang* (和 尙); in an old and now little used form, *ho-shê* (和 闍). The sounds given to these characters by those who first used them in this manner were perhaps something like *hua-ja* or *hua-jê*. It is acknowledged that they stand for a foreign word, and they are said to represent the Turkish word Khvāja or Khoja. This, which is also Persian, is used in Turkestan as a term of respect, like Sir, or Monsieur. When first introduced the word Hoshang was perhaps employed by the Chinese in a way somewhat like that in which we use such terms as Reverend and Reverence. They applied it not only to all who wear the garb of a Buddhist monk but also to the priests of other religions, and they still apply it occasionally to Christians and Mahometans, but always in the sense of priest or clergyman.[2]

Among commodities imported into China and known there by Turkish names we notice first that written *hsün-lu* (熏 or 薰 陸). This word has been identified by the learned Sinologist Dr. Hirth with the Turkish word *ghyunluk*. *Hsün-lu* denotes, it is said, *olibanum* or *frankincense*, and *ghyunluk* in Turkish has the same meaning. One may be excused, however, for doubting whether the Chinese characters actually represent a foreign term. We find *hsün* as the name of an aromatic plant in very early Chinese literature, and *hsün-lu* (or *ju*)-*hsiang* is represented as being produced in several countries widely separated. It is, however, or has been imported from Turkish speaking countries, and Dr. Hirth's identification gives a satisfactory explanation of the name.[3]

Another commercial term is Tanga, a word which appears in several languages. According to the Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words it is from the Sanskrit *tanka*, a certain weight of silver. In Chinese it is *t'êng-ko* (滕 格) or *t'ang-ka* (唐 加), and it is con-

[1] Mayer's Ch. Gov., No. 563.
[2] Ei. Handbook Ch. B., p. 155; Shaw's Turki Vocabulary, p. 107.
[3] China and Rom. Ort., p. 266; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxiv.; Kaughsi s.v. 蕅.

sidered as a Turkish word. Among the Mahometans of Sungaria it was formerly a coin worth 250 cash, and in Turkestan it was, according to Mr. Shaw, "a money of account consisting of 25 small copper cash." This *tanga* is theoretically equal to fifty coins called *Pul*, also a Turkish word. In Chinese this word became *p'u-êrh* (普爾). A *pul* represents nominally five Chinese cash, but it is now in Turkestan at least merely an "imaginary coin;" and seven *tanga* now make a rupee.[1]

We often find mention in Chinese books of an article of commerce called *t'ou-shih* (鍮石). In some places these two characters make one word, and in other places *shih* is apparently the Chinese word for stone. The whole expression *t'ou-shih* also passes sometimes as native, and it is found in Chinese literature of a comparatively early period. Perhaps, however, it represents the Turkish word *tūj* or *tūch*, which denotes bronze. Julien translates *t'ou-shih* by "laiton," and other Western scholars translate it in various ways. The native authors are often ignorant of the origin and meaning of the term, and some describe it as a stone like gold. The Turkish word for stone, it may be remarked, is *tâsh*, as in kâsh-tash, jade.

In books of travel and geography which describe or treat of the Mongolian and Mahometan regions to the West of China we often find the character *su* (蘇) used in the sense of river or water. Thus employed it is the Turkish word *sū*, which means water. It occurs in compounds like Aksu, which is sometimes mentioned by the name *a-k'o-su* (阿克蘇), that is, Ak-su, and sometimes by the name *pai-shui* (白水), white water, *ak* in Turkish meaning white. In like manner the Turkish word *yer*, which denotes a district or tract of country, is often employed by Chinese writers. They make it *ye-êrh* (葉爾), and it forms part of compounds like *ye-êrh-chiang*, that is, Yarkand. But *yar* in this word is also said to be derived from another Turkish word *yār*, which means a *bank*.

The word *tuman* in Turki means a myriad, but it has other meanings also, and it is found in other languages. Certain

[1] Wylie in Jour. Sh. Lit. Soc., i., p. 69; "Hob-Job" s.v. Tanga; Shaw's Turki Vocab., p. 69.

Chinese writers seem to have adopted it, and the word occurs frequently in their writings. It is found transcribed in several different ways, such as *t'u-mên* (圖們), *t'u-man* (禿滿), and it is generally used in the sense of a myriad.

The word for butter in Turkestan is Maskah, which is of Persian origin. It is used with the Turki word *yāgh*, oil in the sense of fresh butter. This compound, *maskah-yāgh*, has been partly adopted in Chinese as *ma-ssŭ-ko-yu* (馬思哥油), that is, butter oil, *yu* being the native word for oil.

From the Turkish but probably through the Manchoo language the Chinese obtained the word which they write *ngê-êrh-ch'in* (額爾沁). These characters represent the Manchoo Èljin, which, however, is only a modification of the Turkish Īlchī, an envoy or ambassador. To the Chinese the term is best known by its use as the designation of the tribute-bearing Abbot sent by the Dalai and Panshen Lamas to Peking.[1]

This is perhaps the proper place in which to notice as in a manner fossil words of Turkish origin a few specimens of old Hiung-nu terms to be found in the Chinese language. Some of these words are of very frequent occurrence in the historical and biographical literature which treats of the great Han period, and they are found, though less often, also in the later literature. One of the most common and best known of these terms is that which is written 單于 and usually read *shan* (or *san*)-*yü*. We may be certain, however, that we have not the old pronunciation of the characters which may have been something like Sanok or Tsanak. The term was properly the designation of the khan or supreme chief of the Hiung-nu and his full title was *Teng-ri-ku-t'u Shan-yü* (撐犁孤塗單于), that is, Son-of-Heaven *Shan-yü*. But inferior chiefs or leaders of tribes were also called *Shan-yü* without any proud addition. The word has been interpreted as meaning grand or magnificent, and it is also said to have been originally a proper name. After the extinction of the Hiung-nu Chinese historical writers continued to use *Shan-yü* as a title for the chiefs or Princes of other tribes, and we find it, for example,

[1] Ch. Gov., No. 588.

applied to the Khan of the Khitan in the period of the Sung dynasty. The Shan-yü-t'ai or Khan's Terrace is celebrated in Chinese history as the place where Han Wu Ti had a grand military review in order to awe the Hiung-nu.[1]

The Queen of the Shan-yü, his *gattinn,* is commonly mentioned in Chinese literature by a title which in the modern pronunciation is *ngo-shi* or *ti* (閼氏 or 氐). Some commentators, however, tell us that the above characters are to be pronounced in this connexion *ko-ti* or *ga-ti*; others say they are to be read *yen* (or *ngan*)-*ti*; and others say they should be pronounced *yen-chih.* We are told that they are only a different way of writing the word *yen-chih* (焉支), and that they correspond to the word which in modern literature is usually written *yen-chih* (燕脂). This last is the name of a cosmetic prepared from the safflower, and it also apparently was used as a designation for the safflower itself, which is said to have grown wild on the *Yen-chih-shan.* The Queen of the Hiung-nu was their Fairest Flower, the Susannah or Lily of the Land. This, however, is perhaps only a fanciful derivation, though it is not improbable that the title was at first a proper name. The safflower was brought into China from the West by Chang Ch'ien, we are told, but it is not known to be a native of any country. It has been cultivated from a very remote time in Egypt, and the Egyptian name for it is said to be Kurtin, which is not unlike the old pronunciation of the characters 閼氐.[2]

Another old Hiung-nu fossil occasionally met with in Chinese literature is the word written *tu* (or *chu*)-*chi* (屠 or 諸耆). These characters *tu* and *chu* represent probably the same sound, and the word may have been pronounced somewhat like *tu-k'i* or *du-ji.* It is said to mean exalted, eminent (like Duke or Doge) and to be the equivalent of the Chinese *hsien* (賢). It was used in titles among the Hiung-nu, and the eldest son of a Khan was styled *tu-k'i* of the Left Side.

[1] "Ch'ien Han Shu", chap. vi.; Ch. R. Man., No. 588.

[2] "Ch'ien Han Shu," chap. viii.; "Hou Han Shu," chap. xciv.; "Shi-chi," chap. cx.

The Chinese historians have preserved several other titles of grandees and officials among the Hiung-nu, some of which may have a philological interest. But only one of these can be quoted at present. Certain high officials were called *ku-li* (谷 蠡), and the same apparently were also called *tou-li* (兜 離), as if the words were interchangeable. In Turkish there is the well-known word Tura, which means a chief or Prince, and this may be the term here represented. The word is still in use, for example among the Kalmāks in the sense here given.

One name for a tomb in the Hiung-nu speech was *tou* (or *tu*)-*lo* (逗 落), and Mr. J. Taylor compares this word with the Etruscan *tul*, which also denotes a grave-mound.[1]

We have already noticed the word Tengri as the Turkish and Hiung-nu name for Heaven. Another old Hiung-nu term for Heaven is that written *ch'i-lien* (祈 連), but said to be pronounced like *si-lin*. This is known chiefly from its frequent occurrence as the name of the famous mountain called *Si-lin-shan* or Heaven Mountain, in Chinese *T'ièn-shan*, near Lake Barkul. It cannot perhaps be ascertained what was the precise word which these two characters *si-lin* were intended to express. In modern Chinese literature the mountain is called *chê-lo-han* (折 羅 漢)-*shan*, and the sounds *chê-lo-han* here probably stand for an old Turkish word *Challan*, which also means Heaven. It is not impossible that in *si-lin* we have an attempt to render the old corruption of the Sanskrit word Isvāra, viz., Esrun or Asrun, formerly written *a-hsi-lun* (阿 昔 倫). This name, which still survives in Mongolian, is also found as a designation of mountains.[2]

MANCHU.

Coming next to the Manchu language we find that from it also additions have been made to the Chinese vocabulary. These material additions, however, are neither so numerous nor so important as we might have expected from the fact that a Manchu dynasty has been in possession of China for about 250 years. But it must be remembered that when the Manchu in-

[1] "Shi-chi," chap. cx.; Proc. Or. Congress in 1874, p. 171.
[2] "Han Shu," chaps. vi. and viii.; "Shi-chi," chap. cix.

vaders became lords of the empire they did not try to force their language on their new subjects. On the contrary they rather applied themselves, and with great diligence and success, to learn Chinese. And they even tried to give new and larger life to their own language by an infusion of Chinese elements. They adopted from the Chinese many words and phrases for which they had not native equivalents, and modified them to suit the genius of their own language. These well-meant efforts to keep Manchu alive and in use have not had much success, and that language has fallen rapidly into disuse within the last 200 years. It has been declared moribund, and even among the Manchu officials and literati it would seem that Imperial Edicts and example cannot avail to keep it a living language. The reviewer of M. Adam's "Grammaire de la langue Mandchow" in the *Chinese Recorder*, however, reminds us that the Manchu "is still the court language of China, and though the range of its employment among the people is contracting from year to year, yet we must remember that it is the medium in which most official documents at Peking are issued; that it is the diplomatic language of the Kalkas Mongols with China; that it is taught in the colleges in Peking; and that there is a considerable body of literature in the language." Practically, however, the Manchus have given up their own language and adopted that of China. It has fared with them indeed very much as with the Tai Ahoms in Assam who give "the singular spectacle of a conquering race, which, in less than two centuries and a half since the consolidation of its power has adopted the language, religion and nationality of the conquered, and outwardly become merged into them." But this can scarcely be called a "singular spectacle" and comes rather under a general rule. This is given by Mr. Marsh in his usual clear and succinct manner—"Languages, like the serfs of ancient times and the middle ages, seem to be *glebæ adscriptitiæ*, and it may be laid down as a general rule, that in cases of territorial conquest, unless the invaders have such a superiority of physical power as to be able to extirpate the native race altogether, or unless they possess a very marked superiority in point

of intellect and culture, in short, wherever the subjected nation even approximates to an equality in material or mental force, the native dialect is adopted by the conquerors, and soon becomes again the exclusive language of the country." But though the Manchus adopted thoroughly the language of China, yet their own speech, being that of conquerors and rulers, has of course had some effect on that of China. This effect, which is not very great, is most apparent in the new words introduced into the latter, especially in the first century and a half after the invasion. Of these words, which are often completely disguised, some are current only in a part of North China, others are found only in State documents and recent literature, and a few are in general use in speech or writing throughout the empire.[1]

In taking note of some of the Manchu words and phrases which have passed into Chinese it may be well to begin with those which relate immediately to the dynasty and the government. Among such we find the word Gioro, which in Chinese becomes *chio-lo,* the "Kioh-Lo" of Mr. Mayers (覺羅). This forms part of the name Aìsin Gioro, of the "legendary progenitor" of the Manchu reigning family. The Chinese translate it by *shi* (氏) in the sense of a clan or family, and this is its original meaning. But *chio-lo* has now a restricted application, and is used only of the family which gave the line of Emperors forming the dynasty now on the throne of China. Where it occurs immediately above a name it indicates that the person having that name is descended from the family of the founder of the dynasty. And properly only those are *chio-lo* whose descent can be traced back to a senior relative of the ancestor regarded as first Emperor and styled Hsien Tsu Hsüan Huang Ti.[2]

A Manchu term for kingdom or country is Gurun or Kurun, which in Chinese becomes *ku-lun* (固倫). We find this in expressions like *ku-lun-kung-chu* (固倫公主), the designation of an Imperial Princess who is the daughter of an Emperor by his

[1] Remusat's Recherches sur les Lang. Tar., pp. 124, 134; Ch. Rec., vol. v., p. 229; Forbes' Langs. of Further India, p. 13; Marsh, Lectures on Eng. Lang., p. 139.

[2] The Chinese also use the word *chio-lo* as the equivalent of *shih* (氏) in the sense of "surname."

Empress. When there are more than one the eldest is called *ku-lun chang-kung-chu,* where *chang* means first or eldest.

The word Hosho (or Ghosho) is familiar to all readers of the *Peking Gazettes* and of the Imperial State papers of the present dynasty. It was formerly transcribed by *huo-sha* or *hu-sha* (火 or 胡 沙), but the only trnscription now in use is *ho-shih* (和 碩, read also Hoso and Hoshêh). This Manchu word has many uses and meanings. Thus it denotes a corner, a district of land, an intermediate point of the compass as N.E. or S.W., the end of a ridge, of a mountain, and among the Mongols at least a division of a Banner. Mr. Mayers says, "*Ho-shêh* (originally signifying a *banner*), denotes one of the four divisions of the army or State." It is used with the Chinese words *wang* and *ch'in-wang* to denote the highest hereditary rank which the Emperor confers at least on his relatives. Among these a *ho-shih-ch'in-wang* (和 碩 親 王) is an Imperial Prince of the First Rank, and among the Mongol and Mahometan tribes he is the highest subordinate Prince. But in the Imperial family a *ho-shih ch'in-wang* is properly the son of an Emperor by a consort inferior in rank to an Empress; and a *ho-shih kung-chu* is an Imperial Princess of lower degree than a *ku-lun kung-chu.*

Then we have the titles *to-lo chün-wang* (多 羅 郡 王) and *to-lo pei-lêh* (貝 勒), designating respectively the second and third of the twelve ranks of hereditary nobility conferred by the Manchu sovereigns. *To-lo* here is the Manchu word Doro, which the Chinese translate by *tao* (道) in its various meanings of a way or the way, virtue, good manners, ceremonies. A *pei-lêh,* the Manchu *pei-lè,* is properly a prince of the second degree, but the word is perhaps not Manchu in origin. Next to the *pei-lè* comes the *pei-tzŭ* (貝 子), that is, *pei-sè.* This Manchu word denotes a Prince who is the son of a Pei-lè. Hence the Chinese sometimes take the character *tzŭ* here in its sense of son, and regard the term *pei-tzŭ* as a compound meaning "son of a *pei-lêh.*" A Princess by marriage, the wife of an Imperial Prince, is called Fujin in Manchu, and this becomes *fu-chin* (福 晉) in Chinese. Then the husband of an Imperial or other Princess is called Efu,

a term which also means simply brother-in-law. This Manchu word, transferred to Chinese, becomes *O (negh)-fu* (額駙), and we find it often in titles like *ku-lun ngeh-fu,* husband of an Imperial Princess. Again the word *Keke* in Manchu designates the daughter of a Prince or of a noble belonging to one of the five high degrees. This word also has been transferred into Chinese, in which it appears as *kê-kê* (格格). The sons of an Emperor of the present dynasty speak of each other as *a-ko* (阿哥). This word represents the Manchu *agü,* a term for brother, and the Chinese character read *ko* was perhaps chosen partly because it denoted "elder brother." The expression *a-ko* is in very common use among the Chinese as a respectful mode of address.

The Manchu word for official, the equivalent of the Chinese *kuan,* is Hafan. This is often found in modern Chinese State literature in the form *ha-fan* (哈番), and it occurs in compounds like *ataha* (阿達哈) *ha-fan.* This term is interpreted as meaning "hereditary official," but it is also said to denote an "assistant officer." The title *ataha hafan* is given by the Emperor to Mongol and other non-Chinese officials as a reward for distinguished merit. Another Manchu name for a public official is *amban,* which is more used and more widely known perhaps than *hafan.* The Chinese concerned have adopted the term *amban,* which they transcribe *an-pên* (安本) and translate by *ta-jen,* Great man, your Excellency. It is a title applied to the Imperial Resident at Lhassa and to other high officials of the Chinese Government serving in Tibet, Mongolia and other countries to the North-west and West of China. The Amban is also the magistrate or chief civil functionary to the Manchus in the district in which he resides. There is also the well-known title of office which is styled *chang-ching* (章京) in Chinese. This is a reproduction of the Manchu word *janggin,* written also "changuin," the "*chan-yin* or *chan-kyin*" of Mr. Mayers. It is the designation of an assistant or secretary in a public office and also of a Bannerman promoted to serve abroad as a Deputy or Inspector. Thus at each of the frontier posts between the Khalkan and Russian

territories "is a small military colony under a chief" having the title *chang-ching.*[1]

Another Manchu title of office, which may be said to have become quite Chinese, is the *pì-t'iè-shih* (筆帖式). The original word in Manchu is Bithese, which is the designation of certain clerks or secretaries in public offices. Mayers translates it "official writer," and describes it as "the title borne by the class of government clerks (with official status of the 7th, 8th or 9th rank) attached to all the metropolitan departments." But properly the word Bithese among the Manchus denoted the caste or class of scholars and was the equivalent of the *shih* (士) of the Chinese. Then it came to denote the officer in charge of the archives and correspondence of a public office. The Chinese now commonly regard the *pì-t'iè-shih* as merely a copyist or at best a book-keeper, and they describe him as a *hsiè-tzŭ-ti* (寫字的) or "writer of characters." This word Bithese is, with slight modifications, common to the Manchu and several other languages. In Mongolian it appears as Bìtsetsi or Bìjechi, which the Chinese transcribe as *pì-ch'iè-chi* (筆且齊) and *pì-shê-ch'ih* (必闍赤).[2]

We next notice the Manchu military distinction Baturu (or Patom). This was introduced into China by the rulers of the present dynasty, and it soon became popular in the army, so that it is now much coveted, and the name is known and used over all the empire. The Chinese pronounce and write the word *pa-t'u-lu* (巴圖魯), and they regard it as having the same meaning as their word *yung* (勇), brave. But in Manchu the word Baturu means a hero, "one who does that which seemed impossible or beyond his powers." In Mongolian we find it in the forms Baghtur or Baghator, which means heroic, and Badur, which means brave or firm. In Turki also we have Bātūr in the sense of a brave man or hero, and Shaw thinks the word is a corruption of the Persian *báhadur,* meaning "brave." There is,

[1] Ch. Gov., parts i. and vi.; Yung-chêng Edicts; 蒙古游牧, chap. viii. et passim; Ch. Rev., vol. xv., p. 246; 四體合璧, chaps. iii. and iv.

[2] Amyot's Man. Dict. s.v. "Pithese"; Ch. Gov., No. 181; Bretschneider in Journal N.-C. B. of R. A. Soc., vol. x., p. 253.

however, an Arabian word *batul* which has the same meaning and is perhaps the source of the other forms. When the title or epithet Baturu is conferred it is often preceded by a qualifying word which is usually translated from the Manchu.

As is well known "all living Manchus and all descendants of the Mongolian and Chinese soldiery of the Conquest" are supposed to be enrolled under one or other of the Eight Banners. These are known in China by their Chinese name *pa-ch'i* (八 旗), but the Manchu word for Banner is also used in certain circumstances. This word is Kusa (or Kusha), and the Chinese adopt it in the form *ku-shan* (固 山). A Manchu or Mongol not enrolled under a Banner or a Bannerman "at large, without position or pay" is said to be *sula*. This term, which is common to Manchu and Mongolian, is also adopted by the Chinese and written *su-la* (穌 拉). It means free, unattached, a discharged soldier, and it is also used in the sense of an idler or a lazy vagabond. The Chinese sometimes translate it by *san-chih* (散 秩), that is, unattached official. But this term is also used in the title of an honorary office conferred on distinguished or highly favoured statesmen, the full expression being *san-chih ta-ch'ên* (散 秩 大 臣).

The word *ha-shih-ma* (哈 什 嗎 or 瑪) used in the North of China is also Manchu. In that language it is said to have originally denoted a small water-insect which was dried and sent to Peking as an article of food. In Amyot's Dictionary it is described as an insect which "ressemble à une espèce de cigale ou de grillon. Il a des serres comme les écrevisses; il viènt dans l'eau, et se tient sous les pierres qui sont au bord. Il a le gout du cancre, et il est beaucoup plus gros q'aucune cigale ou aucun grillon." But the name Hashima has long been extended to the game and other articles of food which are imported into Peking from Kuantung and Manchuria.

The word *ha-pa* in *ha-pa-kou* (哈 巴 狗), a name for certain small Peking dogs, is for the Manchu *ka-pa* or kapahun, which means short, stunted, compressed, *kou* being the Chinese for dog. In Manchu the name *kabari* is given to similar dogs with short legs and small bodies. The word *ka-pa*, or, as it is also written,

k'a-pa, is said to be of Mongolian origin, and it does not seem to be a native Manchu term.

In Chinese the respectful word of answer corresponding somewhat to our Sir or Yes, Sir is *cha*, also pronounced *ja* and *chêh*. The sound is sometimes written in Chinese *cha* (喳), and it is said to represent the Manchu *jê* or *chê*. This is used as a respectful affirmative or answer to a call by an inferior to his superior.

There are other terms and phrases in Chinese which have been apparently taken from the Manchu, but they need not be given here. Some of them will be found in the contributions to our knowledge of Chinese which have been made by learned sinologists.[1] It must be remembered, however, that occasionally words and expressions in Chinese are said to be Manchu which are not such any more than they are Chinese.

MONGOLIAN.

From the Manchu language we pass insensibly to the Mongolian. These two and the Turkish are related as members of a large family or rather as families from one ancestor, and consequently we find many forms of expression common to the three languages. This community of vocabulary is also to some extent the result of the political grouping and intermingling of the tribes and peoples which speak these dialects. Each of these seems to have been felt to be insufficient for the requirements of its speakers, and these accordingly felt obliged to have recourse to the vocabularies of their neighbours. Of the three families of languages the Mongolian is in some respects the richest and most important, and it has had much influence on the neighbouring dialects. The three families or groups of dialects may have had their origin, as some suppose they had, in a language which was the common source for them and Chinese. And a thorough philological study of the last would perhaps show the existence in it of many disguised terms and phrases common to it and Mongolian, for example, and traceable to the same parent origin.

[1] See especially the Notes contributed by "J. M." to the "China Review," vol. xii., p. 437 et al.; vol. xiii., p. 227; vol. xv., p. 54 et al.

Of the common words belonging to Mongolian dialects which occur in Chinese and are recognised as Mongolian some date from the 13th and 14th centuries A. D., and others have been admitted within a comparatively recent period. In bringing some of these terms together here no attempt is made to distinguish among the Mongolian dialects, nor is the historical origin of the words taken into consideration. Here also, as is meet, we begin with the words relating to religion, that is, in this instance, to that form of Buddhism known as Lamaism.

The first word we notice is that known to Europeans as Dalai. This word means *sea* or *ocean*, and in this use it is common to the Turkish and Mongolian dialects as Dalai and Talai. The Chinese have adopted it and transcribed it in various ways, of which *ta-lai* (達賴 or 噠𡄔) is the best known and most commonly used. Other, but rarely found ways of writing the word are *ta-lei* (大雷) and *ta-lai* (達賚). In Chinese speech and literature the word is known only as forming with the Tibetan term Lama the well-known title, Dalai Lama, of one of the sacred Pontiffs of the Tibetan Church. The other Pontiff is called shortly the Panshan Lama and more correctly the "Panshen Erdeni Lama." This becomes in Chinese *Pan-shan-O-(Ngêh)-êrh-té-ni La-ma* (班禪額爾德尼喇嘛). Of the three words which make this title *panshan* is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *Pandita*, and Erdeni is a Mongolian word which means "treasure." Another Lamaist ecclesiastical title in common use is that written Khuduktu or "Hut'ukht'u." Mayers translates the word by "Saint," adding, "This class of dignitaries, to which the Dalai and Panshen Lamas themselves belong, may be said to constitute the most marked and essential feature of the Tibetan form of Buddhism. Derived from a Mongolian word which is interpreted in Chinese as signifying *tsai-lai-jên* (再來人), *i.e.*, one who returns again, an Avater—the '*hut'ukht'u* supply, in their successive reëmbodiments, that transmission of authority in safe or chosen hands which the enforcement of a strict rule of celibacy might otherwise render impracticable." The word has been adopted by the Chinese who express it in various ways, such as *hu-tu-tu*

(護都篤), *hu* (or *ku*)-*t'u-k'o-t'u* (呼 or 庫圖克圖) and *hu-t'uk'-t'u* (胡土克圖), the *t'u* and *k'o* here uniting to form one syllable. The H'utukht'u is one who has *h'utuk*, and this word means not only holiness but also blessing and happiness, and the latter is the meaning which the Chinese prefer, rendering the word by *fu* 福, happiness or prosperity. The title H'utukht'u may be conferred on laymen, and it was given posthumously to the Ming Tsung Emperor of the Yuan dynasty. The Pontiffs of the Lamaist Church, farther, are continuous incarnations, the Dalai Lama of Avalokitesvara (Kuan-yin) and the Panshan Edeni Lama of Manjusri. The H'utukht'u also are immediate incarnations or reëmbodiments of other saints, the succession of earthly existence being kept up without interruption. The avatara of a spiritual being, the adoption by him of a material body actually living is designated in Mongolian H'ubilh'an (al. Chubilgan or Chubilghan with nearly the same pronunciation). This term corresponds to the Tibetan *sprúl ba* and the Chinese *hua-shên* (化身), a created or metamorphosed body. But Chinese writers also use often the original word which they express in different ways, as *hu-pi-lê-han* (呼畢勒罕) and *hu-pi-êrh-han* (胡畢爾汗).[1]

The Mongolian lay title Nomun-khan, corresponding to the Sanskrit Dharma Rāja, means Lord of the True Faith, that is, of Buddhism. Chinese writers sometimes translate the title by *fa-wang* (法王) with the same meaning, but more usually they retain the Mongol term which they transcribe *no-mên-han* (諾們罕). We find it often mentioned in Chinese books on Tibetan and Mongolian affairs as a title given to Princes and chiefs who have deserved well of the Lamaist Church. In Tibet the "nome khan" or "noume-hen," appears, according to various accounts, to be a sort of prime minister to the Dalai Lama under Chinese superintendence.[2]

A master or teacher is called Baghshi (al. Bakshi or Bacsi) in Mongolian. This is used by the Chinese under the forms *pa-shih* (八石) and *pa-k'o-shih* (巴克什), and others. It is employed

[1] Ch. Gov., part xii.; 欽定元史語解, chap. i.; "Ta-ching-i-t'ung-chih," ch. ; "Ta-ch'ing-hui-tien," chap. lxxx.

[2] Campbell's Notes on Eastern Thibet in Phœnix, p. 84.

as a term of respect when addressing Lamas, and it is sometimes translated into Chinese by *shih* (師), a teacher.

Several of the political and official titles in use among the Mongols are known to the Chinese only by their original names. Most of these have passed into the language and are often met with in official and historical writings. One of the best known is that which the Chinese pronounce *t'ai-chi* (台 吉), the Mongolian Daiji (given also as Taishi and Taischi). This is the designation of a certain class of nobles, but it is largely used also as a military title and as the official designation of the chief magistrate of a district. Another well known title is Noian (Noyen or Noyon), denoting chief or leader. This has been adopted by Chinese writers and statesmen who express it by *no-* or *na-yen* (諾 or 那 顏 or 諾 延). It is often found as part of a compound such as Sain-Noian, which in Chinese becomes *sai-yin* (賽 音) No-yen. This word *sain*, which is found written also *san-yin* (三 音) is common to Mongolian and Manchu, and means good or excellent. The title Sain-Noian is given to pious chiefs and is sometimes hereditary. It is also, apparently, conferred on tribes which have done the Church good service.[1]

The title "Dzassak" or Sassak has also been adopted by Chinese writers on Mongolian affairs. It occurs frequently, and has the forms *cha-sa* (扎 撒) and *cha-sa-k'o* (扎 薩 克). A Sassak is technically the chief of a Banner in a tribe, but the name is loosely applied to military officers of various grades. The chief or head of a tribe is called in Mongolian Darughatsi, and this the Chinese use in their writings, expressing it by *ta-lu-ho-chi* (達 嚕 噶 齊) or *ta-lu-hua-chih* (達 魯 花 赤). They explain the word, Dr. Bretschneider tells us, by *chang-yin*, that is, an officer who keeps the seal and so is entrusted with power. The Darughatsi is the official chief of a tribe, its responsible governor or superintendent.[2]

A military distinction much coveted by Mongolian officers and soldiers is the title Darkhan or Darhan. This, which the

[1] Ch. Gov., part xi.; Yung-chêng Edicts (e. g. 9th y. 1st m. 11th day); 蒙古游牧記, chap. viii.

[2] Ch. Rec., vol. v., pp. 118, 126.

Chinese interpret as meaning "ennobled," is given only to those who have gained merit on the field of battle or at least, in war. It exempts from all future service, and confers certain other privileges which are sometimes extended to several degrees of posterity. In Chinese the word assumes the forms *tar-han* (達爾漢) and *ta-la-han* (答剌罕).[1]

A regiment or a battalion of soldiers is called by the Mongols Tsala, and the term is Manchu also. It has been adopted by the Chinese who write it *chia-la* (甲喇), and make compounds like *t'ou* (頭)-*chia-la*, that is, First regiment. The frontier posts, for example between Russian and Mongolian territories, are called Karon (or Karun). The Chinese long ago found it useful to adopt this Mongolian word which they transcribed *k'a-lun* (卡倫). This is still the recognised and common way of writing the word. In official documents such as the Yung-chêng Edicts we find it occurring in expressions like *fan-wo-k'a-lun* (犯我卡倫), to violate our frontiers. The military stations which abound in the countries beyond the Great Wall are known chiefly by their Mongolian name *janji*. This also the Chinese have transferred to their language, and they speak and write of these stations as *chan-chih* (站赤).[2]

The stone-heaps which mark a frontier post or the boundaries of pasture districts are called in Mongolian Obo. This term is also applied to a cairn raised to mark a place for worship or a sacred spot and to a pile of stones set up for any purpose. The Northern Chinese have adopted the word, but they use it chiefly in the sense of a cairn for a religious purpose. They express it in various ways, such as *o-pu* (阿卜 or 阿不) *o-po* (鄂博) and *nao-pao* (惱包).[3]

An old Mongolian name for a house used as a halting place or temporary residence by a chief or sovereign is Nabo. Palladius tells us this "is a Kitan name; the Kin adopted it, and it passed from them to the Mongols." It was also long ago adopted by the Chinese, in whose language it became *na-po* (納鉢).

[1] "Ta-ch'ing Hui-tien," chap. lxxix.; Ch. Rec., v., p. 245.
[2] "Ssŭ-t'i-ho-pi," chap. iii.; Journal N.-C. B. of R. A. Soc., vol. x., p. 85.
[3] "Ta-ch'ing Hui-tien," chap. lxxix.

Another Mongolian word for a Khan's palace or hunting lodge is Ordo. This also has passed into Chinese, and is written in various ways, such as *wu-li-to* (兀里朶).[1]

The Mongolian word for water is *usu*, and this also we find used by the Chinese, especially in proper names. Thus there is the Kara-usu, which in Chinese becomes *k'o-la-u-su* (喀喇烏蘇), or Black-water, and is said to correspond to the Hei-shui or Black-water of the Yü kung in the "Shu Ching." Another way of writing *usu* in Chinese is *u-su* (兀速), but this is not much used at present. The word for water is not so well known to the Chinese as that for a Lake. This in Mongolian is Nor, and the Chinese write it in various ways, such as *nao-êrh* (腦兒 or 淖爾) and *no-êrh* (諾爾).

The Mongolian words for white and black are also known and in use among the Chinese. The former is Chaghan or Chagan, and in Chinese *ch'a-han* (察罕). It is found in such expressions as *cha-han-nao-êrh*, the White Lake, and *cha-han-han*, the White Khan. The word for black in Mongolian is Kara, and this the Chinese make into *k'o-la* or *k'a-la* (喀喇 or 哈喇 or 卡拉). It is known best from its occurrence in the term *k'a-la-ni*, the designation of a black velvet and broad-cloth imported into China and sold in the shops.

A name in Mongolian for a Post and also for a Post-horse is *Ūla*. This has been adopted by the Chinese, who write it *u-la* (兀剌 or 烏拉). The official in charge of a Post-station is called the Ūlatsi, in Chinese *u-la-chi* (烏拉齊) or *u-lu-chih* (兀魯赤). The *u-la-t'ê-ma* (烏拉駝馬) are Post camels and horses, and a bad Post-horse is *mao-u-la* for the Mongolian Maghu (in Chinese *ma-ku* 瑪古) ūla. This word ūla also means a river, and it has been seen to be a Manchu word as well.

The Mongolian word *tangha* is to be distinguished from the Turk *tanga* already noticed. The Chinese, however, seem to forget the distinction occasionally and use the same characters for both. They express tangha in several different ways, as *t'an-ha* or *k'a* (談哈) or *ta-ma-ho* (塔瑪噶) or *t'ou-mie-kan* (脫滅干).

[1] Journal N.-C. B., vol. x., p. 25; Ch. Rec., vol. v., p. 183.

The word is common to the Turkish and Mongolian dialects and other languages, and it is found in different forms as tamgha, tanh'a and tanka. It denotes a brand for cattle, and a stamp or seal, and it is used in proper names. When the Chinese translate it they usually give as its equivalent *yin* (印), which means an official seal or stamp.

The Chinese have a word which assumes such various forms as *shê-li-sun* (猞猁猻) and *shih-lu-su* (實魯蘇) and *sha-lu-ssŭ* (沙魯思). These all stand for the Mongolian word Silosu or Siloksu, the name of a wild beast like the lynx. The fur of this animal is highly prized by the Chinese, and the use of it in official robes is restricted by law to mandarins above the fifth rank.

The Saxaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*) is called in Mongolian Zak. This name has been adopted by the Chinese who call the curious tree *ch'a-k'o* (查克).

TIBETAN.

With Tibet China has been for some time in very close relations, superintending its domestic no less than its foreign policy. She has also had a trade intercourse with the people for many centuries, indeed since the period of the great T'ang dynasty. But the Tibetan language is poor and mixed, and the Chinese have not felt the need of taking from it many words or forms of expression. The name by which the country is known to the Chinese at present is Hsi (West) Tsang or simply *tsang* (藏). This word is the Tibetan Tsan (Gtsan), which is properly the name of a province only of Central Tibet. In literature the language is often mentioned as that of *t'ang-ku-t'ê* (唐古忒) or Tangut, the name of a country which embraced the present Tibet, and Tibetan words and phrases are often called Tangutian.

The distinguishing feature of Tibet may be said to be its religion, that form of Buddhism known as Lamaism. But the student of Lamaism soon finds that its vocabulary is largely drawn from two sources—Sanskrit and Mongolian. Of the native terms in it with which the Chinese have become acquainted the first to be noticed is Lama (喇嘛). This term the Chinese apply indis-

criminately to all the Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, and Hsi Fan Buddhist monks, and they regard it as the equivalent of the expression *fo-mên-ti-tzŭ* (佛門弟子) or Disciple of Buddhism. But it is more accurately explained as meaning *wu-shang* (無上), supreme, and it denotes properly the supreme monk in a monastery. The Chinese generally distinguish the Buddhism of Tibet and Mongolia as the *Lama Chiao* or Lama Religion, while the Buddhism of China and other countries is Fo-chiao or Buddha Religion.

The abbot of a Lamasery is called in Tibetan Mk'an-po, the *goompa* and *kempu* of some English writers. This word has been adopted by the Chinese, who express it by *k'an-pu* (堪布). They explain it also as meaning "great master," and describe the K'anpo as a "great Lama who administers the Yellow Sect" of Lamaism.[1]

Another Lama of rank and importance is that called by the Chinese *ts'ang* (or *ch'ang*)-*chu-pa* (倉 or 昌儲巴). It is not quite clear what is the particular foreign expression which these characters represent. They are said to express the Tibetan name for the Treasurer of a Lamasery, or for the Monk who regulates the intercourse of the Lamasery with the lay people of the district and who attends to the revenues. The common Tibetan name for the Treasurer in a Lamasery is Mdzód-pa or Phyag-mdzód (pronounced Chag-dzod), and neither of these seems to be like the Chinese. Nor can this last be the "Shang Chodpa" (商卓特巴) of Mr. Mayers, the *ch'ang-tso-t'ê-pa* (常左忒巴) of others. These are laymen, Councillors of the Treasury, but the Ts'ang-chu-pa is a Lama, and there is only one even in a large Lamasery.[2]

The lay representative or the Majordomo of a Dalai Lama is called Sde-pa, the Diba, Dheba, Tipa, Tepa of various European writers. Chinese writers on Tibetan affairs use this word freely, sometimes transcribing it *ti-pa* (第巴) and sometimes *tie-pa* (牒 or 碟巴). They also apply it loosely to the "business man" of any Lama, the man who manages the secular affairs of the latter.

[1] Ch. Gov., No. 588; Jæschke's Tib. Dict., p. 53ª.

[2] Ch. Gov., No 570; Jæschke's Tib. Dict., p. 463; "Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih," chap. ccclii.; 衛藏圖識, vols. 1 and 2.

They sometimes also treat it as meaning chief or head, using the word in its sense of chief lay authority in a *sde* or district of country.[1]

Then we have the Bka-blón, commonly written Kablon or Kalon. Chinese writers have adopted this word also, and they transcribe it shortly by *ko-lung* (噶隆) and more fully by *ko-pu-lun* (噶布倫). There are six Kalons in Tibet, and they "have the general management of Government business." But the word is used to denote not only a high official such as "Councillor of State" or Prime Minister, but also any high civil authority.[2]

A General or other high military officer is called in Tibet a Da-pon (or Da-pun). The Chinese have transferred this word into their language, and have written it *tai-pên* (代奔), *tai-pêng* (戴琫) and *tai-pu-mu* (代布木). Mr. Mayers translates *tai ping* by commandant, and adds, "six in all." This, the highest military position, is invested with the 4th degree of Chinese rank.[3]

Among articles imported into China from Tibet or at least bearing Tibetan names among the Chinese we notice the *ha-ta* or *ka-ta* (哈達 or 口嗒). This is the K'a-tags of the Tibetans, and denotes the tiny scarf used by them in paying visits to friends and Lamas, in arranging betrothals, and as ornamental offerings for images. It is chiefly in this last manner that the Ha-ta is used by the Chinese. They put it in the form of a small red fillet not only on images of gods but also in some districts round the heads of human beings personating supernatural beings for peculiar occasions.

There are certain beads used by the Chinese for making rosaries and called by them *p'u-t'i* or *p'u-t'i-tzŭ* (菩提子). By these characters, which are in very common use, a Tibetan word Bo-de, we are told, is represented; and Bo-de is the "name of a tree, the fruits of which are used for rosaries." But this word is itself most probably merely the Sanskrit Bodhi, and the Chinese characters given above may stand for this last.

[1] Ch. Gov., No. 578; Köppen's Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche, p. 133; Jæschke's Tib. Dict., p. 295[2].

[2] Ch. No. 567; Jæschke's Tib. Dict., p. 13.[2]

[3] Ch. Gov., No. 579; Jæschke, p. 328.

The peculiar wool and woollen fabrics of Tibet seem to have been long known to the Chinese who have apparently adopted at least two of the native names for the same. One of these is *pu-lu,* the name of a kind of woollen stuff, which in Chinese has become *p'u-lu* (氆 氌). It is plain or flowered, and is used for making the winter caps of Lamas and for various other purposes. The wool is called by the Chinese *pu-lu-mao* (布 縷 毛), *pu-lu* being another way of expressing the Tibetan word. But the term for wool in Tibet is properly Bal, and this Chinese word is nearer to the Malay term for it, *bulu.* The other word used by the Chinese is the T'er in T'er-ma, which denotes "a kind of thin woollen cloth, a flannel-like fabric." In Chinese T'er becomes *tie-lie* 毲 氈), but it is loosely applied.[1]

The commercial product known as "impure soda" is called by the Chinese *p'ên* or *pêng-sha* (盆 or 硼 or 蓬 砂). By these characters they probably intended to represent the Tibetan Ba-tsa called also "Pen-cha," a kind of salt "yellowish and bad." This substance is found in large quantities near certain lakes in Tibet and is much prized by the Chinese. *P'êng-sha* is also a Chinese name for Borax which is imported into China in an impure state from Tibet.[2]

With Tibetan ends this short survey of the foreign languages which have supplied new terms to the Chinese language. Among the words of foreign origin here given some are scarcely to be regarded as constituents of Chinese. They are given for the purpose of illustrating the life and growth of the language. And now we proceed to illustrate this farther by a short notice of the Sanskrit terms imported into Chinese and of the general influence exercised on the language by the introduction and spread of Buddhism.

[1] "Wei Tsang T'u chih," vol. ii., p. 17; Jæschke, p. 366; "Ming Shi," ch. cccxxxii.

[2] "Pên-ts'ao," ch. xi.; Jæschke, p. 363; Hanbury's Science Papers, p. 217.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

I HAVE now to show some of the effects which the introduction of Buddhism from India into China and its spread in the latter country had on the language of the people. And here also it must be premised that no more than a mere sketch or outline is pretended to be given. The student will be able to add examples and illustrations, to correct errors and supply defects according to the extent and nature of his reading. It will also be seen that no attempt is made here to give detailed information about the Buddhist persons and matters brought forward for notice. The reader is, of necessity, supposed to have access to the writings of Messrs. Beal, Edkins, and Eitel in which he will find the requisite information about Buddhism as it has grown up in China.

We have perhaps no means of learning when and how the first intercourse between China and India occurred. It is recorded in Chinese literature that in the reign of Ch'in Shi Huang Ti (B. C. 221 to 209) Buddhist missionaries from India arrived at the Chinese capital. These missionaries, however, seem to have had little success and to have gone away without making any impression. Nor is the story of their coming supported by good authority or generally accepted. It is not unlikely that some in China had learned a little about India from natives of that or a neighbouring country before the arrival of the first Buddhist missionaries recorded in history. There is the old saying *han-ch'ien-yu-fo* (漢 前 有 佛). There was Buddha before Han, that is, Buddhism was in China before the Han dynasty. Some of the *ching* or sacred books of the religion are said to have been in the Palace Library of the Chow Kings.

Native scholars, however, are generally content to say that their countrymen first became acquainted with the existence of

India through the adventures of the celebrated Chang Ch'ien (Khien). But this warrior and explorer, who lived in the latter half of the second century B.C., did not reach India, nor did he apparently meet with natives of that country. It was not for more than a hundred years after his time that India actually became known to China and that intercourse between the two countries began. These events were brought about by the predestined dream which the Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty dreamt in which he saw the vision of a golden man or Genius flying into his palace.

It is generally admitted that the first Buddhist missionaries from India arrived in A. D. 67 at Chang-an in what is now the Province of Shensi. These brought some of their sacred books written in their native language and the books were soon translated into Chinese. The new religion from abroad then began to spread. Other missionaries followed, bringing more books, and in course of time Chinese Buddhist monks travelled to India, and there studied the language and literature of their religion.

That the spread of Buddhism among the Chinese should have a marked effect on their language is only what we are led to expect from the history of other religions. Thus Christianity brought in new words and gave new life and meaning to old words wherever it became the faith of a people. So also Mahometanism made great changes in the languages of the countries in which it came to prevail as, for example, in Persian; and Brahmanism had a lasting effect on the speech of the Malays. Before it came to China Buddhism had in its native country introduced into the language new terms and given to old ones new applications and meanings. Afterwards it enlarged and enriched the vocabularies of the Tibetan, Mongolian and other nations when they adopted it as their religion.

We have already seen something of what the Buddhist missionaries from India did for the Chinese language. But a volume could easily be filled with an account of the influence which Buddhism has had on this language and on the literature of the people. In the first place it taught the Chinese, as we

have seen, a new language, one very unlike any of the barbarian tongues with which they had been hitherto acquainted. The Indian missionaries taught their brethren in China the Sanskrit language and grammar, and the Chinese have never been attracted to any other foreign language as they were to Sanskrit. Its alphabet alone was a great study, with its division into vowels and consonants, its physical classification of the letters, and rules for the combinations of these. The most simple and elementary of these combinations were learned by rote and repeated aloud. The learner in China went through these tasks at first perhaps only to aid him in acquiring a knowledge of the language, but afterwards also for a higher purpose. For the utterance aloud, after formalities duly observed, of sounds like *ha, hā, hi, hī, ho, hu, hum* was very potent over spiteful dragons and all evil spirits that work unseen. Then the inflections of the nouns and verbs in Sanskrit were also new to the Chinese who did not know at first how to treat them. They were scarcely prepared to recognize the inflections as modifying the meaning of the root or theme and styled them, accordingly, mere "vocal auxiliaries" or "voice modulations." In time, however, they learned to distinguish the uses of the inflections, and to denote them or express their meanings by Chinese characters. Thus we find the Accusative denoted by *pien* (邊), which means "side" or "place." The Instrumental is expressed by *ku* (故), because of, on account of: the Dative by *yü* (與), to or with; the Locative by *chung* (中), in, within. The Genitive is sometimes denoted by the particle *chih* (之), but frequently it and the Ablative are left to be inferred from the context without any distinguishing addition. In verbs the Conditional mood is represented by *jo* (若), if; the Future tense by *tang* (當), ought; and Past tenses by *i* (已), a particle indicative of past time.[1] When the Chinese

[1] The inflections are explained and examples given in those technical treatises of which the *Ch'i-chiu-yu-liao* (七九叉略) is an example. The translations for the inflections given in the text are taken from Chinese translations of Sanskrit books in the course of a comparison of original and translation. In Chinese (and Japanese) books on Sanskrit Grammar *Ch'i-chiu* (七九) mean Nouns and Verbs, the former being so called from the number of their cases, and the latter from the number of their moods and tenses.

monks knew Sanskrit better, and had access to enlarged means of information about it, they wrote books on its grammar and compiled dictionaries and vocabularies in Sanskrit and Chinese for the use of their fellow countrymen. We may here notice the names of one or two of these works as specimens. In a previous chapter we have met with the *I-ch'ie-ching-yin-i* (一切經音義), Sounds and Meanings of the Whole Canon, by Yuan-ying (元 or 玄應). The celebrated monk and pilgrim I-ching (義淨) compiled a Sanskrit-Chinese vocabulary to which he gave the name *Fan-yü-ch'ien-tzŭ-wên* (梵語千字文) that is, a Sanskrit Thousand Character Text. This book is of some value to the student though the editions now current abound in misprints or errors of transcription and other faults, and though the work is without a good arrangement. I-ching, who was also a scholar, taught his brethren much about the Sanskrit alphabet and grammar, and his writings on these subjects are often quoted by later authors in China and Japan. Then we have also a small book on the Sanskrit language by the monk *I-hsing* (一行), a great astronomer and scholar of the T'ang period. In the same period lived also *Yen-ts'ung* (彥琮) a monk who was an unwearied student of Sanskrit grammar and of all the Indian literature to which he had access. Under the Sung dynasty we find the monk *Fa-yun* (法雲) who compiled about A. D. 1151 the well-known *Fan-i-ming-i-chi* (翻譯名義集). The meaning of this title is, in Mr. Bunyin Nanjio's translation—"A collection of the meanings of the (Sanskrit) names translated (into Chinese)." The book is rather a classified collection of terms, mostly Sanskrit, transcribed and translated. As Mr. Bunyin says—"This is a very useful dictionary of the technical names both in the Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist literature, though much correction is required." Moreover, the student who uses the work will find in it words which are apparently neither Sanskrit nor Chinese.[1]

[1] Catalogue of the Ch. Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, par. No. 1640. For the transcriptions of the Sanskrit Alphabet in Chinese characters see the "Li-shih-yin-chien," chap. v.; "Chin-ting-T'ung-wên-yun-t'ung" (欽定同文韻統), chs. v. and vi.

CALIFORNIA

In the next place the Indian missionaries taught the Chinese scholars, as we have seen, to examine and study their own language and appreciate it properly. These missionaries seem to have been generally men of parts who had received a good education in their native land, and a necessary part of their education was the learning of grammar. India was perhaps the birth-place, but certainly the home of grammar even at a time far off in the past. Little children, as soon as they could be trusted away from their mothers, were sent to school, where they had to learn its intricacies and subtleties. The country had produced many great writers and learned treatises on the subject even before the time of Pānini who lived perhaps in the fourth century B. C. His great work, however, not only put all his predecessors out of date but it has also continued to hold sway down to the present. Now the scholars of China, like those of Europe in times gone by, had studied their native language only as a means to the correct appreciation of their classical literature. But the Indian scholars had been accustomed to study grammar not merely as a subsidiary to rhetoric and philosophy but also and chiefly as an end in itself and as a science which treated of the forms and uses of language. And, accordingly, it was but natural that when such men came to China they should teach their disciples in that land how to analyse the sounds of their characters, how to classify the words of their language, and generally to study their language written and spoken on its own account.

But not only did the Indian missionaries teach grammar to the Chinese, they also contributed to other departments of learning already known in China, and in a special degree to astronomy (including astrology), arithmetic and medicine. Lists of treatises on these subjects by Indian Buddhist writers will be found in Chinese histories and encyclopœdias, but for the purposes of this chapter such treatises have for us little interest. We are concerned here not with Indian additions to Chinese learning generally but only with the effects which the introduction of Buddhism produced on the Chinese language. Before proceeding to treat of some of these we must direct our attention to

certain circumstances which affect them in an important manner and which should be borne in mind when the effects are considered. In the first place, then, the foreign missionaries who brought the Buddhist religion into China did not all come from one Province or Kingdom of India, nor were they even all natives of that country. On the contrary some of them are described as natives of countries which in the period of the Han dynasty and for some time afterwards were occupied by Turkish, Scythian and other peoples beyond the region of the Aryans. So we are prepared to find that all the early missionaries did not pronounce Sanskrit words in the same way, and that some among them apparently did not use Sanskrit, but an Indian dialect such as the Magadhi. Long before their time Sanskrit had ceased to be a colloquial idiom, and had become "the language of religion and literature only. From the 6th century B. C. the Aryan people of India spoke popular dialects called Prakrits." The Buddhist missionaries who came from the West into China are often designated by Chinese writers *hu* (胡), that is, Tartar or Mongolian. But, as we have already seen, this term had a vague and wide application among Chinese writers up to the period of the T'ang dynasty. It then, chiefly by the influence of the native ecclesiastic Yen-tsung mentioned above, became restricted properly to tribes and nations East of the Tsung-ling range, while Fan became the name to be given to the nations West of that range and specially to the people of India. This important distinction, however, has been often neglected by proud Confucianist writers who have continued to give the name Hu very often to natives of India and to others who are not Mongolians. But some of the foreign Buddhist missionaries did come from districts which were not Indian in any degree but rather Mongolian, though the monks in these regions knew Sanskrit and used it as their literary medium. Their knowledge of that language, however, was perhaps neither accurate nor extensive, and they seem to have imported into it sounds and words derived from their own dialects. We are expressly told, moreover, by Chinese authors that the Indian words which were introduced into China by foreign ecclesiastics

came through the medium of Tibetans and Mongols, and that the true pronunciation of the Sanskrit words was thus frequently corrupted.

Another circumstance, or rather group of circumstances which we have to take into consideration in the treatment of our subject has regard to the Chinese language and its dialects. We must remember that the period from the time of Han Ming Ti to the end of the great Sung dynasty extends over twelve centuries. Now it was during this period that nearly all the translations from Sanskrit writings were made, and that the travels and sojourns in Buddhist lands by Chinese pilgrims were accomplished and recorded. Now the spoken language of China was all this time apparently passing through such changes of form and matter as every living speech is constantly undergoing. Further the foreign missionaries settled at places in China which were situated in different parts of the empire and were marked by considerable varieties of dialect. And lastly the native scholars who taught and helped the missionaries from abroad and who were themselves translators, authors and compilers were born and lived in districts which in many cases were wide apart, and they were also influenced to a certain extent by local peculiarities of language. Remembering these circumstances we should be prepared to find some considerable diversity in the transcriptions of Sanskrit sounds and the translations of words and phrases into Chinese. As we proceed we shall find that many Indian terms appear in Chinese in two or more forms differing in some cases slightly and in others very considerably. It is possible that a thorough survey of the Chinese language as it has been at various periods in the history of the people would enable us to make four classes of transcriptions from Indian into Chinese. The first, which may be deemed by some at present to be doubtful, would be a small one containing words of Indian origin imported into Chinese before the introduction of Buddhism. There seem to be a few of these, but the history of their reception into the language is not accessible or at least not supported by satisfactory evidence. The second class would embrace those

words introduced by the early missionaries in the first and second centuries of our era. In the third would be the words and ways of transcribing introduced by the authors and translators of the period represented by the great Kumārajīva, who lived at the beginning of the 5th century. The fourth class would contain the numerous terms and reformed transcriptions of old terms which belong to the 7th century, the period of Yuan-chuang (Hiuen-tsang). But it must be borne in mind that the authors and translators of the third and fourth periods retained in many cases the forms of transcription as well as the translations handed down from the earlier period. Not a few of these old words and phrases are still current in the popular speech and keep their hold also on the literature. An attempt was made in the early period of the present dynasty to represent the sounds of Sanskrit as of other foreign words by Chinese characters more accurately than had been done before. In this new method there is an approach to letter-spelling, and though cumbrous and uncertain it is an improvement on the old syllabic spelling. But it is to be found in use only in books of a technical character, and it has not become popular even among the learned. So far as our subject is concerned this method of transcribing Sanskrit sounds, a combination of Western and Chinese, will be found illustrated in the Chien-lung reprint of Narindrayasa's translation of the *Ta-yun-lun-ch'ing-yü-ching.*[1]

In treating of the influence which Buddhism has had on the Chinese language we first take examples of Sanskrit words introduced into and made current in various degrees in Chinese. We are next to take examples of new Chinese words and phrases due to translations from Sanskrit; and then of new phrases which though derived from Buddhist sources are not translations. Next we are to consider some instances of new meanings and applications given to old words and phrases; and lastly we are to notice examples of Proverbs and Common Sayings among the Chinese which are connected with Buddhism.

[1] The 御製大雲輪請雨經. On this subject generally see chap. xxv. of Edkins' Ch. Buddhism.

We begin then with the Sanskrit words and phrases in Chinese introduced by Indian missionaries and Chinese pilgrims or due to the popularity of Buddhist scriptures and teachings. Of such words and phrases the most important and interesting are those which are intimately connected with the religion. So we give these the precedence and take first a few examples of the names of beings who receive worship or reverence. Among these beings the Buddhas are the greatest, and the first Sanskrit word we have to notice as introduced into Chinese is Buddha.

The Chinese word which has long been known and commonly used as representing the Sanskrit Buddha is *Fo* or *Fu* (佛). This sound in the above usage is provided also with a special character 僊 which analysed signifies the Man of the West Country. But the latter character is not often met with, whereas the former is of constant occurrence. It is also old in the language being found in comparatively early literature though not in its present use. The "Shuo-wên" gives the character 佛 as having the meaning of *taking a general view, seeing without examining*, and makes it the equivalent of the word now written 彿 *fo*. In the "Li-chi" the character occurs at least twice. In one passage it is used in the sense of forcing or twisting round in the expression *fo-ch'i-shou* (佛 其 首), he screws round their heads, that is, the heads of certain wild birds. The second passage contains the words *ch'i-ch'iu-chih-ye-fo* (其 求 之 也 佛) which are explained as meaning "what they (*i.e.*, the disciples) seek for is perverse (or heretical)." So the old meanings of the character had nothing to do with its adoption to represent the word Buddha. In this use it is said to be short for *Fo-t'ê* (佛 陀). Another early way of transcribing the Sanskrit word was *Fu-t'u* (浮 圖), but this term has other meanings, and is to meet us again. We find, moreover, the following given as transcriptions for the name Buddha, viz.,—*Fo-t'ou* (佛 頭), *Fu-t'u* (浮 屠), *Pu-to* (部 多), *Mu* (*i.e.*, Bu)-*t'o* (母 馱), *Mo* (Bo)-*t'o* (沒 陀). These represent differences in the pronunciation of the name among the monks of the "Five Indias" no less than varieties of Chinese dialects. The word *Fo* has indeed passed thoroughly into the

language of the people. It has long been treated very much as if native and it has passed through several varieties of pronunciation. When originally adopted to represent the Sanskrit word it had perhaps in the language of the place a sound like Buh or Vuh. In mandarin it has become *Fo* or *Fu*; in the Amoy dialect it is *Hūt* or *Hwūt*; and in Foochow it is *Hūk*. The word *Fo* or Buddha is interpreted as meaning *Chih-cho* (知者), he who knows, viz., the past, the present, and the future creatures. It is also translated by *Chio* (覺), which is explained as denoting one who is the awakened and the awakener, the enlightened and the enlightener; and it is also rendered *Ching-chio* (淨覺), he who has pure intelligence.[1]

The personal name by which the Buddha of history as distinguished from other Buddhas is best known to the Chinese is in its old form *Shi-chia-wên*, *i.e.*, *Shi-ka-mên* (釋迦文) and in the later form *Shi-chia-mou-ni* (釋迦牟尼). These represent the Sanskrit Sākyamuni, which means the *Sākya Saint*, Sākya being a family name. Instead of the full form of expression as given here we often find only *Shi-chia*, and still more frequently *Shi* simply. The Chinese find a meaning in the word Sākya, which they translate by *nêng* (能), able, or by *nêng-jen* (能仁), capable of kindness, expert in benevolence. The latter part of the compound, Muni, is interpreted by some as meaning a saintly hermit, and by others as denoting a scholar *ju* (儒).

The actual name of the founder of Buddhism was Gautama, but this term has never been very popular with the Chinese. It has, however, been recognised by them as the name of Sākyamuni, and in the old books it was transcribed *Ch'ü (Gu)-t'an* (瞿曇) and *Chü (ku)-t'an* (俱譚). These words resemble the forms Khodom and Kodam or Godam for Gautama. In Yuan-chuang's writings the fuller transcription *Ch'iao (Gio)-ta-mo* (喬荅摩) was adopted, but it has been rarely used. Chinese writers usually

[1] "Shuo-wên" s. v. 佛; "Hsing-li-ta-ch'uan," chap. v.; "Li-chi," chap. i., p. 21; and chap. vi., p. 76; and compare Legge's "Li-chi" in Sac. Books of the East, vol. xxvii., p. 84; and xxviii., p. 86; "Fan-i-ming-i," chap. i. (This work and the *I-ch'ie-ching-yin-i* have been much consulted in the preparation of this chapter, and reference is not given to them generally.)

regard Gautama as a surname or one of the six surnames of the Buddha. Some, for example Chu Foo tzŭ, prefer to use that term when making mention of the man who founded the religion. Thus we find such expressions as *Ch'ü-tan-shê-ch'i-chiao-tsui-chiu* (瞿曇設其教最久) that is, it was very long ago that Gautama instituted his religion. This name has been wrongly explained by the Chinese in several ways, and it has come to be used in the sense of a follower of Gautama, that is, a Buddhist monk.[1]

One of the most common and most familiar expressions in the Chinese language is *A-mi-t'ê-fo* (阿彌陀佛). These sounds are to be heard and the characters to be seen over all the empire. By A-mi-t'ê is represented the Sanskrit word Amita, which is part of Amitābhas and Amitāyus, the names of the Buddha who presides over the Western Paradise, the Pure Land, the Kingdom of Extreme Delight. The name Amitābhas means "unmeasured brightness," in Chinese *wu-liang-kuang* (無量光), and Amitāyus is "unmeasured life," *wu-liang-shou* (無量壽). But these translations are not much used as there is magic in the name A-mi-t'ê and even in one or two of its syllables. No bad sprite or goblin will go near the spot on which the four characters for A-mi-t'ê Fo are carved or painted. And the utterance of the name in faith and earnestness secures peace now and happiness in the life hereafter. Buddhist monks use this formula in greeting and conversing with their lay visitors. Thus when a layman styles a monk Ho-shang the latter politely replies A-mi-t'ê Fo, and this corresponds to the common *pu-kan-tang*, that is, I am unworthy.

Sākyamuni and Amitābha are two of a trinity of Buddhas, the third of which is Akshobya. This is the Buddha to whom is assigned the Eastern Paradise, the Land of Rejoicing. The name in Chinese transcription becomes *A-ch'u-p'o* (阿閦婆) or *A-ch'u-pei* (鞞), but it is commonly shortened to A-ch'u with or without Fo added. This character *ch'u* (閦) is not old, and it is supposed to have been made by or for the Buddhists. The

[1] "Liao-chai," &c., vol. i. (the 自誌); "Shi-shih-yao-lau" (釋氏要覽), Ch. 上.

word Akshobya means *unmoved,* imperturbable, and it is sometimes replaced in Chinese books by the renderings *wu-tung* (無動), *not moving,* or *wu-nu* (無怒) *unmoved, without anger.*[1]

Another "fictitious Buddha" is the *Liu-li* (琉璃) *Fo,* as if Vaidūrya Buddha. His full title in Sanskrit is Bhaishajya-guru Vaidūrya-prabhāsa rāja, that is, the Doctor who is King of the splendour of lapis--lazuli. This Buddha is sometimes called a P'usa, and he is largely worshipped in China as a god of healing. He is sometimes styled *Yao-shi-wang* (藥師王), the Physician King, and sometimes *Liu-li-wang,* the Lapis-lazuli King. But these two names seem to be given also to different objects of worship.[2]

Next in rank to the Buddhas proper are those called Pratyeka, in Pali Pātiyekka, Buddhas. An old interpretation of this name made it mean *Ku Fo* or Ancient Buddhas, those who had long ago appeared in the world and gone into Nirvāna. The term Pratyeka Buddha is also explained by *Yuan-chio* (緣覺), that is, one who attains enlightenment by the good conduct of one existence or, as some say, he who is enlightened as to the Nidānas. Another interpretation is *tu-chio* (獨覺), he who is enlightened by himself, who attains salvation by and for himself alone. This last is perhaps the correct explanation as the word *pratyeka* means singly, one by one, alone. The Chinese know a Pratyeka Buddha as an inferior Buddha who appears in this world in the interval between the disappearance of one and the coming of the next true Buddha. In the early translations and other works the transcriptions used were *Pei-chi-chia (i. e., Pei-ti-ka* 貝支迦*), Pi* (辟)*-ti-ka,* and *Pi-ti* (辟支). These transcriptions, it will be seen approach the Pali rather than the Sanskrit. But Yuan-chuang and the purists of the T'ang period wrote *Pi-lê-chi (ti)-ye-chia-(ka)* (畢勒支也迦, for 也 some books have 底 *ti* by mistake apparently). Of all these ways of writing the word the only one which has held its place is *Pi-ti* in modern Mandarin *Pi-chi.* This is still in common use and is the only one generally understood.

[1] See Kanghsi s. v. 閦.
[2] Edkins' Chinese Buddhism, p. 235.

Next to a Buddha and often supplanting him in popular esteem is the Bodhisattva in its Pali form Bodhisatto. The old transcription of this word in Chinese and the only one still recognised is *P'u-t'i-sa-to* (菩提薩捶). But this has long been cut down to its first and third syllables and P'u-sa is a common well-known term throughout the empire. A Bodhisattva is properly only a candidate for Buddhahood, or a saint who aiming at that state has reached the last stage but one of his career. But the term came to be applied also to a class of fictitious beings nominally inferior but practically equal or superior to the Buddhas. And in China the name P'u-sa has gradually obtained a still wider application for it is given to Buddhist monks noted for piety and good works. It is also extended to various native local and inferior gods or genii, but it is never, I think, applied to Shang Ti and the high gods.

Of the P'u-sas who are known in China by their Indian names we notice here only two, Manjusri and Maitreya. The former is commonly called *Wên-chu* (文殊) P'u-sa, but in books his name is written in various other ways. Thus he is *Man-yü* (滿子, this character *tzŭ* having here the sound *yü*), and also *Man-ju* (滿濡). But the full name is expressed by *Wên-(i. e., Mên)-chu-shih-li* (文殊師利) in the works of Kumārajiva and other early translators, and by *Man-chu-shi-li* (曼殊室利) in the reformed spelling of Yuan-chuang. This Wên-chu P'usa is worshipped in China as the god of wisdom and his chosen seat is the Wu T'ai Shan. He is often popularly identified with the native *Wên-ch'ang* (文昌) or God of Literature and Learning, who is also called a P'usa. The other Bodhisattva called by his foreign name is Maitreya who is known all over China as *Mi-lêh* (彌勒) P'u-sa or sometimes Mi-lêh Fo. These sounds Mi-lêh probably indicate another dialectical variation from the Sanskrit, but they cannot represent the Pali form which is Metteyyo. There are other and fuller ways of writing Maitreya, such as the *Mei-ta-li-ya* (梅怛麗邪) of Yuan-chuang, but they are not used except in Buddhist books. This is the P'usa whose image with laughing face and fat paunch faces the visitor

as he enters a Buddhist temple. Mi-lêh is now in the Tushita Heaven where he has been seen by mortals, and whence he will come in the fullness of time to this earth to bring back faith and piety and all goodness an happiness.

We next select some examples of the names of the immediate disciples of Gautama Buddha. The first of these by canonical right is that of Sāriputra. This disciple, "the eldest son of Buddha" as he calls himself, appears in Chinese as *Shê-li-fu* (舍利弗), interpreted as meaning "Son of Mainah." This is the literal rendering of Sāriputra, and the designation was derived from the disciple's mother. She had received the name Sāri, Mainah, from the brightness and beauty of her eyes, and Sāriputra was the son of his mother. He was one of the chief disciples of Buddha by whom he was much beloved. In Wisdom, that is, in the saving knowledge of what to believe and how to use what he learned he was first of all the great disciples. There are many translations or interpretations of his name in Chinese, but he is best known simply as Shê-li-fu.

As Sāriputra is sometimes called the "Disciple of the right hand," so Moginlin is styled occasionally the "Disciple of the left." The Sanskrit name for the latter is Mahā Maudgalyāyana which in Chinese becomes *Ta-mu-chien-lien*, that is, *Ta-mu-gin-(*or *kin)-lin* (大目犍連). Here *ta* is the translation of Mahā, great, and *Mu-chien-lien* is for Maudgalyāyana, Mogellano in Pali, the name of the disciple. The Chinese very commonly shorten the latter to *Mu-lien*, and this may almost be said to be a household word in China. Indian tradition ascribed to Maudgalyāyana the possession of supernatural powers in a remarkable degree, and the Master had on several occasions to restrain his miracle-working propensities. But the Chinese do not know *Mu-lien* simply or specially as the wonder-worker. They know and revere him as the pious son who went through all the hells and passed within the Iron Hills in order to obtain the release of his mother. This great exploit is told in story in China, is acted on the stage, and is inseparably connected with a great festival—the *Yü-lan Hui*—to be noticed presently.[1]

[1] See the "Mu-lien-chiu-mu-ch'uan-shan-chi" (目連救母勸善記).

Two more of the disciples may be mentioned here, as their names are well-known to Chinese generally. Their images are commonly to be seen standing one on each side of Sākyamuni Fo, the middle one of the three sitting images in the Hero's Hall of a Buddhist temple. The image to the left of the Buddha is that of Ananda, in Chinese *A-nan* (阿 難). He is the young disciple who "heard much," the cousin of Gautama and the faithful attendant of the latter. On the other side, to Buddha's right, is the image of Kāsyapa, an age-worn, lean and wrinkled "anatomy." His name in Chinese is *Chia-(ka)-ye* (迦 葉), (formerly pronounced Ka-sa), and he is often called Ta—Great, Maha—Kāsyapa, to distinguish him from several others of the same name.

Passing over the names of many disciples, Patriarchs and missionaries which, though known to the pious believers and to the learned in Buddhism, are not familiar to the people, and so not in the common speech we come to a name which cannot be left unnoticed. It is that of Bodhidharma, the man who was last of the Western and first of the Eastern Patriarchs of the Buddhist Church. His name became in Chinese *P'u-ti-ta-mo* (菩 提 達 摩), but it has always in the popular language been shortened to Ta-mo. This Patriarch came from India to Canton, where he arrived in or about A. D. 520, and whence, after a short stay, he proceeded to Nanking, and ultimately to Loyang. To the learned and the unlearned in China Ta-mo is a very familiar name. The former know it as that of the great Buddhist Patriarch and reformer, who came teaching that religion was not in books, and that man should seek and find Buddha in his own heart. Hence arose two sayings about him, which have long been famous among the Chinese. It is said of Bodhidharma that *pu-li-wên-tzŭ* (不 立 文 字), he rejected Scripture, literally, "did not set up written characters." The other saying is *chih-chih-jen-hsin* (直 指 人 心), "he only pointed to man's mind," that is, as Buddha; he taught that man's spiritual nature was Buddha. The people, however, do not know much of Ta-mo as a mystic quietist and spiritual enthusiast. But to them no less

than to the pious and the learned he is familiar as the Lohan, who by the fierce energy of his magic will, crossed the swollen torrent of the Yang-tzŭ on the unsteadfast footing of a bamboo twig, or of a reed, as some tell, and as the popular saying has it, *Ta-mo-i-wei-tu-chiang* (達摩一葦渡江), Ta-mo with one reed crossed the River. This feat is painted by the Chinese on paper, is carved in ivory, shown with curious art on walls and panels of houses, and adorns many a tea-cup and tea-pot. It is often associated with the story of Ta-mo meeting the pilgrim Sung-yun in the Tsung-ling mountains. On that occasion Ta-mo was barefoot, carrying a sandal in his hand, and he told Sung-yun he was on his way to the Western Paradise. Hence sometimes we see Ta-mo crossing the Yang-tzŭ barefoot, but carrying one shoe, and sometimes we see Sung-yun opening Ta-mo's coffin and finding in it only one shoe. This word Ta-mo has a tempting likeness to Thomas, and it was probably from this likeness that the story about St. Thomas in China arose. The saint, as we know, was identified by some of the early missionaries with To-mo, and it pleased them to think of him teaching Christianity and working miracles in China. Ta-mo, who in often represented by a black image with short curly hair, has many temples for his worship. He is always a foreigner from India, but the foreign character of his name is often obscured by peculiarities of pronunciation and writing. Thus we find Amoy people writing the name Ta-mo in a temple to his worship not as above but with the characters *ch'ên-mou* (陳茂), these characters being in their dialect pronounced Tan-mo.[1]

Turning next to the gods of India we find that some of these became known to the Chinese through the means of the Buddhist missionaries and travellers. One or two of the more conspicuous instances may be cited. Among the higher deities of India Brahmā especially is familiar to the Chinese, and his name has long been a recognized word in the language. The commonest

[1] "Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih," chap. cccxxviii. The expression "He rejected Scripture" is only the half of Bodhidharma's saying, which is—不立文字以心傳心. "he rejected Scripture and transmitted mind by mind." "Chih-yue-lu" (指月錄), chap. iv.

form of this name is *Fan* (梵), and it is said that this character was made by or for the Buddhists to represent the word Brahmā. We find it also stated that *Fan* is only the first syllable of the transcription which is properly *Fan-lan-mo* (梵 嚂 磨). There are also two or three other ways of expressing the Sanskrit word, but they are not much used. In Buddhist and non-Buddhist writings alike the common term is Fan simply, though we find also Ta Fan, that is, Mahā-Brahmā, Great Brahmā, and Fan T'ien, Brahmā-Deva. Some authors tell us that the character 梵 had originally a sound like *pên* or *pêng*, but for a long time the pronunciation attached to it has been something like the present, and it is possible that in the use of this word we have another indication of a dialectical variety in the original. Among the Buddhists the god Brahmā figures as a being subordinate to and often attendant on Buddha. He is, however, to the Chinese in a special manner the God of India, and hence the word Fan is used as an equivalent for Indian. Thus we find such common expressions as the Brahmā Country, *Fan-kuo,* that is, India; *Fan-yen* (言), the Sanskrit language; *Fan-tzŭ* (字) or *shu* (書), the letters of the Indian alphabet, Sanskrit writing. But this last is perhaps called "Brahmā writing," because the Devanāgari alphabet was supposed to have been communicated by Brahmā.

The Buddhist writings often represent Indra as associated with Brahmā in ministrations to or attendance on Buddha. Indra is best known in Chinese literature by his name Sakra, Sakka in Pali, which is transcribed *Shi-ka* (釋 迦). The second syllable, however, is commonly omitted, and he is usually styled *Ti-shi* (帝 釋), that is, Indra Sakra or Sakra the Sovereign, the Lord of all the Devas. In this capacity he is called by several other names or epithets, but the use of these is confined to Buddhist books chiefly.

But no Indian deity is better known in China than Yama, the God of the dead, recognized and feared in China as in India by Buddhists and non-Buddhists. His name became in Chinese *Yen-mo* (琰 魔) the second character being chosen as giving the sound required and also, as will be seen below, giving a hint of the

meaning. But this transcription has not been so popular as the form *Yen-lo* (閻 羅) usually with *wang King* added. Here *yen* is for *Yen-mo* (閻 魔), and *lo* for *Lo-shê* (羅 社), that is, Yamarāja. But the original use of the character read *lo* has long been forgotten, and hence the necessity for adding the native word for *king*. Yama is also styled *Yen-shén* or the god Yama, and he is at once god, judge and king. Yama is also often found written *Yen-mo* (閻 摩) usually with *wang* (王) added.

Another dread being introduced by the Buddhists from India into China is Māra, the Devil, the tempter and the destroyer. This word, when written in full, is *Mo-lo* (魔 羅), but it is usually shortened down to the simple *Mo*. To this the word *kuei*, in the sense of wicked spirit, is often superfluously added. This particular character read Mo is said to have been invented by the Emperor known as Liang Wu Ti, who reigned in the 6th century of our era. One of the synonyms for Māra among the Buddhists was Pāpiya, which was transplanted into Chinese as *P'o-pei-ye* (波 卑 夜). This term is interpreted as meaning "wicked" or "wicked among the wicked." It is said to be the correct form for the old and common word *P'o-sün* (波 旬). But this latter is perhaps for the Sanskrit Pāsin, the noose- or net-bearer, an epithet of Yama, the God of the dead. The Buddhists may have transferred the title to Mo Wang, Mārarāja, who kills both body and soul.[1]

In the train of Buddhism came also a host of Indian mythical beings, good and bad, supernatural but inferior to those just mentioned. Some of these creatures soon became objects of popular belief in China, and their names passed into the language. When first made known to the Chinese they all had some connection with Buddha and his religion, but this in several cases has long ago quite dropt out of view. Some have had their characters and functions changed, modified a little to suit the Chinese genius. Among these strange "Twilight-rovers" are the Rakshas or Rākshasas, "demons and fiends who haunt cemeteries, disturb

[1] See *Ch. Rec.*, vol. v., p. 43, note. It seems doubtful whether the character for Mo, given in the text, is not older than Liang Wu ti.

sacrifices, harass devout men, animate dead bodies, devour human beings, and vex and afflict mankind in all sorts of ways." The Sanskrit name has been written in several ways in Chinese, but the most popular form of transcription is *Lo-ch'a* (羅刹). To this the word *kuei*, demon, is often added, and we are told that Lo-ch'a is a general name for all malignant demons. The Yakshas in Indian mythology are beings of no definite moral principles, they are neither very good nor very bad, but are simply attendants of the God of Wealth. But the Buddhists gave them a bad character in many cases, and this has clung to them in China. Here the Yakshas tear open graves and devour corpses, and generally go about doing mischief. Old transcriptions of the name Yaksha are *Ye* (*i.e.*, *ya*)-*ch'a* (夜刹 and 野叉), for which Yuan-chuang substituted *Yao* (*yak*)-*ch'a* (藥叉). But we seldom meet with this last transcription, the first one being the one in popular use up to the present. It will be seen that the first syllable of this word is represented by the character which means *night*, and from this circumstance the Chinese have come to regard the Yakshas as peculiarly demons of the night, and haunters of tombs and cemeteries. But these demons can assume various disguises, and they have been known to prowl by day and to kill and eat human beings. They are even said to have eaten up a whole monastery of monks on one occasion. The Yakshas are often represented as being dwarfish human-like creatures with horns on their heads and pale cruel faces. These are sometimes called by the Chinese "ghost-face Yakshas" (鬼面夜叉). Those which dart through the air and fly up to heaven on messages of warfare are called by mortals meteors and comets.[1]

Then there are the Gandharvas, old denizens of an upper world but with new offices and characters among the Buddhists. In Chinese the name is written *Kan-t'a-p'o* (乾闥婆), *Kien (gan)-tê-lo* (犍陀羅) and in several other ways. It is explained by *Hsiang-shên* (香神), Gods of smell, from the supposed deriva-

[1] The terms *shên* (神) and *kuei-shên* (鬼神) are used occasionally to translate "Yakshas." This is seen, *e.g.*, in the *Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching* (妙法蓮華經) or "Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi." The quotations from the Sanskrit text of this work are from a Nepalese MS. in the author's possession.

tion of the word from *gandha*, smell or odour. There are other explanations of the name, and the Gandharvas are known to the Buddhists also in their character of Heaven's musicians. But their chief occupation seems to be attendance on Buddha to hear his teaching.

Along with the Gandharvas we often find the Kinnaras, whose name is commonly written in Chinese *Chin* (*kin*)-*na-lo* (緊那羅), though there are several other transcriptions. These also are innocent musical creatures of doubtful shape and constitution. The name means "What kind of man?" or, as it is explained, "Is it a human being?" In the congregations gathered around Buddha we can distinguish the Kinnaras by their horse-like heads, though they seem to be described also as having horns. The Garuḍa is a bird-like monster, with golden wings of vast dimensions, the ruthless foe of Nāgas and all serpents. In Chinese the word is usually transcribed *Ka-lou-lo* (迦樓羅), the *d* of Sanskrit having as usual become *l* in the pronunciation of a dialect, Garula. This is the old way of writing the word, the new way giving *t'ê* instead of *lo*. The Chinese seem to identify the Garuḍa sometimes with their own Fêng-huang, a so-called Phœnix, but they describe it more correctly as a sort of large eagle, or see in it the *pêng* (鵬) of their own Chuang Tzŭ.

It is to the Buddhists, we are told, that the horrible monsters called Kumbhāndas owe their existence. One of the old ways of transcribing this name is *Chiu* (*ku*)-*p'an-t'u* (鳩般茶), and a later one is *Chin* (*kŭm*)-*p'an t'ê* (金盤陀). This latter form has the sanction of the poet Tu Fu and other classical writers, but it is perhaps not so popular as the other transcription. The Kumbhāndas are hideous repulsive ogres, never visible by day, but haunting people's beds and causing nightmare.

Better known and more feared than these are the Asuras. A common transcription of this name is *A-hsiu-lo* (阿脩羅), often shortened to *Hsiu-lo* or *A-hsiu*. The Asuras are "not gods," and they are not all wicked spirits. Some are like four-footed beasts, and some are like ghosts or goblins with fading

traces of humanity. They live in a land below the bed of ocean, or dwell by the lonely sea-side, or haunt the twilight glens of wild wooded mountains. But wherever they are these spectral monsters are always ready to go aloft and wage war in the heavens. They fight against the gods of light, and when they win the battle they put the sun or the moon in eclipse. Hence the word *A-hsiu*, Asura, has come to be used in Chinese literature to denote an eclipse.

A chief among these airy Asurs is Rāhu, sometimes styled the King. His name appears in Chinese as *Lo-hou* (羅睺), and it is a common term of the language. In astronomy, Indian and Chinese, Rāhu is the ascending node or Dragon's Head, as Ketu, in Chinese *Chi* (*ki*)-*tu* (計都) is the descending node or Dragon's Tail. But in popular language and literature Lo-hou is the Asur King who seizes moon or sun for a time and stops the way of light. He is wont also to keep back a good star and give free course to every bad one, thus delaying happy births and the success of great designs. It was from Rāhu's action in this way that, according to popular etymology, the name of Rāhula, son and disciple of Buddha, was derived.[1]

Chinese of all sects pay worship to a goddess who, however, is possibly not of native origin. She has the general title T'ien Hou or Queen of Heaven, a title which she shares with others, and as a Taoist deity she is *Tou-mu* (斗姥 also read *lao*), Dame of the Dipper. To the native Buddhists this goddess is the Indian Marīchi, transcribed in Chinese *Mo-li-chih* (摩利支). This word is explained as meaning "the burning light of the sun," a bright shining light. Marīchi is identified also with Siva's consort as Durgā, the subduer of evil powers. She is now called Chandī, in Chinese transcription *Chun-ti* (準提), commonly called Chundi. The Chinese also regard this goddess as a re-incarnation of the "Sombre maid," *Hsüan-nü* (玄女), who helped the great Huang Ti in the childhood of China. The transcription of the Sanskrit names, Marīchi and Chandi, here given, would tend to show that the introduction of the words

[1] *Fan-yuan-chu-lin* (法苑珠林), chap. v., p. 28; Edkins' Ch. Budm., pp. 212, 344.

was of late date, or at least did not occur during the early history of Buddhism in China. This Marīchi is one of the Nine Prajnāmāyi of Northern Buddhism, and she is perhaps Durgā or Chandī as the Asur conqueror and the charmer against evil spirits. In later Buddhism, moreover, *Chun-t'i* is the Buddha-mother, Prajna in the sense of Magical Wisdom apparently. It should be stated also that the deity worshipped under the name of Chun-t'i by the Chinese is in some places regarded by them as a god and not as a goddess.[1]

We go on next to take up the names of the Buddhist happy and unhappy places beyond this world. Of these names only a few can be said to be well known to the Chinese and of common occurrence in their language. One of the most familiar is the term *Tao-li-t'ien* (忉利天) as the designation of a Heaven. Tao-li is a very corrupted and mutilated form of transcription for Trayastrinsa, which means "thirty-three." Indra is the Lord of this Heaven which he and his thirty-two Brother Devas established. The word Tao-li is often found giving name to Buddhist monasteries in China. Pictures also of the "Beautiful Palace" in this Heaven are to be seen in Chinese books, and models and delineations of the Heaven are to be found occasionally in the upper rooms of temples.

Another Buddhist Heaven is that called Tushita, the place of sojourn for every Bodhisattva immediately before he descends to this world to become Buddha. It is in this Heaven that Mi-lo P'usa (Maitreya), as has been stated, now waits the fullness of time for his coming to this earth and in the meantime preaches the way to final bliss to the souls dwelling with him in happy expectation. The word Tushita has been transcribed in Chinese in several ways, but the most familiar form is *Tou-su-t'ê* (兜率陀). This is an old way, and that of the T'ang period is *Tu-shi-to* (都史多). But the last syllable of each is usually omitted in common speech and literature, and *Tou-su* and *Tu-shi* are often found as names of Buddhist temples.

[1] Edkins' Ch. Budm., p. 208.

In popular Chinese books of various kinds we occasionally find a word written *A-ka-ni-ta* or *sha* (阿迦尼吒 or 沙) or otherwise. These transcriptions represent the Sanskrit Akanishṭa, which means "eldest, highest, greatest." This name is used to denote the Heaven, which is the last or highest of the worlds of visible form, and also the Devas who dwell in that Heaven. As it is the region farthest from man in an upward direction *A-ka-ni-ta,* shortened to A-ka-ni with T'ien added, is used as a synonym for a very great height in the air, the farthest distance upwards.

Buddhism has its hells, both hot and cold, places of torment, great but not eternal. Only one of these need be mentioned here, as it is perhaps the only one which is found mentioned often in Chinese literature. This is the region called Avīchi in Sanskrit and known in Chinese by the transcription *A-pi-shi* (阿鼻尸), commonly shortened to A-pi. To this the native term *Ti-yü,* Hell, is sometimes added, but A-pi is often found alone without any gloss. Avīchi is the last and worst of the eight great Hells, and is so called because in it there is "no intermission." The wretches who suffer in it are always crying out for mercy, and a poet has compared the loud snoring of a man to the incessant howling in A-pi-shi.

Let us now pass on to notice some of the Indian words in Chinese which relate immediately to the professed adherents of Buddhism. Beginning with the names and descriptions of these we find that the first division of them is into Bhikshu and Bhikshuni or monks and nuns, and Upāsaka and Upāsikā or male and female lay adherents. In Pali Bhikshu is Bhikku, and the old Chinese transcription, which is the one still in common use, is *Pi-ch'iu,* that is, *Pi-k'iu* or *ku* (比丘 or 邱). The nun is Bhikkuni in Pali and in Chinese *Pi-k'iu-ni* (比丘尼), the *ni* being understood to be merely a feminine suffix. In Buddhism, which took the word from the Brāhmans, the Bhikshu is properly an ordained mendicant monk. In Chinese, however, Pi-ch'iu denotes simply a Buddhist monk, and Pi-ch'iu-ni a Buddhist nun. The terms are also frequently used in a complimentary or honorific

manner, though a Buddhist monk may style himself a Pi-ch'iu with perfect propriety. In the T'ang period Yuan-chuang and others adopted the characters *Pi-ch'u* (苾芻) to represent the Sanskrit word Bhikshu. The new name pleased the native scholar because it was supposed to be taken from the Chinese name of a tender trailing plant which had a sweet smell and never turned its back to the sun. So it was a becoming emblem of those who left all to lead calm lives of devotion ever looking towards Buddha. But the old transcriptions for Bhiksu and Bhikshuni have maintained their popularity, and the use of the later forms is chiefly confined to learned and serious literature. Instead of the complete word *Pi-ch'iu-ni* we very often find only the last syllable used. Thus Sêng-Ni is Buddhist monks and nuns in expressions like *Seng-ni-ping-lê-kuei-su* (僧尼幷勒歸俗), "he obliged monks and nuns to return to common life."

The Upāsaka and Upāsikā are in Chinese commonly *Yu-p'o-seh* (優婆塞) and *Yu-p'o-i* (優婆夷) respectively. In the latter the termination *i* is used under the wrong impression that all Sanskrit nouns of the feminine gender end in *ī* or *nī*. These lay members of the Buddhist church have been known in China since the time of the Han dynasty, and we find them mentioned in the history of that dynasty under the name *I-pu-seh* (伊蒲塞), and in other treatises as *I-pu* simply. Then I-pu came to be used for *I-lan-pu* (伊蘭蒲), a name for the Sweet-flag (菖蒲), a vegetable much used by the Upāsakas in making presents to the mendicant Brothers.[1]

A very respectful term for a Buddhist monk in China is *Shê-li* or in full *A-shê-li* (阿闍黎 or 梨). The Sanskrit word here represented is Āchārya, which means a spiritual guide or teacher, one learned in the law. In Buddhism also the Āchārya is a spiritual preceptor, or he is the Senior Brother, but there are five kinds distinguished. One of these is the *Shou-chie* (受戒) Āchārya, who is superior by a rigid observance of the ritual and discipline. Such a Brother is also called a Karma (羯磨) *A-shê-*

[1] See Eitel's Handbook of Buddhism, p. 156. (As it is taken for granted that every student of Chinese has Dr. Eitel's books on Buddhism they are not referred to in this chapter). "Hou-Han-Shu," chap. xlii.

li, and this title is given on tombstones and in biographies. The characters here given as representing Āchārya were long ago condemned as wrong, the sound of the Sanskrit word having been derived, it was said, from a corrupt pronunciation of it by the people of Khoten. In the Sui period a new transcription was made, which was adopted by the T'ang translators to some extent. This gave *A-chê-li-ye* (阿遮利夜 or 耶). The new transcription, however, is known only to the learned, and is seldom used, while the old Shê-li is still popular, being used to and of Buddhist monks noted for piety or eminent for goodness.

A common name for all ordained members of a Buddhist fraternity in China and one by which they style themselves in writing is *Shi-sha-mên* (釋沙門). The Shi here is for *Shi-tzŭ* (子), Son of Sākyamuni, the Sanskrit Sākyamuni-putra, and the Sha-mên is for Srāmana, an ascetic. It is said to be by express command of the Master that the word Shi is thus prefixed to Sha-mên. A Srāmana may be a Buddhist or a Brāhman, and the Buddhist ascetics were required to distinguish themselves by prefixing the name of their founder. In common language and literature, however, the Shi is often dropt, and the Buddhist monks are called simply Sha-mên. Another early form of the word is Sang-mên (桑門), and these two old ways of transcription are nearer the Pali Samano than the Sanskrit Sramana. The latter is seen at full length in the T'ang transcription introduced or at least adopted by Yuan-chuang, viz., *Sho-lo-mo-na* (舍羅磨拏). It will be observed that the *sang* of Sang-mên is represented by the character which denotes the mulberry tree. And one of the terms by which a Buddhist monk speaks of himself is *K'ung-sang-tzŭ* (空桑子), interpreted to mean "the orphan son of a mulberry." This expression has been linked on to an old story about a woman who found a fairy girl in a hollow mulberry tree and presented her to a king.

The novice, the Deacon, and all unordained Buddhist ecclesiastics are called in the Sanskrit language Srāmanera, the Pali form being Sāmanero. There is a complete transcription of the Sanskrit word in Chinese, but in common use we find only

the short form *Sha-mi* (沙彌), a term of frequent occurrence, both in speech and writing. The Sha-mi is said to be one who has cut off his hair with the intention of taking the vows of a Buddhist monk, but the term is loosely applied by the people to all who having ecclesiastical tonsure and dress are yet not duly ordained.

Then we have the four degrees of spiritual attainments to which all professing Buddhists aspire and through which they hope to pass. The first and lowest of these is that called in Sanskrit Srotāpanna and in Pali Sotāpan. The old and common transcription in Chinese is *Hsü-t'ê-yuan* (須陀洹), that is, Su-to-van, the third character having here as in other early transcriptions the phonetic value of 丸, that is, *huan* or *van*. The Srotāpanna is the converted man who has "entered the stream." The Chinese rendering is *Ju-liu* (入流), which also means *entering the stream*, but the term is better explained by *Chu-ju-shêng-liu* (初入聖流), one who has just begun the holy career, who has entered on the noble and arduous course which leads to Buddhahood. In the T'ang period a new transcription was introduced which, as usual, reproduced ths Sanskrit rather than the Pali form of the expression. Next above the Srotāpanna is the Sakridāgāmin, in Pali the Sakadāgami. In Chinese the old transcription which is still in daily use is *Ssŭ-t'ê-han* (斯陀含). The man who has reached the second of the "Four Ways" is called a Sakridāgāmin because he has only to be born once and die once—*i-wang-lai* (一往來)—before he can attain perfection. The third way is that of the Anāgāmin, who "does not return," that is, who has not to come back to life in this world or in any world of a like character. This saint when he dies *pu-huan* (不還) does not return. The popular transcription for the Indian term is A-na-han (阿那含), *A-na-gan* probably. This and the common ways of writing the names of the other "ways" as given here date from the earliest period of Buddhism in China. The fourth and highest of these ways is that of the Arhan, in Pali Arahan. The Chinese transcription is properly *A-lo-han* (阿羅漢), but this is always cut down to Lo-han. The term Arhan is properly one of the very

highest that can be applied to any being; it is a title of the Buddhas and of all those who have attained alsolute spiritual perfection. But in China the designation Lo-han is used in a loose way in the popular language and literature, and three Sanskrit words are supposed to be mixed up in the interpretation given. There are from old time the Five Hundred Lo-han, Indians, who still sit by statue in council as once they sat Reverend Doctors framing the sacred canon. And better known than these are the Eighteen Lo-han ranged nine and nine on each side of Buddha's Hall in most of the large temples. These are generally called Buddha's immediate disciples, but the expression is not quite correct. The number was originally—as it still is in some places—sixteen, and these were all or nearly all disciples of the historical Buddha. The two added are not in all places the same, but Kumārajiva, the translator; and Liang Wu Ti, the pious Emperor, seem to be popular additions. But few care to enquire who the Eighteen Lo-han were or why they are in the great Hall, and the Chinese are content to have them as favourite objects of illustration, the reference to which is supposed to be understood by all. Another well-known designation for Buddhist monks of a high degree of sanctity and noted for good works is in Chinese *T'ou-t'ê* (頭陀). This is the old form, the new one used during the T'ang period being *Tu-to* (杜多). These are said to be transcriptions of the Sanskrit Dhuta or Dhūtā with the meaning "shaken off, cast away," that is, having shaken off, or one who has cast aside. The term T'ou-t'ê designates a Buddhist recluse who leads a specially strict and religious life. He is so called because he has "shaken off" (in Chinese *tou-su* 抖擻) the dust of the world. But the T'ou-t'ê need not shave his head or go into a monastery, though he generally lives apart and often wears his hair long and unrestrained. There are twelve (or according to some, thirteen) "ascetic practices" called Dhutangas, some or all of which he is bound to observe. So we often find him referred to or described as one who *hsing-t'ou-t'ê* (行頭陀) is practising dhūta. This use of the word is near the proper meaning of the original as noun, viz., good moral conduct,

a pure life of self-restraint, in Chinese *hsiu-chih-ch'ing-hsing* (修治淨行). Thus the word T'ou-t'ê is used in Chinese to denote as well the unattached Buddhist saint as the life of self-renunciation which he leads. In the popular literature it seems to be often treated as a native term, its foreign origin being apparently forgotten.[1]

Then we have the word Sêng for the Buddhist clergy in general. The whole body of ecclesiastics constituting the Buddhist Church, or any congregation of ordained monks is called in Sanskrit a Sañgha. This in Chinese is *Sêng-chia* or *ga* (僧伽), which is usually shortened to Sêng. It occurs in the formula which recites the three great constituents of Buddhism, the Buddhas (Fo), the Canon (Fa) and the Church (Sêng). This word is also in common use in such combinations as Tao-Sêng, Professed Taoists and Buddhists. It may be used in the singular as *i*-sêng, one monk, or in the plural as *Chün* (群)-sêng, the monks.

We have already had occasion to notice the word Ho-shang, a Buddhist monk, among the terms of foreign origin. The Sanskrit equivalent for it is said to be *U-p'o-chê-ka* (鄔波遮加), or *U-p'o-t'ê-ye* (柁耶) or *U-p'o-ti-ye-ye, i.e., ya-ya* (弟耶夜). These are all apparently for Upādhyāya, the Pali forms of which are Upajjhāyo and Upajjho, originally an assistant or under-teacher, then a religious teacher simply. It is acknowledged that Ho-shang is not a correct rendering of the Sanskrit term and other translations have been given. This term in any of the transcriptions here given is very rarely used, and it is mentioned in this place only because some regard Ho-shang as a corruption of Upādhyāya caused by the mis-pronunciation of the latter by non-Aryan peoples, such as those of Khoten and the countries about.

Partly from the Indian missionaries who came to China, but more perhaps from the Chinese pilgrims who went to India, the scholars of China learned something about the Brāhmans. To the Buddhists these were of course Wai-tao or heretics, though they were acknowledged to be men of pure lives and strict in

[1] Samprajnā-pāramita ching (三般若), &c., chap viii. end.; Bunyio N.'s Catalogue No. 452.

their religious practices. They were also a peculiar caste sprung from the mouth of Brahmā (從梵天口生); they had also a learning and a religion of their own derived from their divine progenitor. Fully transcribed the word becomes *P'o-lo-ho-mo-na* (婆賀羅磨拏), but this form is seldom or never used. The old and universally known transcription is *P'o-lo-mên* (波羅門). Like Fan, with which it is sometimes interchanged, it is used in the sense of Indian. Thus *P'o-lo-mên-suan-fa* (算法) is a book on Indian arithmetic, and P'o-lo-mên-shu (書) is Indian writing.

The next group of Indian words in Chinese that we have to notice is that which contains the terms used to designate the temples and other religious buildings connected with Buddhism. Of these terms the first we take is *Ch'a* (刹), which though old is still current. But it is not possible at present to give a satisfactory account of the origin and history of this word. The first native dictionary which contains it is apparently the Yü-pien, in which the character is given with the pronunciation *cha* and is explained simply as meaning a post or pillar. But one of the early uses of *ch'a* is to denote the parasol or other ornament surmounting a pagoda. Now the Sanskrit name for this parasol is Ch'attra (in Pali *Chatta*), and our *ch'a* may be for the first syllable of this word which also denotes dominion or sovereignty. Then we find it stated that *ch'a* is a Sanskrit term which means a flagstaff or the pole for a banner. It is also said to be a Sanskrit word for a tope or pagoda, but this is perhaps not correct. Others tell us it is the first syllable of *Ch'a-mo* (刹摩), the Sanskrit Kshamā (in Pali Chamā) which means the earth. The character is also said to be for *Chi* (剎), that is, perhaps *kshe* or *che*. It is, accordingly, represented as being for Kshetra, a word which denotes a field, land, province or jurisdiction. This is apparently something like the meaning of *ch'a* in many phrases, such as *shi-fang-ch'a* (十方刹), which is given as the rendering of *dasa-dis*, the ten regions of space, "the ten quarters of the heavens." So *Fo-ch'a* is a Buddha's province, the universe over which he presides and through which his saving influence extends, though the phrase has also a spiritual meaning. In this use of the word

we often find *t'u*, earth, added as a gloss to define the application, as in expressions like *Chu-fo-ch'a-t'u* (諸佛刹土), the spheres of action of the Buddhas. But for a long time the only meaning associated with the word in common language has been that of a small shrine or monastery. The building should be a plain simple one, properly of wood with thatch of reeds and situated in a hamlet or a remote solitude. But the restriction is not observed, and the name is applied to any Buddhist temple. So we often find mention of a *ku* (古)-*ch'a* or old shrine, a term frequently applied to a deserted shrine which still retains some virtue. Then we have Fan-ch'a, Brahmā, that is, Indian shrine, a name for a Buddhist temple. This last is also called *Pao* (寳)-*ch'a*, a respectful term for it used in addressing Buddhist monks.[1]

Another word which presents difficulties is the common one—*Chao-t'i* (招提)—used to designate a Buddhist monastery, especially one situated in a place remote from towns and villages. The origin of this term is disputed and cannot perhaps be ascertained with certainty. Some think it represents the title or name of an old Buddha, and Dr. Eitel says that it is "an abbreviation and corruption" of the Sanskrit term Jetavana. But it is due to the learned author of the note which contains this statement to say that the whole note ought to be carefully expunged. In the T'ung-chien-kang-mu, in the account of T'ang Wu Tsung's reign, we find it stated on the authority of a Buddhist treatise that Chao-t'i was originally *Tu* (or *Chê*)-*tou-t'i-shê* (拓鬬提奢). For the first of these characters we find in other places *chao* (招), which is said to have been substituted wrongly, but the two characters were read at the time probably with a similar pronunciation. The translation is given in one place as *Ssŭ-fang-sêng-fo*, and in another place as *Ssŭ-fang-sêng-wu* (四方僧佛 or 物). The former would mean "Monks and Buddhas of the four regions," and the latter would mean "the effects of the monks of the four regions," or "what belongs to them." So we see that the four characters given above as representing a Sanskrit word probably are for Chatur-desa, the four quarters or regions. And they were

[1] See "Ka-lan-chi," chap. iv., p. 12; "T'ung-chien-kang-mu" s. Liang Wu Ti 天監 15th year.

apparently part of a long compound which denoted something like House or Property of the Buddhist clergy. Then for the sake of brevity, according to a common practice, the first and third characters were taken, and *Chao-t'i* became the name by which to designate particular monasteries or special parts of monasteries. These were at first apparently such as were set apart for the lodging and entertainment of wayfaring brethren. And so there is the term Chao-t'i-ssŭ, that is, perhaps, Monastery for travelling monks. In course of time the *ssŭ* or similar word for temple or monastery was dropt, and *chao-t'i* was used alone. But it is still, except by poetic licence, rather a home or shelter for monks than a temple properly so called. This term seems to have come into use in the fifth century of our era during the period of the Toba Wei dynasty, it may possibly not be of Indian origin.[1]

One name for a Buddhist monastery in Sanskrit is Saṅghārāma, that is, the resting place or the pleasure-ground of the Buddhist Fraternity. This word was transcribed into Chinese at full length in several ways, but the form which has passed into the language is *Sêng-ga (chia)-lan* (僧 伽 藍). In common speech and writing the Sêng is usually omitted, and *Chia* (or *Ka*)-*lan* is used as a name for any Buddhist monastery. It will be seen that the composition of the Sanskrit word and its original meaning were obscured by the transcription here given. So we do not wonder to find *Ka-lan* used in a vague and often incorrect manner. Thus we see it applied not only to the monastery, but also to the Brethren in the establishment and to the buildings and grounds attached. It is used also apparently in the sense of Buddhist or at least it is redundant in such phrases as *Chia-lan-ssŭ* (伽 藍 寺), where *ssŭ* means a Buddhist monastery.

The Sanskrit word Āraṇyaka (Pali Āraññako) denotes "being in or belonging to a forest" and "one who lives in a wood or forest." By the Buddhists this word is used in a similar way, but with them the Āraṇyaka is chiefly a pious monk who lives as a hermit

[1] Ch. Rev., vol. ii., p. 61; "Tung-chien," etc., "T'ang Wu Tsung" 會 昌, 5th year; "Ka-lan-chi," chap. iii. In Japan we find a Buddhist temple called T'ang Chao-t'i-ssū (唐 招 提 寺). In the "Ka-lan-chi" we find mention of official *Chao-t'i* (官 者 招 提), chap. iv.

in a forest. To live in this way for a time is one of the precepts which the Dhūta has to observe. The Indian Buddhists gave the term to the Chinese, and in their language it is written A-lan-yo or A-lan-na (阿蘭若 or 那 or 拏) or in other ways. Of these A-lan-yo is the most popular transcription, but, as usual, the first syllable is cut off, and we have Lan-yo as a common name for a Buddhist monastery. It is properly for Āraṇyaka-vihara, a Buddhist monastery in a forest, but the Chinese use it in a very loose manner. Moreover, the translators or their pupils mixed up the words araṇa and araṇya, the former meaning "without noise or fighting," and the latter "a forest." This is seen in the varying interpretations given to the term. But the Confucianists and the popular writers use Lan-yo in the sense of a Buddhist monastery simply, and often explain it by *ssŭ* with that meaning. The proper use of the word, however, as denoting a hermitage or a monastery in a lonely isolated situation is not very uncommon. Then the term Lan-yo is also found in the sense of the hermit or pious monk who has left the world and settled for life in a far-off seclusion to lead a calm life of pious contemplation and silent aspiring. It is also used as a synonym for Hoshang or Buddhist monk generally, but apparently it is not often so employed at least in literature.[1]

One of the most famous Buddhist monasteries in India was that which the rich Sudatta, known as Anātha-piṇḍada, gave to Gautama Buddha and his disciples. This was built in the Park of Prince Jeta, which was situated near the town of Srāvasti. It was known as the Jetavana-vihāra or Monastery of the Jeta Park. When the sacred books were translated into Chinese the word vihāra in this compound was usually replaced by a Chinese rendering. But Jetavana was commonly retained either wholly or in part, though it also was in a few cases translated. A full transcription in Chinese is *Shi-to-p'o-na* (逝多波那), and there are others similar, but these all are rarely employed. An older way of expressing the word was by *Chi-shu* (祇樹), in which *chi* is for Chi-t'ê (陀) Jeta, and *shu*, trees,

[1] "San-pan-p'o-lo-mi-ching," chap. xi., p. 17; "Liao-chai," etc., chap. i. (畫壁) et al.; Tu Fu's Poems, chap. xvii.

is a rendering of *vana,* a park. But the symbolic representation for Jetavana which has taken a place in the language is *Chi-huan* (祇洹) for *Chi-t'ê-huan-na* (洹 *yuan* is to be read here as *huan* or *van*). Models of the Jetavana-vihāra seem to have been carried into China where miniatures and imitations of it seem to have been largely made. So the term *Chi-huan* came to be applied to a Buddhist monastery generally and to a model of one for funereal or religious services. Even so far back as the fifth century also we find that the meaning of the word was apparently lost, for we have a Buddhist writer of that period using the expression *Chi-huan-lin* (祇洹林), where *lin,* a wood, is redundant.

The Chinese Pagoda is a sacred building which is now regarded as a peculiar characteristic of the country. But, as is well known, it is only a modification or development of the old Indian Pagoda. This is called Stūpa in Sanskrit, Thūpo in Pali, and Tōp "is in local use in the N. W. Punjaub, where ancient monuments of this kind occur." The Stūpa is a monument built over a relic or erected to commemorate some event connected with a Buddha or a Buddhist saint, or to mark the place where the ashes of a monk or a Brāhman are interred. In Chinese we find *T'ou-p'o* (鍮婆) as the transcription for the name of the monument erected over a grave. It occurs in this sense, for example in the translation of the Ekottarāgama Sutra, which bears the name of Gautama-Sañghadeva, a native of Cashmere. But this form is little known, and the common name for every kind of pagoda in China is *T'a.* This is short for *T'a-p'o* (塔婆), and we are told that the character here used for *t'a* was invented to give the Indian sound of the syllable which it represents. In Yuan-chuang's translations we have the Sanskrit word given by *Su-tu-p'o* (窣堵波), but this transcription is little used. The word *T'a* has for most Chinese lost all trace of its foreign origin, and it is often explained as if of native formation. We have seen that the word *Fu-t'u* (浮圖 or 屠) is used to transcribe the Sanskrit term Buddha. It is also employed to denote a pagoda, and this use of the word began early in the history of Buddhism in China. In literature of

every kind we find it so used down to the present time. Han Wên Kung, of the T'ang dynasty, who uses Fu-t'u in the senses of Buddha, Buddhism, and a Buddhist monk has it also in the sense of a building for the receipt of a relic. The pagoda in China, it will be remembered, has long ceased to be merely a commemorative structure. For many ages it has been built for the purpose of acquiring religious merit or to maintain the balance of power among the secret but active forces of nature. And the orthodox teacher recommends the practice of the private and social virtues as being better than to build, for example, a nine storeyed pagoda (勝造九級浮圖). When the word Fu-t'u is used in this sense it has *so* (所), a place, as its numerative or classifier, as in the phrase *San-tsêng-fu-t'u-i-so* (三層浮圖一所), one pagoda of three storeys. It may be added here that this word Fu-t'u is also used in the sense of an image of Buddha, as in phrases like *Yü* (玉) *Fu-t'u*, a jade Buddha.[1]

We now turn again to the Buddhist monk and note some of the terms expressing his external and material apparatus which have passed into the Chinese language. And of the outward and visible equipments of an ordained ecclesiastic the most general and most conspicuous are his alms-bowl and his clerical robes. The former is called Pātra in Sanskrit and Patto in Pali. In Chinese the full transcription is *Po-to-lo* (鉢多羅), but this is not often found. The first syllable alone, Po is universally used to denote the begging bowl of the monk, and it is applied also to the alms-bowl of other beggars. The character *po* 鉢, when adopted to represent the pā of pātra, was perhaps new to the language, though there was an old word of similar sound and meaning. It is a strict rule of his order that the monk must beg his daily-food, and the technical term for carrying the alms-bowl for this purpose is *chih-po*, to take the bowl in the hand. The worldly monk who, having enough and to spare shirks the irksome duty is expressively said *Mien-chih-po-chih-k'u* (免持鉢之苦), to dispense with the hardship of bearing the alms-bowl.[2]

[1] "I-ch'ie-ching," &c., chaps. v., xi.; Hob-job s. v. Tope; Bunyio N.'s Catalogue, No. 543; and 増一阿含經 (Jap. Reprint).

[2] "Hsi-ch'ao-hsin-yü" (熙朝新語), chap ii., p. 20.

The yellow robe of the Buddhist monk is called Kāshāya in Sanskrit (Kāsāyam in Pali) from Kashāya. This last word denotes a reddish yellow dye, a muddy red or "dirty vermilion colour." When first adopted in Chinese the word Kāshāya was written *Ka-sha* (毠毟). These characters were changed for 袈裟 with the same sounds by Ko Hung in the "Tzŭ-yuan" (字苑). As in the case of T'a, a pagoda, the use of a significative element, here *i* (衣) clothing, pleased the Chinese and made the word popular. The latter way of writing Ka-sha or Ka-sa (Chia-sha) has continued in use down to the present, and the word is no longer treated as a foreigner. All Buddhist monks are supposed to wear this dyed robe, and hence "a man of the *Ka-sa*" is a synonym for a Buddhist ecclesiastic. Thus the Mongolians are described by an Emperor as being obedient only to their Lamas, and the phrase used is *Tan-fu-chia-sha-chih-jen* (但服袈裟之人), they are subject only to the men of the Ka-sa.[1]

Another well known article of a monk's dress is the Samghāti, the coat or tunic. This became in Chinese *Sêng-chia* (*ga*)-*li* or *ti* (僧伽梨 or 胝) and was shortened into—ghāti—竭支 in some old books, the "Sêng" having been taken to mean monk. The name of this coat is often used to denote the office of abbot or head of a school or monastery, and to transmit the Samghāti is to deliver over the right to succeed as abbot or president. Over this coat the monk when in full costume has the Uttara-Samghāti, the outermost robe. The Sanskrit term is sometimes found written out in full in Chinese, but it is often shortened down to *Ŭ-to-lo-sêng* (嗢多羅僧).

The food which the Buddhist monk obtained by begging in his morning rounds was called piṇḍa-pāta, the alms thrown (or fallen), that is, into the pāta. This term, when transcribed in Chinese, became *Pin-t'u-p'o-to* (儐荼波多), but as thus transcribed it is almost unknown. The old form, which is that still in use, is *Fên-wei* (分衛), *fên* in an old pronunciation being for the *pin* of pinda, and *wei* for the *pā*-of pāta. But *fên-wei* is also used to render piṇḍāya, for alms, and *hsing*, (行)-*fên-wei* is a literal

[1] "Yung-chêng Shang-yu," 2nd y., 1st m., 9th day.

rendering of piāṇḍya charati "to go about for alms." The expression is properly translated by *Chi-shih* (乞食), to beg for food. It is possible that the Sanskrit term piṇḍa-pāta reached the Chinese with a dialectical pronunciation, and the sounds given to the Chinese characters now read *fên-wei* have changed since the time when they were taken to represent this expression. Hence native authors are fain to treat them as Chinese and to find a meaning in each, the phrase being taken to denote the food begged for division *(fên)* among the brethren to preserve *(wei)* them that they may be able to cultivate piety. Mr. Beal translates *fên-wei* by "divide the streets," which is impossible, and Mr. Bunyio Nanjio says truly the term "may literally be rendered" by "to divide an outpost or frontier town and garrison," but this is clearly inadmissible. In the two Sūtras under Mr. Bunyio's notice (Nos. 610, 611) piṇḍāya is evidently required as the original for *fên-wei*, as it is also in his No 16.[1]

The layman who is patron of a monk or a monastery or who gives alms liberally to these is called a Dāna-pati, alms-master or lord of charity. Whea this word was introduced into Chinese it was represented by the characters now read *Tan-yue* (檀越). These may have been pronounced like *dan vet* respectively at the time and place of the first transcription; or they may represent the syllables *dā* and *pa* in dāna-pati. But this Sanskrit word apparently first arrived in China in a corrupted form. Now the history of this term also has been lost to the Chinese who commonly regard it as half foreign and half native, *tan* being taken as a Sanskrit word meaning "to give alms" and *yue* as a Chinese word meaning "to surpass" or "to cross the sea of poverty." But the meaning of the term has never been lost, and it is explained by *Shih-chu* (施主), master of alms or lord of charity. This word *Tan-yue* is still used both in speech and writing, and is often found in the light literature. It is sometimes regarded as merely another name for the Upāsaka or lay member of a Buddhist community.

[1] In addition to the "Fan-i-ming-i" and "I-ch'ie-ching," &c., see Bunyio N.'s Cat., No. 611 and No. 16; 佛說鸚鵡經, p. 1; Childer's Pa. Dict. s.v. Piṇḍapato and Piṇḍo; "Shi-shih-yao-lan" (釋氏要覽), chap. 上.

The alms or donation which a dāna-pati gives to a monk or a monastery is called in Sanskrit dakshiṇā (in Pali Dakkhiṇā), because it is received in the right hand (dakshiṇa). This word is found written in Chinese in several ways, but the only one well known and in common use is *Ta-ch'ên* (達䞋 or 嚫). Then, as usual, the first syllable is often dropt, and we find the second doing duty for the whole in various ways. The word dakshiṇā is translated by *ts'ai-shih* (財施), that is, property given in alms or for religious purposes, and this native word *shih* is sometimes added as a gloss to the syllable *ch'ên.* Thus we find such expressions as a *fan-tê-ch'ên-shih* (凡得䞋施), that is, all the alms which [the monk] had received [on his rounds]. This word *shih* is also given as the meaning of *ch'ên* in some of the native dictionaries, *ch'ên* being regarded as Chinese. By accepting a gift or offering a monk helps the donor to acquire religious merit, and he is also bound to give him spiritual advice or instruction. Hence we find dakshiṇā used to denote the gift of religious teaching which the monk gives in return for the food or clothing he accepts. This accounts for expressions like *shuo-tzŭ-ta-ch'ên* (說此達嚫), utter this dakshiṇā, preach this gospel. To the Chinese this idea is often present that the *ta-ch'ên* is an act of a Buddhist monk done to obtain spiritual benefit for a layman who gives alms and makes religious offerings. Instead of the characters given above for *ch'ên* we often find another character also read *ch'ên* (襯). Thus the expression *ch'ên-shih-kung-chü* (襯施供具) means to supply Buddhist monks with all their requisites, to give them all they need: and we even find *Ch'ên-ch'ien* (嚫錢), to give money in charity.[1]

Another interesting but puzzling term introduced by the Buddhists is *Shê-wei* (闍維), as the characters are read now. This phrase is used to denote the burning of a dead body, especially that of a Buddhist monk. So far back as the seventh century the Indian Buddhists could not recognize the Sanskrit character which these characters represented, and the origin and history of the term *shê-wei* are probably now only matter of conjecture. Yuan-

[1] "Ka-lan-chi," chap. iii.; "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 上.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

chuang uses *Nie-tie-pan-na* (涅疊槃那) for cremation. These characters were regarded by Julien as expressing a Sanskrit word "Nish-tapana," a word for which he seems to be the only authority quoted. Yuan-chuang's term, however, has never been adopted among the Chinese who still use the term *shê-wei*. The two characters, in an old and local pronunciation, may have represented the Pali word Jhāpetvā, "having had the cremation performed." Instead of *shê-wei*, and even in the same passage with it, we sometimes find *Ch'a-pi* (荼毗), which may have had a similar pronunciation, and may have stood for the Pali Jhāpeti (Kshapayati in Sanskrit), to burn or cremate. The poet Su Tung-p'o, when an efflorescence from his lamp burnt the character for *sêng*, a monk, in the book which he was reading, made a verse in which he describes himself as *Ch'a-p'i-i-ko-sêng* (荼毗一箇僧), having cremated a Buddhist monk. But when this expression is quoted we sometimes, for example in Kanghsi's Dictionary, find *t'u* (荼) instead of *ch'a*. In some books for *shê-wei* we have *shê-pi* (闍毗 or 鼻), and also *hsie-wei* (耶維) and *wei-hsie* (*hsie* may be for *ya*). There are also several other expressions for the cremation of a monk, as *hsie* (or *ya*)-*hsün* (耶旬) and *ching-hsün* (經旬), the latter being apparently half Chinese and half foreign. But the full expression is given as *Shê-pi-to* (闍鼻多), the Pali Jhāpeta or Jhāpetvā.[1]

After cremation the Buddhist saint, if all the bonds of life are severed, goes to Nirvāṇa. This Sanskrit word, which in Pali is Nibbānam, was introduced into Chinese with the first coming of Buddhism. It appears as *Ni-yuan (wan* or *van)* (泥洹) or as *Nie-pan* or *p'an* (涅槃 or 盤), all still in common use. The original meaning of Nirvāṇa is extinction, a blowing out as of a light. But in Buddhism it has several peculiar uses, and these are found in the writings of Chinese. Thus it is death, annihilation, salvation from the power of sin by extinction of its means of working, the spiritual perfection which may be attained even

[1] Julien Voyages, &c., T. ii., p. 342; and iii., p. 518.; "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 下. The character *hsie* (耶) in the text should be pronounced *ya* or in some similar manner; and the character 荼 was read *tsa* or *cha* in the T'ang period. This character and that for *ch'a* are very often interchanged. See "T'ang-yun-chêng," chap. iv. s.v. 荼.

in this life, and the bliss of Paradise. The use of the term in the sense of "death" is declared to be wrong, for Nirvāṇa puts an end to all coming into life and dying. Buddha "closed the prison of life and death and opened the door of Nie-p'an." Hence the Chinese, who sometimes forget that the word is not native, explain it as being made of *nie*, not to be born (不 生), and *pan*, not to die (不 死).

When the dead body has been reduced to ashes these may be taken and revered as relics. Such relics are called *Shê-li* (舍 利) in Chinese, and the word is well known to readers of Chinese literature and to those who visit Buddhist temples. It is the old transcription of the Sanskrit word Ṣaria, and though better ways of expressing the Sanskrit sound have been introduced, this old way is still the only one generally followed. A Ṣaria is properly a body, specially a corpse, but in Buddhist phraseology it denotes rather a relic, such as a bone, or a hair, or a tooth, or a nail-pairing, or the ashes after cremation. This is of course the use of the word in Chinese, and so we find expressions like *Shê-li-ku* (舍 利 骨), a relic bone. So well known did this word become that we find it used as a translation for the less known *dhātu* in the sense of a relic for veneration or worship.[1]

The cairn of stones or heap of earth raised over a grave is called Chitā in Sanskrit, and hence comes Chatya, which means "connected with or belonging to a chitā." Then Chaitya, in Pali Chetiyam, came to mean any sacred pile or pagoda, not a relic-pagoda. The Chinese transcriptions mix up chitā and chaitya, and appear as *Chi-ti* (脂 帝 or 制 底) or *Chi-to* (制 多) or *Chi-t'i* (支 提), the last form having long been in common use. This term *chi-t'i* is applied to the miniature tower or pagoda often to be seen in the grounds of a Buddhist monastery. It is given also to the mound or the small pagoda-like structure raised over the spot at which the ashes of a monk or nun are interred.

There are several technical and characteristic terms and phrases connected with the religious life and belief of Buddhism

[1] See the "Ch'êng-tao-chi" (成 道 記) near the end; "Ka-lan-chi," chap. iv., p. 6.; "Ch'ang-tao-chên-yen" (唱 道 眞 言), chap. ii.; "Miao-fa Lien-hua-ching," chap. i. et al. The Sanskrit text has dhātu, and the Chinese translates by *Shê-li.*

which have passed from India into China. In some cases these have been adopted into the language of the latter country and naturalized, and in other cases they have been allowed to remain as aliens and strangers. We have now to notice a few of these religious terms and phrases as forming part of the Chinese vocabulary. One of the most famous among them is that which is written *Pan-yo Po-lo-mi-to* (般若波羅密多), the Prajnā-Parāmita which has a very large place in all Northern Buddhism. The transcription here given is old, but it is also, except for a few occasional slight variations, the only one, and it has become in a manner consecrated. In popular literature, however, the last syllable is usually omitted, partly from an opinion that without it the term is complete. Of the compound Pan-yo, Prajnā, is explained as wisdom, that is, the spiritual wisdom which brings salvation. It is called in Chinese *Fo-mu,* Buddha-mother, and is said to be for all P'u-sas the mother who bears and nourishes them. The *P'o-lo-mi-to,* Pāramita, is explained as meaning "conveying to the other bank" or "arriving at the other bank." But the whole expression denotes the transcendental spiritual wisdom or moral and intellectual perfection which leads to Nirvāṇa. Then the term P'o-lo-mi is used in this sense, and there are ten, or according to more popular accounts six Pāramitas, to be noticed presently. These are virtues, the attainment and practice of which lead straight to Nirvāṇa, and they must all be cultivated by the pious aspirant. So we find a sovereign exhorting Buddhist monks to practice with all their hearts the observance of the six P'o-lo-mi (於六波羅密一心力行). In some parts of China, moreover, both Pan-yo and Pan-yo P'o-lo-mi have lost their technical use and acquired a popular one in the sense of a high moral and religious character, a combination of rare wisdom and beneficence.

Another well known term is Bodhi, which denotes the supreme wisdom or enlightenment, the possession of which is necessary to the attainment of Buddhahood. In Chinese the word has always been written *P'u-ti* (菩提), no other transcription having ever been introduced apparently. To the Chinese

Buddhists and to their foreign teachers the Bodhi of the canon was the Tao of the moral philosophy of Taoism and Confucianism. Hence this word Tao was taken, as will be seen presently, to render Bodhi, but the latter was also often left untranslated. There is a special virtue attached to the Sanskrit word rightly pronounced and properly written, and it has always had a popularity even outside of Buddhism.

The next term of this class to be noticed is that which in Sanskrit is Dhyāna, and in Pali Jhāna. The Chinese transcription is *Shan-na* (禪 那) always shortened in practice to *shan*, and sometimes mentioned as Shan P'o-lo-ni, the Dhyāna-Pāramita. This term Dhyāna is in Buddhism the name for the absorbed meditation which is a favourite spiritual exercise with its pious enthusiasts. At one time the Contemplatist or Quietist Buddhists, the *Shan-shi* (禪 師), were distinguished from the common Buddhist monks who attached importance to the study of the canon and the repetition of sacred formulæ or to the strict observance of rules and ceremonies. These monks were considered inferior in religious merit and spiritual standing to the Shan-shi brethren who made little of the law, and teachers, and outward discipline but set great store on tranced absorption and spiritual self-development. This distinction, however, is now practically to a great extent ignored, and a Shan-shi may be simply a Buddhist monk as Shan-mên (門) is the sect or system of Buddhism.[1] There is another kind of prolonged meditation known as Yoga. This is Yü-chia, that is, *Yu-ga* (瑜 伽) in China, where the term is chiefly applied to a course of spiritual exercise accompanied by definite movements of the hands, mind and body being thoroughly under control. The monk or other religious fanatic who practises this harmonious cöoperation of mind and body is called a Yogāchārya, in Chinese *Yu-ga-shih* (師), a master in Yoga. But the term Yoga is not so common in China as is the name of another kind of meditation or contemplation, Samādhi. This latter denotes a concentration of the mind in various degrees of intensity culminating when successfully carried out in a sort of unconscious

[1] Edkins, Ch. Bud., p. 129; "Fan-i-ming-i," chap. vii.

rapture. It is also the designation of a peculiar capacity or virtue, such as the power of causing self-combustion. In Chinese the correct transcription, we are told, is *San-mo-ti* (三摩地), but there are several other ways of writing it, such as *San-mo-t'i* (提). One of the most common and best known is *San-mei-ti* (三昧地), usually shortened to *San-mei.* Various degrees of San-mei are described, and different kinds of it are noted by characteristic epithets. But for all Buddhists and non-Buddhists San-mei is the general term which includes all prolonged devotion to spiritual thought in silence and seclusion.

The expression *Pan-chê-yue-shih* (般遮越師), which we find in Chinese books occasionally, is for Paricha-varsha. It is one of the transcriptions to represent the Sanskrit Paricha-vārshika Mahā-Parishat, in Chinese *Wu-nien-ta-hui* (五年大會), the Quinquennial Great Assembly. This denotes the conference of the Buddhist clergy which King Aṡoka instituted to be held once every five years. At this conference matters affecting religion could be discussed and settled, and especially it could deal with offences and discipline. Because it could give absolution to an erring but repentant Brother it was also called the Moksha (absolution) Mahā-Parishad. This word Moksha was adopted in Chinese in the transcription now read *Wu-chê* (無遮), but at the time it was first used for Moksha perhaps read *Mu-cha.* The conference is thus known as the *Wu (Mu)-chê-ta-hui,* that is, the Great Assembly for granting absolution. In this phrase Moksha is used in a sense somewhat peculiar, its general meaning being emancipation or Nirvāṇa for Buddhists. For the confession of sins as an act of discipline the technical term is Karma, in Chinese *Chie (ka)-mo* (羯磨). We have to notice the translation of this word in another sense presently. When the original term is retained it is usually with the meaning of "confession." Thus the expression *Fo-ch'ien-tso-chie-mo* (佛前作羯磨), is to make confession of sin before Buddha. We also find, however, that the Sanskrit word in this sense is sometimes replaced by the translation *tso-fa* (作法), literally, to make religion, perform a religious function. This phrase retains the general meaning of Karma as denoting a

religious service or function performed by a congregation of Buddhist ecclesiastics.[1]

We next take a Chinese-Indian term which requires a little explanation. Of all the Buddhist services and festivals no one is so popular and general in China as the feast known as the *Yü-lan-hui*, or more correctly *Yü-lan-p'ên-hui* (盂蘭盆會). This is held in the 7th moon, and its chief day is the 15th of the moon. On that day offerings of food are laid out for the "hungry ghosts," paper clothes are burnt for them, lights are hung up at doors and at the corners of streets for them, and small lamps are lit and sent floating down rivers. The feast is said to have been instituted by the historical Buddha and on this wise. His great disciple Maudgalyāyana *(Mu-lien)* one day bethought himself of his dead parents, and by his supernatural vision he beheld his mother in a hell among the "hungry ghosts." Filling his bowl with rice he went down into hell and passed through the various places of torment until he found his mother. He gave her the bowl, but when she tried to eat the rice this changed into ashes, and Mu-lien went back to Buddha and told his helpless story. Buddha thereupon explained to him and the other disciples not only how Maudgalyāyana's mother could be *released* from her painful condition, but also how the ghosts of the dead for seven generations back could be *delivered from places of torture* for sins done in the flesh. The 15th day of the 7th moon was appointed for the yearly celebration of the feast, and its name was called, in the Chinese transcription, *Yü-lan-pê'n* or *U-lan-p'o-na* (烏藍婆拏). The name has received various interpretations. Thus *u-lan* has been described as a Sanskrit word meaning *Tao-hsüan* (倒懸), to be in suspense, to suffer torture, and *p'ên* has been said to be a Chinese word meaning a dish or basin such as is used to hold food. Another and better interpretation is that the term *u-lan-p'o-na* means "in miserable suspense" or rather "deliverance" or the means of deliverance from such a state. Messrs. Edkins, Eitel and Beal have all taken the Chinese characters *tao-hsüan* in what is regarded as their literal sense, viz., hanging with the

[1] Julien Voyages, &c., T. ii., p. 38; "Fo-kuo-chi," chap. v.

head downwards. The term is certainly so used, as of bats which remain in caves so hanging for a hundred years. Bats do this with the aim of improving their lot, and when a bat has retained the position for a century he may hope to be promoted to be a man or one of the Immortals. Mr. Eitel hints at Ulamba as possibly the original Sanskrit word, but there does not seem to be such a word. Mr. Beal proposes *avalambana*, which does not give either the meaning or the sounds of the Chinese characters. The phrase *tao-hsüan* is taken from Mencius and means "to be in a state of painful distress or suspense." The U-lan-p'o-na is a *releasing* from such a state and, generally, a raising from a lower to a higher condition. It is not supposed that all the dead for whom the feast is held are among the "hungry ghosts." Some may be merely in states of inferior comfort, and the feast will get them promotion. The Chinese characters suggest the Sanskrit word Ullambhana as their original, and this word means rescue, extrication, or deliverance. This identification not only agrees with the interpretation given to U-lan-p'o-na, but also with the contents of the Sūtras on the subject. The important part of the translation is the *Chiu* (救), to deliver, or *Chiu-ch'i* (救 器), instrument of deliverance.[1]

Another very common religious term is that usually written *Nan-wu* (南 無) but often pronounced like *na-mo*. This word is in constant use by the Buddhist monks, and it may be heard and seen over all China. It is the Sanskrit word Namas (Namo in Pali), which means praise, salutation, adoration. Instead of the two characters given above we find others such as *Na-mo* (那 摩) and *Nan-mo* (南 謨 or 膜), but they are little used except in literature. As known to and used by the Chinese *na-mo* has two meanings, (1) worship or reverential salutation; and (2) putting faith or taking refuge in. Thus it is sometimes described as the Chinese *Li-pai* (禮 拜), to worship or adore, or as *Kung-ching* (恭 敬), to reverence, and sometimes as *Kuei-ming*

[1] Bunyio N.'s Cat., No. 303 and the works referred to there; Mr. Beal in The Oriental, Nov. 6, 1875; 佛說盂蘭盆經; 佛說報恩奉盆經. "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 下, where the meaning is expressly given as 求倒懸 and *p'ên* is acknowledged or stated to be Chinese but wrongly.

(歸命), to trust or put faith in. Often the first syllable is omitted, and we find such phrases as *Mo-pai* (膜拜), to worship, or to salute with words of reverence. The formula *Na-mo Fo, Na-mo Fa, Na-mo-sêng* (南無佛, 南無法, 南無僧), I put my trust in Buddha, the sacred canon, and the Church is very common. Buddhist monks use it on behalf of others to drive away evil spirits, and hum it over in private to keep up their own piety. While so doing they are said *Ko'u-ch'ang-nan-wu* (na-mo) (口唱南無), to be chanting the formula of faith.

The mention of religious formulæ recalls the Sanskrit name for spells and religious charms among Buddhists. This is Dhārani, and there is only one recognised transcription of the word, viz., *T'o-lo-ni* (陀 or 佗羅尼). This is said to be the equivalent of the native term *chou* (咒), a charm or magic spell, but it is also said to mean in the original Sanskrit *nêng-chih* (能持), able to hold, that is, holding from straying into mischief and trouble, keeping one in the right way whether as regards body or soul. There are also other translations given in books, but they are little known and less used. The T'o-lo-ni are sometimes phrases or sentences of Sanskrit words with meaning and connection. But very often they are merely strings of syllables or sounds without sense and without connection. The word itself is not supposed to be susceptible of translation and it is of the essence of a T'o-lo-ni that it be in a foreign language, usually Sanskrit. One of the most potent of these formulæ is that known as the Om Mani Padme Hum, that is, Aum, the sacred syllable of the Brahmans; Mani, the jewel; Padme, in the lotus; and hum which may be taken for Amen. In Chinese it becomes *An-ma-ni-pa-me-hung* or *han* (唵嘛呢叭嘧吽), and there is little variation in the characters used for the transcription. Each of the six characters with its sound has been invested with a special meaning and importance, and the spell written and spoken is in common use.

We now take a few specimens of the Indian words found in the Chinese language which relate to the Buddhist sacred books. The San Tsang or Three Stores, the Tripitaka, are distinguished as Sūtras, *Hsiu-to-lo* (修多羅); Vinaya or *Pi-nai-ye* (毗奈耶)

or shortly *Pi-ni* (毗 尼); and Abhidarma or *A-pi-tan* (阿 毗 曇). But these technical terms are little known beyond the circle of those who are read in Buddhism. An old and very common term, however, is that read *Chieh,* that is, *Kieh* or *K'i* (偈). This represents the Sanskrit word Geya which, originally simply a song, is in Buddhism the name for the passages in verse which in many Sūtras repeat or paraphrase what has been said in prose. A more correct transcription of the Sanskrit word is *K'i-ye* (祇 夜), but this has never supplanted the old form given above. The latter has long been used as if it were a native word, and it is even used to translate the Sanskrit word Gātha, which also means a song or a verse composition. This word, which in the Sanskrit texts is sometimes used instead of Geya, is also known to the Chinese and written *Ga-t'o* (伽 陀). The syllable *k'i* for geya has been regarded by some as being for *K'i-t'o* (偈 陀), another way of writing Gātha, but this is perhaps only a surmise. Buddhist writers employ *k'i* also in the sense of a verse of poetry or a sentence of prose. So it is used in some of the translations to render the Sanskrit word *pada,* a sentence, and a prose book may be described as containing *i-ch'ien-k'i,* a thousand sentences. It may be noticed in passing that the Chinese word *chie,* that is, *kai* or *kiai* (解) has in certain old literature the meaning of a verse or sentence. Then *k'i* has also the signification of a terse wise and deep saying in Buddhism, and *t'an Fo-k'i* (談 佛 偈) is to chat about the enigmas of Buddhism.[1]

The sacred books of Buddhism were, as is well known, written on leaves of the Tāla Palm in India. When first brought to China they were a great novelty and excited curiosity. A leaf of a tree prepared for receiving writing is called in Sanskrit Pattra, and the Palm-leaf is Tāla-pattra or Tal-patra (in Pali Tāla-pattam). This Sanskrit word *pattra* became *Pei-to-lo* (貝 多 羅) in Chinese, and hence the Buddhist books were called Pei-to-lo Ching. But the full transcription is not much used, and we find it shortened to To-lo, and Pei-to, and even to Pei. Then the history of the term was lost, and Pei-to-lo and its abbrevia-

[1] "Miao-fa Lien-hua-ching," chap. i., et al.; Kang-hsi s.v. 解; "Fo-kuo-chi," chap. xxxvi.

tions came to be regarded as the name of the tree whose leaves were used for writing purposes. We find, accordingly, such expressions as *pei-ye* (貝葉), that is, *pattra* leaves, used to designate the sacred books of the Buddhists.

To read aloud the prayers, charms or other sacred texts of Buddhism is often expressed by *pai* (唄), which is the Sanskrit path, to read aloud or recite. Then *pei* is also used as a noun, pāṭha, and *Ko Fan-pai* (歌梵唄) is to chant Buddhist hymns. And this term Fan-pei came to mean heavenly strains, music in the air, made by unseen beings, sweet and long drawn out.[1]

From these we pass to notice a few words which though still connected with sacred learning are rather terms of the common language and literature. They belong to Sanskrit writing and grammar, and they were made known to the Chinese by their Buddhist instructors. The missionaries from India, as has been already stated, knew the grammar of their own language and taught its principles to their Chinese converts. Hence we find some of the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar in the Chinese language up to the present. Thus Vyākaraṇa, which though transcribed at length by Yuan-chuang is usually written *Pi-k'a* (or *Ga, Chia*)-*lo* (毗佉 or 伽羅), is a Sanskrit word for Grammar. In this sense it denotes a taking to pieces, the analysis of a word or sentence. To the Chinese the only part of grammar which seemed to be of importance was that which taught the way to resolve a word into its phonetic constituents and hence they describe Vyākarana as a "spelling book." But it is also known more correctly by Yuan-chuang's translation *Shêng-ming-chi-lun* (聲名 or 明記論), a Treatise on Etymology. The Buddhists, however, also use the word Vyākarana to designate the sacred books which give prophecies of future Buddhahood and loosely for narratives connected with Gautama's career. When employed in this sense the word is often transcribed *Ho-chia-na*, that is, *Va-ka* (or *Ga*)-*na* (和伽那), an old transcription.

[1] See "Liao-chai," &c., chap. iii., p. 10 and glossary (貝葉); Ma T. L., ch. cxxvii. (梵唄). The *Fan-pai* is also called *Fan yin* (梵音), and it is used in the sense of songs or hymns of praise. See the quotations given in Kanghsi s.v. 唄; "Shi-shih-yao-lan," ch. 上. where the Sanskrit word is given as *pai-ni* (唄匿), and a different interpretation is given.

Then we have the word Lanza or Ranja, which is the designation of a peculiar way of writing Sanskrit practised in Nepaul and Tibet. From the latter country apparently the use of the Lanza writing passed into China, where it is known as *Lan* (嚂), short for Lan-tzŭ. When a Sanskrit word or sound, such as *Aum* or any syllable of a magic formula, is written in the Indian manner it is often said to be written in the *Lan-tzŭ*, or Ranja characters.

Another term well known to native students is *Hsi-tan-chang* (悉曇章), the name of a treatise or treatises on the Sanskrit alphabet. These three characters perhaps originally represented the Sanskrit Siddhānta, a text-book, accepted or established teaching. But we are told that Hsi or *Si-tan* is for a Sanskrit word which means "that which is produced by the perfected" (成就所生), and that *chang* is Chinese and denotes a chapter. The Si-tan Chang for Chinese are primers which teach the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, their phonetic values, and their simplest combinations.[1]

The word Sloka in Sanskrit denotes a metre made up of thirty-two syllables arranged in two or four lines. The Buddhist missionaries gave the word to the Chinese who transcribed it *Shi-lu-ka* (室路伽) and otherwise. It is explained by them also as a metre of the Buddhist sacred books, which is made up of 32 characters, *tzŭ* (字). But in Chinese as in Sanskrit the word is also used in a less restricted manner.

Passing on to other departments we find that the Indian Buddhists gave the Chinese new information about the world beyond the Flowery Land, and novel theories about the composition and arrangement of the universe. Thus names of other worlds and parts of worlds real and imaginary, and names of foreign towns, rivers and mountains found their way into Chinese. There some have long since become thoroughly domesticated and lost much of their foreign character. Others while

[1] Julien Voyages, T. i., p. 165; ii., p. 127; Kang-hsi Dicty. Têng-yun, p. 20. But *Shêng-ming* (聲明) is properly and originally the translation of Ṣabda-vidya, the understanding (explanation) of sounds. This is only a part of the treatise or course of instruction called Vy-ākarana. See the 南海寄歸內法傳, chap. iv.

known to the educated are strangers to the unlearned and convey to them only vague meanings. Let us take as our first example of such terms that which is written *Sha-p'o* (娑 婆). This is a very common term in literature, and one which may be regarded as understood by all educated Chinese though not by everybody. By *sha-p'o,* that is, *sa-va,* the early translators reproduced a dialectical variation, like the Mongolian sāva, of the Sanskrit word Sahā. There are other transcriptions, such as the *So-ho* (索 訶) of Yuan-chuang, which represent the correct pronunciation. In Indian Buddhist literature the Sahā is the inhabited part of a universe and so the world of suffering, "the land of endurance." With this meaning it passed into the language of the Chinese who had no native term whereby to express all that was denoted by Sahā. The later and better transcriptions are comparatively little used, but the old term *sha-p'o* is very common. It may be found in all kinds of literature, and its use dates from an early period of Buddhist history in China.

Of the great regions into which our Sahā is divided the only one which can be said to be well known to Chinese is that called in Sanskrit Jambu-dvīpa. In the ocean which surrounds the great mountain Meru are seven, or according to Buddhists four large Islands or Continents. Of these the Southern one, which is supposed to be the best and largest, is called Jambu-dvīpa, the Island of Jambus or Rose-apples (Eugenia Jambos), which with the Buddhists became almost a name for India. The term occurs very often in their sacred writings, and from these it passed into Chinese. In the latter a common way of writing it is *Chan-pu* (贍 部) for Jambu, and *Chou* (洲) added as a translation of *dvīpa,* in the sense of a continent. The name is also transcribed in other ways, of which a popular one is *Yen-fou-t'i* (閻 浮 提), where Yen-fou is for Jambu, and *t'i* is short for *T'i-p'i (ping)-p'o* (提 鞞 波). The name is said to be derived from the "Jambu" tree, "the largest of the forest," and this is the derivation accepted by the Chinese. These use the term Chan-pu-chou apparently almost as a synonym for their own *T'ien-hsia* in the sense of the world.

That great mountain Sumeru or Meru, fabled by the Hindus,

is also known in China chiefly by its Sanskrit name. In the early translations Sumeru was transcribed *Hsü* (Sü)-*mi-lou* (須彌樓), often shortened to Sü-mi and Mi-lou, this last being also for Meru. In the T'ang period the new transcription *Su-mi-lu* (蘇迷盧) was taught, but the old one remained popular. Some Chinese authors have identified the Sumeru of the Hindus with their own Kun-lun, the same range being supposed to have different names on its East and West sides. Then Buddhist writers, who have many Merus for their many systems of worlds, sometimes treat Meru and Sumeru as names of different mountains. And so in Chinese books we occasionally find Sumeru called *Ta mi-lou,* Great Meru, not as a rendering of the Sanskrit Mahā-Meru, but to distinguish it from Meru.

Another term in Chinese, derived from the mythical geography of the Buddhists, is *A-nou-ta* (阿耨達). The Sanskrit name is given as Anavatapta, the Pali having the forms Anotatto and Anavatatto. It is apparently a Pali form, which is represented by the above transcription, as it is the Sanskrit form which is given in Yuan-chuang's transcription *A-na-p'o-ta* (or *tap*)-*to* (阿那婆 (or 般) *p'an* 荅多). This latter is seldom met with while A-nou-ta is still in common use. Anavatapta is the name of an imaginary Lake on the top of a high mountain to the North of the Himalaya, and from it four great rivers take their rise. The Chinese use A-nou-ta in the same way, but they also regard it sometimes as the name of the mountain which has the lake. This mountain then is identified by them with their own Kun-lun range.

The country India is known in the Chinese language and literature by several names, some of which apparently were in China before Buddhism reached the country. Thus we have the old name *Shên-tu* (身毒) dating at least from the 1st century B. C., and variations are *Hsien-tu* (縣度) and *Hsien-tou* (賢豆), both probably pronounced like *Hin-du.* But these were all declared to be wrong, and *Yin-tu* (印度) was given as the proper transcription. This, however, has never been so popular as the way of writing now read *T'ien-chu* (天竺), which may be said to be

the Chinese name for India. The second character of this term is generally said to have the phonetic value *tu* or *du* here, and Dr. Edkins accordingly reads "T'in-do." But no satisfactory explanation of the name seems to be known, and there may be something in the old theory that the characters read T'ien-chu stood for Tain-kuth or Tan-gut, old names for the Tibetans. It is certain that the Chinese have very often applied the name T'ien-chu loosely and vaguely, though it is properly their name only for the country known as India.[1]

The name of the Ganges was early made known to the Chinese in the form *Hêng-chie*, that is, perhaps *Gên-ga* (恒 伽). Yuan-chuang uses the transcription *K'êng* (or *Gêng*)-*ga* (殑 伽), and there are other ways of writing the name. But in general use we never find any except the above Hêng-chia, often shortened to Hêng. The native word for a river, *Ho*, is added to this, and the term Hêng Ho, or Ganges River is common alike in old and modern literature. With the Chinese as with the Indians "the sands of the Ganges" are used as a symbol for numbers beyond counting.

Off the coast of Chekiang is the Buddhist Sacred Island called P'ut'o or Puto. This name represents a Sanskrit word Putalaka, which transcribed at length is *P'u-t'o-la-chia (Ka)* (普 陀 洛 伽). Better ways of writing the name are *Pu-ta-lo-chia* (布 呾 洛 迦), of Yuan-chuang and *Pu-ta-lo-chia* (補 怛 洛 迦) of some other writers. Putalaka was the name of a mountain in the Malakuta country of South India. This mountain was a haunt of Kuan-yin, who from time to time appeared on it to venturesome believers. It is to Kuan-yin also that the Hill Isle of Puto is sacred, and that P'usa is supposed to have chosen the Isle as a favourite abode and centre of diffusion. Instead of the former half of the Sanskrit word we sometimes find the latter half, Lo-chia or Lo-ka, used as a name for places connected with the worship of Kuan-yin, as for example in and about Puto. Another way of writing this name is *Lo-ka* (樂 伽), a transcription in which the fragmentary character of the name is completely obscured.[2]

[1] Edkins' Ch. Bud., p. 88; Georgi Alphm. Tib., p. 10.

[2] See the "Pu-t'o-shan-chih" (普 陀 山 志); Edkins' Ch. Bud., p. 139.

We next take a few specimens of those Indian words in Chinese which denote such things as numbers and measures of time and space. The Buddhist sacred books abound in names for large often inconceivable numbers, and these are generally left untranslated in the Chinese versions. There they remain for the most part unknown to any save the studious monk whose faith seeks for the addition of knowledge. A few, however, have to a certain extent been adopted by Chinese writers and are to be found in the native literature. Thus we find *Lo-cha* or *Lo-sha* (洛叉 or 沙), used to transcribe the Sanskrit word Laksha, which means a lakh or 100,000. This word, however, is not so well known as Koṭi, the Crore, a name for 10,000,000. The Chinese transcriptions for the latter are *Chü-chi,* that is, *Ku-ti* (俱胝) and *Kou-chi* or *Ku-ti* (拘致), the latter being rarely used. There is a difference of statement as to the meaning of Ku-ti, some telling us that it denotes ten, and others a hundred lakhs. A still greater number is expressed by a word which is given as Nayuta in Sanskrit and Nahutam in Pali and which is said to denote 100,000,000,000. The old Chinese transcription for the name is *Na-yu-t'a* (那由他), and that used by Yuan-chuang is *Na-ku-to* (那庾多but some think that the second character here should be *yü* (庾). The name Nayuta is said by native scholars to be the equivalent of their own *kou* (溝), an old book-term for "ten billions," but it is also defined as "a myriad lakhs." Above all these is the Asan'khya or Asan'khyeya, the innumerable, the highest number that is named. Written out in Chinese the word is *A-sêng-chih* (阿僧祇), and in the fuller form *A-sêng-chih-ye* (阿僧企耶). The latter form of transcription is little known, and the former, which is very common, is often shortened to *sêng-chih.* This is used in the sense of a number numberless, a sum limited but too great to be expressed in human figures.

Among the numerous divisions of time made by the Buddhists we notice one or two which have been made popular in China. There in the Kshaṇa, which in Sanskrit denotes the twinkling of an eye, "a moment regarded as a measure of time." In Chinese this word became *Cha-na* (刹那), which is used to

designate the shortest possible interval of time. It has been adopted in astronomical treatises in which the expression *I-cha-na-chih-pien* (一刹那之變) denotes "a momentary variation." At the opposite extreme from the Kshaṇa is the Kalpa (Kappo in Pali). With the Brahmans a Kalpa was a day of Brāhma or 432,000,000 years of mortals. The Buddhists, however, employ the term, speaking generally, to designate that division of time which measures the existence of a world or system of worlds. It is transcribed in Chinese by *Chie (Kieh)-po* (刧波 or 簸), that is *kap-po* perhaps in an older form of Chinese. But in practice the second syllable is nearly always omitted, and *Kieh* (or *Kap*) is treated as if it were a native word. In the orthodox literature it is freely used, and the Confucianists say it is the Buddhist name for what they call *shi* (世), age, world, or generation. We find accordingly in the orthodox literature expressions like *Kieh-kieh*, from age to age, through Kalpa after Kalpa, and *Wan Kieh*, a myriad ages, that is, for ever.

Of the names for measures of space the Yojana is the only one which need be mentioned. This denoted at first perhaps the distance gone by a team of oxen in a day without changing. As a measure of distance it does not seem to have ever had any standard, for it has varied from two-and-a-half to nine English miles, and its length is given in Chinese *li* with like variations. The word was transcribed in the early books by *Yu-yen* (由延) or by *Yu-hsün* (由旬) or *Yü (yu)-hsün* (兪旬) or more fully by *Yü (yu)-shê-na* (踰闍那). In the T'ang period these were out of date apparently and were pronounced faulty, and Yuan-chuang's *Yü-shan-na* (踰繕那) was introduced. But, as usual, the old ways of writing have prevailed, and native writers generally express Yojana by *Yu-yen* or *Yu-hsün*.

From India and the Buddhist missionaries the Chinese derived their knowledge of certain gems and precious stones. These when introduced generally retained their original names though sometimes the foreign terms were translated. From the same sources, moreover, the Chinese took new names for other jewels and precious substances with which they were already

acquainted and for which they had their own names. But in such cases the foreign name was adopted because it was believed to connote something which was not in the native term. Thus there was the old word *chu* (珠), a pearl, but when the Sanskrit term Maṇi was introduced this was often used instead of *Chu*. As has been seen, the Sanskrit word is usually transcribed *Mo-ni* (摩 or 末尼). This is used not only as a general name for pearls but also as the specific name for that pearl magical, mystical which is borne in the head of a Dragon King. Sometimes it is distinguished from other pearls by the epithet *Shên*, spiritual or divine. But the Maṇi is also in Heaven as it is on earth only brighter and of more virtue there than here. It has wonderful alexipharmic and other powers, and to the Buddhists it is a sacred symbol of their religion.

One of the Seven Precious Substances so often referred to in Buddhist literature is the Vaidūrya (or Vaiḍūrya), in Pali Veluriyam. This is usually rendered by *lapis lazuli*, though some prefer to regard it as denoting the Cat's eye and others the beryl. One way of transcription in Chinese gives *Fei-liu-liu* (吠琉瑠), which in the pronunciation of the period and place of transcription was probably like Bi-lu-luh: and this would seem to favour the connection of beryl etymologically with vaidūrya. There are several other transcriptions for this word in Chinese, but they can be arranged in two classes, and we need take only an example of each. One class gives us such forms as *P'i-t'ou-li-ye* (鞞頭利也), and the other has forms like *P'i-liu-li* (毗琉璃). The former seems to point to a Sanskrit, and the latter to a Prakrit original. This latter way of writing the word is apparently the older one in China, but it has long been used without the "head" and often without the significative *yü* (玉). Thus written it is of a comparatively early date in Chinese literature, and is perhaps pre-Buddhistic. It has long been practically a Chinese word, though its origin and history have not been forgotten at least by the learned. It is used, however, not only to designate *lapis lazuli* and its imitations but also various kinds of coloured glass. One of the earliest known occurrences of the word is in a pathetic

popular poem of the beginning of the third century. But its original or precise meaning cannot be ascertained from this passage. In it the broken-hearted faithful bride uses these words, "Take my *liu-li* seat outside and place it under the front window (移我琉璃榻, &c.) Here the word probably denotes some kind of porcelain coloured and polished. The old descriptions of *liu-li*, however, seem often to point to glass.[1]

For glass, however, there is the special name *Po-li* (玻黎 and otherwise written). This also is of Sanskrit origin and stands for Sphaṭika, Crystal. Written out at length this is *Sa-p'o-ti-ka* (塞頗胝迦), but this transcription is scarcely known. The sibilant is always dropt, and so we find the form *P'o-ti-ka* (婆致迦). Then the ṭ as usual becomes *l* or *r*, and we have *P'o-li* or *P'o-li-k'o* (玻璨柯). This last was shortened to *po-li*, which has come to denote glass rather than crystal.

The term now pronounced and written *Ch'ê-ch'ü* (硨磲) is used to translate or transcribe at least three Sanskrit words. It translates Ṣankha, a shell; it translates Musāragalva, which is sometimes rendered coral; and it translates or transcribes Karketana, the name of a white mineral or precious stone, perhaps a kind of chalcedony. Some Chinese writers regard *Ch'ê-ch'ü* as a native term, the name properly of a large cowry like the felly of a waggon-wheel (車渠). It has long been used by the Chinese to denote an opaque white substance, such as that of which the buttons of the 6th Rank Mandarins are made. These buttons are generally made from a large mother-of-pearl shell imported into China from the Malay archipelago. But the substance called *Ch'ê-ch'ü* is expressly said to come from India, and it is properly a mineral or precious stone. The characters given above had formerly sounds like *Kü-ket*, and it is possible that they represent a dialectical pronunciation of *Karketana*.

Then there is the precious stone called Marakati (or Marakti) in Sanskrit. The Chinese equivalent for this is given as *Ma-nao*

[1] See Prof. M. Müller in Journal R. A. S., vol. xii., p. 178. In the Chinese poem quoted in the text the word translated "seat" in the text should perhaps be "work-box," a rendering which the context seems to require. "Ku-shi-yuan," ch. iv., 1st poem. The word liu-li is said to occur in literature of the 4th Century B. C. or thereabouts.

(瑪瑙 or 碼碯). But Marakati is supposed to denote the emerald, and *ma-nao* is the agate or cornelian. Further ma-nao is given as a rendering for the Sanskrit Asmagarbha (or Asmagalva) which is variously said to be the emerald, amber, coral, and the diamond. In some of the old books the characters for *ma-nao* are written without the significatives *yü* and *shih*, and in this form they mean "horse-brain." To account for this term a new Sanskrit word was made, Aṣva-garbha, which should have a similar meaning, and the name was said to have been given to the stone because in appearance it was like a horse's brain. This etymology, however, can scarcely be regarded as serious, and it seems certain that ma-nao is of foreign origin. It is possible that it as pronounced by the early translators represented a dialectical variety of Marakata with the meaning of agate.

The best kind of iron is called *Pin-t'ie* (鑌 formerly 賓鐵). This term does not occur in any native dictionary before the Kuang-yun apparently, and Kanghsi only repeats the very short account given in the Kuang-yun. The *pin-t'ie* was produced, we are told, in Cabul and other places, and thence exported to China apparently. In this name we have evidently the Sanskrit Piṇḍāyas, a name for steel. The *Pin-t'ie* "makes very sharp swords," and as piṇḍa means a ball or lump, so this iron is said to be a compound of other iron (以諸鐵和合), *ho-ho* being used as a rendering for piṇḍa in the Buddhist books.[1]

Of the vegetable products of India a large number became known to the Chinese through the Buddhist pilgrims and missionaries. In some cases the plant itself or the dye or the drug which it yielded was brought into the country. Such articles generally retained in China the names under which they were introduced. In not a few cases, however, the foreign name seems to have come without the commodity which it denoted. The plant and its products in such cases remained obscure to the Chinese being known to them only from books or report. Then in course of time the Indian names for Indian objects were often applied to Chinese objects supposed to be identical with or to

[1] "Kuang-yun" s. v. 鑌; "Fan-yü-tsa-ming" (梵語雜名), List of Errata at end.

resemble the others, or to be as it were their representatives. Many instances might be quoted to illustrate this transfer of name, and a few will be given as we proceed.

Let us begin with the word Ṣāla (or Sāla), which in India is the name of the *Shorea Robusta,* a tree of great beauty and utility. The Sāla is sacred to the Buddhists because under it the founder of their religion passed into Nirvāna, a pair joining to shade his head and another pair uniting to screen his feet as he lay in his last moments. And ever since when the fated day comes round on which the Buddha left this earth the tree not wont before to lose its leaves punctually sheds its leafy tears. In China the name, which is well known, is *Sha* or *Sa-lo* (娑 羅). But as the *Shorea Robusta* is not known in the country the name *Sa-lo* is transferred to the Beech and other trees in various localities. The Chinese in their books also sometimes confound the Ṣāla with the Seemul or Silk-cotton tree (*Bombax Heptaphyllum*). This latter is called in Sanskrit Ṣālmali, and this became in Chinese *Sa-lo-mu* (娑 羅 木). As the characters for Ṣāl here are those used to express Ṣāla we can understand how a confusion arose between the two trees in Chinese writings.[1]

Then we have the Peepul or Holy Fig-tree *(Ficus religiosa)*, which in Sanskrit has as one of its names Pippala. This tree also is held in great reverence by Buddhists since under it Gautama attained that moral and intellectual perfection called Bodhi which leads to Buddhahood. Hence the Peepul is often called the Bodhi tree, and this name, as will be seen presently, has passed into use in China. The word Pippala is transcribed in several ways, but the best known is *Pi-po-lo* (畢 鉢 羅). This name, however, is extended to trees like the poplar and aspen which resemble the Peepul somewhat in the behaviour of their foliage. Another tree in mystical sympathy with the Buddha is the Udumbara *(Ficus glomerata)*). This tree yields its golden flowers only when the Buddha appears in the world, or when his religion prospers greatly under the rare administration of a Chakravartin. In ordinary times the *Udumbara* bears fruit

[1] See Dr. Bretschneider in Ch. Rec., vol. iii., p. 162; "Poh-wu-chih," Suppt., chap. vii.; The Ṣālmali tree is also transcribed *Sam-p'o* (睒 婆).

without any previous flower, and the rarity of the latter is often used for comparison in Buddhist literature. In Chinese the name when first introduced became *Yu-tan-po-lo* (優曇鉢羅), and with the exception of the substitution of *wu* (烏) for *yu* in the T'ang period no other way of writing it seems to have ever been used. But the transcription is very often curtailed by one, two, or even three characters, the syllable *yu* doing duty occasionally for the four. And the name is given not only to the *Ficus glomerata* but also to the banyans and to the common fig-tree.

The Mango tree also figures much in Buddhist literature, and has in Sanskrit the name Āmra. As we have seen already the Chinese have other names for this tree, but they also use the Sanskrit term. This becomes *An-mo-lo* or *leh* (菴摩羅 or 勒), often shortened to *An-lo.* But Chinese books seem to mix up several other words beside āmra under these characters. Thus they stand far āmrāta, the Hog-plum *(Spondias mangifera)* and for Amala, a name for a myrobalan tree (the *Emblica officinalis* or *Phyllanthus Emblica*). In the last case they are perhaps short for *An-mo-lo-ka* (菴摩落迦), which is for the Sanskrit word Āmalaka, another name for the *Emblica officinalis* or the fruit *Emblic myrobalans.* In South China the name am-lo (an-lo) is given also to a kind of plum, and in books which treat of Buddhist matters āmra is sometimes translated by *nai* (柰), a plum or bullace. Another kind of myrobalan is that yielded by the *Terminalia chebula,* which in Sanskrit is called Harītakī. From this perhaps the Arabs got their name for it Halileh which, as we have seen, is correctly transcribed in Chinese by *Ho-li-leh* (訶黎勒). The common Chinese term *Ho-tzŭ* is probably half Indian and half Chinese, *ho* being for Harītakī, and *tzŭ* (子) being the Chinese for seed.

We have already noticed one name for the Jack fruit *(Artocarpus Integrifolia),* and we have now to consider another. In South China the common name for this fruit is *Po-lo-mi* (波羅密 or 蜜), these three sounds and characters being those used to express the pāramita of Prajña-pāramita. This name is apparently not known in India, and its origin is not clearly explained.

According to one account it was given to the fruit on account of its sweetness. May we not then have here another instance of a mixed term? *Po-lo* may be Sanskrit for *phala* fruit, and *mi* may be the Chinese word for honey. In India "what is called the honey-jack is by far the sweetest and best," and the Chinese say punningly, "honey detached gives you the taste of the Jack (蜜割波羅之味). Moreover, in the Amoy dialect the name becomes *po-lo-bĭt, mi,* honey, being *bĭt* in that dialect. It is related that the seeds of the Jack were first brought from India to China in the sixth century and planted in the garden of a Buddhist monastery in the Island of Hainan. So it is possible that the name *po-lo-mi* may be in some way connected with pāramita. But the common Sanskrit name for the fruit is Panasa (Phanas in Bombay), and this is known in Chinese literature, where it appears as *P'o-na-sa* (婆那娑). This tree is one of several which have been wrongly declared by certain Chinese authors to be the Udumbara of the Buddhist sacred books. Then the Pine-apple also is called Po-lo-mi in some parts of South China, but in this we have perhaps only an improper transfer of the name from the Jack fruit. The fibre obtained from the leaves of the pine-apple is called Po-lo-ma (麻), and this name is extended to the cloth made from the fibre. Here also we may have a mixed word po-lo for the Sanskrit phala as before, and *ma* the Chinese term for hemp and hempen products.[1]

The next word we take is the well known *Man-t'o* (or *t'u*)-*lo* (曼陀 or 荼羅). This is the Sanskrit word Mandāra, which denotes properly the Coral tree *(Erythrina Indica)*, but is used also as a name for the Mudar *(Calotropis Gigantea)* and also for the Thorn-apple *(Datura alba)*. The Buddhists make great use of the word, and from them it has passed into Chinese. As the Coral tree was not known to the Chinese they identified the mandāra as a tree with a native species of Cratægus—*Shan-ch'a* (山茶)—with white flowers and red berries. But in common language this name *man-t'o-lo* is given to the *Datura alba,* the leaves and flowers of which are largely used by native doctors.

[1] N. & Q., vol. iii., p. 85; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxi.; *Chiung-chow-foo* (Hainan) *Chih*, chap. v.; Drury's Useful Plants of India, p. 55; *Shi-lei-fu* (事類賦), chap. lxxxiv.

The Sanskrit word Chandana (Chandan in some of the dialects) is used to designate the Sandal tree (*Santalum album*), its wood and the strong-scented oily preparation made therefrom. The Chinese adopted this word, writing it *Çhan-t'an* (栴檀), but they used it to denote not only the Sandal tree but also several other trees having good or scented timber. It has fared with this word chandana in a like manner in other countries into which it has been introduced, being given to local trees highly prized as, for example, in Tibet to the funereal cypress. In early Chinese literature, the "Shi ching" for instance, we find the word *t'an* occurring as the name of a tree like the Sandal.

Another well known tree of India is the Bel or Bhel (*Aegle Marmelos*), the Sanskrit name being Vilva. This word was originally transcribed in Chinese by *P'in-po* (頻波 or [illegible]), and it soon became common. In the T'ang period there appeared a better transcription *Pi-lo-p'o* (毗羅婆), but this cannot be said to have ever been in use. On the other hand P'in-po has continued popular and has been extended to various fruits, such as the plum and the apple. It would seem that it is also given to the *Ok-gue* fig (*Ficus stipulata ?*) though the characters used are not the same. The *p'in-po* in China has long been recognized as a suitable and acceptable present, and we read of it being given in gold dishes (金盤頻婆果).[1]

There is also the lovely Champaka (*Michelia Champaca*), a tree introduced into India, it is said, from the Chiampi (or Chiampa) country. Hence came its name, which is popular in China in various transcriptions. Thus we find *Chan-po-ka* (占博迦) and *Chan-pa-ka* (旃簸迦) and *Chan-po-ka* (詹波迦) and *Chan-pi-ka* (瞻蔔加). Of these the last has long been in common use, especially in poetry, but it is very often curtailed of its final syllable. Buddhist books praise the Champaka for its beautiful golden flowers and the rich sweet perfume with which these scent the air. The Chinese own that they got the tree from India, but they like to identify it with their own Gardenia. Hence they sometimes make mention of the fragrant

[1] N. & Q., vol. iii., p. 21; and vol. ii., p. 173; "Lei-shih-fu." chap. xxciv.

white flowers of the Chan-pi. But more frequently they praise its "yellow flowers," the "odorous gold" which scents the wood, or its "gold-coloured flowers" which make it the "Buddha of the forest."[1]

The Palmyra Palm *(Borassus flabelliformis)* is called Tāla in Sanskrit. This word early passed into Chinese as *to-lo* (多羅), which soon became a well known term. But it is given to at least one other species of Palm, and the Palmyra or Fan Palm is not very familiar to the Chinese. This is the tree the leaves of which, as we have seen, are used as writing material in India.

The word *to-lo,* as written above, is also sometimes used to transcribe the Sanskrit word *tūla,* which means Cotton. It is specially, however, of the silky down of the Cotton-tree that it is so used, and that tree is sometimes called *To-lo-mu* (多羅木), *mu* being a Chinese word for tree. But the old way of expressing tūla in this sense is *tou-lo* (兜羅), which is still so used. The reformers of the T'ang period tried to substitute *tu* (妬) for *tou,* but the change was not adopted. When European velvet, plush, and woollen goods were first introduced into China they received the general name *tou-lo.* Thus we find *Tou-lo-ni* (now To-lo-ni) and *Tou-lo-jung,* for woollens and velvets respectively. The name is supposed to have been given to some of these in admiration of their softness and whiteness. So the lily-white hands, for example, of Buddha are described as *Tou-lo-mien-shou* (兜羅綿手), hands like cotton from the tree.

It seems to be generally admitted that the Chinese obtained their knowledge of the Cotton-plant and its uses from India. But it is not easy to ascertain with certainty when and how they first became acquainted with this useful plant. It was probably, however, during the time of the later Han dynasty and by means of Buddhist missionaries. One name for cotton in Sanskrit is Karpāsa, the Pali form being Kappāsa. The Chinese have a native name *Mien-hua,* but they have also an older name, which is of foreign origin. In the early literature we find this given as *Chi-pei* (吉貝), that is, in the pronunciation of the time and place

[1] "Lei-shih-fu," ch. lxxix.; "Su-wên-chung-kung-shih-chi," chs. xxxvi, xl.

Kap-pa or something similar. Another old way of writing this name is *Ku* (古)-*pei*, supposed by some to be a misprint originally for the above. We find also other forms such as *Chieh* (*i.e. Ka* 劫)-*pei*, and *Ka-po-yü* (劫 波 育). According to one author the correct way of writing the name is *Ka-po-lo* (迦 波 羅), but this is apparently a mistake. The other forms all seem to point to an original like the Sanskrit Karpāsa ("Kurpas") or a dialectical variety of it such as kapas. By the term *ka-pei* only the raw cotton is denoted properly, and cotton-cloth is *Ka-pei-pu* (布). But we very often find *Ka-pei* also with this latter meaning, and it is always in this sense that it is used in the accounts of tribute sent in the 5th and 6th centuries from-Java and other places to the South and South-west of China. It is worthy of note that the Malay name for cotton, kapas, is taken directly from India, while the Cochin-Chinese name, *Kiet-bui*, or Ku-bui, is from India through China.[1]

The Sanskrit word Hingu has long supplied a literary and professional name for Asafœtida among the Chinese. This word is written *Hsing (Hing)-chü* (興 渠) and *Hing-yü (ngu)* (形 虞) and *Hün-chü* (薰 渠), the most common form perhaps being the first *Hing-chü*. This is used to denote the plants (*Ferula Alliacea* and *F. narthex*) and the substance which they yield. We find this word sometimes treated as a native term, and *A-wei* (阿 魏) wrongly given as the Brāhman or Sanskrit name.[2]

The Chinese apply to several plants bearing fruit like those of fennel and coriander the name *Shih-lo* (蒔 蘿). This is evidently the Sanskrit word Jīra which denotes Cumin-seed, but it apparently passed into Chinese through the Hindustani and Persian corruption Zila or Zira.

One of the common names for Black Pepper in Sanskrit is Marichi which, in Hindustani is Mirch. This Pepper was introduced into China from India, and its "Magadha" name came

[1] "I-ch'ie-ching-yin-i," ch. i.; "Fan-i-ming-i," ch. xiii., N. & Q., vol. ii., pp. 54, 72, 94; "Yuan-chien-lei-han," chs. ccxxxiii,; ccxxxiv.; "Pên-ts'ao," ch. xxxvi. A distinction is made between *Ku-pei* (古 貝) which is the Cotton of the Bombax tree, and *Ku-tung* (古 終) which is the cotton of the plant Gossypium.

[2] "Pên-ts'ao," chs. xxvi. and xxxiv.

with it. The latter is usually given as *Mei-li-chih* (昧履支), but it is comparatively little known, the common name being *Hu-chiao* (胡椒), that is, Western Barbarians (Tartar) Pepper. On the other hand Long Pepper, which also is an importation from India, is always called by its original name Pippalī. This in Chinese becomes *Pi-poh-li* (蓽茇 or 撥 or 勃 梨), usually shortened to Pi-poh. In China, as in India, the root of this plant is much used medicinally, and it is known as *Pi-poh-mu* (蓽茇沒). Here *mu* is for the Sanskrit word mūla, which means a root, the Sanskrit name being Pippalī-mūla.

We have already taken note of one foreign name for the Jasmine in Chinese, and we have now to notice a name of Indian origin. This, in Chinese, is *Mo-li* (written 茉莉 and in several other ways), the Sanskrit Malli or perhaps short for Mallikā, the *Jasminum Sambac.* But this word Mo-li is given also and used as the Indian name for the *nai* (柰), a native plum or bullace. Some tell us also that the Jasmine was first brought to China from Persia, and that its Indian name is *Man* (鬘 and otherwise). But this is a Chinese word and means a wreath or garland of flowers. It is used to translate the Sanskrit Mālā, which in Chinese is *Mo-lo* (麻羅). The Indians, high and low, man and woman, young and old all wear, we are told, garlands of flowers. And in the formation of these the jasmine is a special favourite. But this is rather the *Jasmine Grandiflorum,* which is Mālati in Sanskrit, and in Chinese is also Mo-li. This is also known as Sumanā, the charming, which is transcribed in Chinese *Su-mo-na* (蘇摩那).

An important article of import into China is the fragrant substance known as Putchuk, used for making incense. The literary and professional name for this is *Chü (Kü)-sê-t'o* (矩瑟佗). This is the Sanskrit word Kushṭha, the Koot or Koost of Anglo-Indians, and the Costus of the ancient Romans.

Among the drugs to be found in a Chinese druggist's shop is one which is of frequent occurrence in the prescriptions of native practitioners. This is a dark coloured aromatic seed generally labelled *Pu-ku-chih* (補骨脂). Other ways of writing the name

are *P'o-ku-chih* (破故紙 and 婆固脂) and *Hu-chiu-tzu, i.e., Va-ku-tsi* (胡韭子). Though native scholars try to explain some of these terms as though they were Chinese they are all attempts to transcribe the Sanskrit Vakūchi or its Hindustani corruption Bukchī. The Vakūchi is the *Psoralea Corylifolia,* a leguminous plant of India which yields the Bawchan seeds of commerce. Though the plant is said to occur abundantly in many parts of the South and West of China its seeds are still largely imported. They are much used and highly prized as a medicine for qualities like those for which the Indian and other foreign doctors hold them in esteem.[1]

We have also the *Tu-nou* (篤耨), a name in which Dr. F. Porter Smith thinks "Frankincense, crude turpentine, and perhaps Sandarac" are included. This word perhaps is the Sanskrit dhūṇa, properly the resin of the *Shorea Robusta,* but extended to other resinous substances.[2]

Another word which we may note, and one better known than those just mentioned is *Mo-lo* (摩羅). This represents the Sanskrit word mālā, which is properly translated in Chinese by man (鬘), a head-ornament, a wreath or garland. The Buddhist pilgrims in India seem to have been much struck with the universal use of garlands by all classes of the people of that country. The word mālā is often found transcribed in a different manner and confounded by the Chinese with the name for the jasmine.[3]

Turning next to names of animals we find that the Chinese have derived very few of these from Indian originals. Nor can it be said that the few which they have adopted are in common use or familiar to any except the educated. Thus in addition to the native word for elephant, Hsiang, there is the book term *Chi-ch'ien* (伽千). This stands for Gaja or Garja, one of the

[1] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xiv.; Ch. Mat. Med. s. v. Aucklandia; Dymock's Vegetable Mat. Med. of W. India, p. 449; Ch. Mat. Med. s.v. Psoralia; Dymock's Veg. Mat. Med., p. 216.

[2] Ch. Mat. Med. s.v. Turpentine, &c., p. 206; "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxxiv.; "Yuan-chien-lei-han," chap. ccxxxiv.

[3] See "Shi-lei-fu," chap. lxxix.; *Mo-lo* is used also for the lily. "Pên-ts'ao," chap. xxvii.

Sanskrit names for the elephant, but it is very little known or used. Another way of writing the same word is *Chia-ye,* that is, *Ga-ya* (伽耶), the form quoted in the "Pên Ts'ao." But this also is of rare occurrence, and *Hsiang* is the only name current.

We have already seen that the common Chinese name for the lion, Shih, is probably of Persian origin. One Sanskrit name for the animal is Simha, in Hindustani Singh, and this is known in Chinese literature as *Sêng-ko* or *Sêng-ga* (僧格 or 伽), sometimes with *pi* (彼) added apparently by mistake. There is also an old Chinese name for the lion, which is written *Sun-ye* (狻猊). As this word was formerly pronounced like *Sin-gya* it probably represented Singh or some other variety of the Sanskrit Simha. The word was in the language before the introduction of Buddhism, and the lion was apparently known to the Chinese by this name at an early period.[1]

The rhinoceros, moreover, has a Chinese name *Hsi* or *Hsi-niu* (犀牛). But it is also known at least to some extent in literature by the Sanskrit name K'adga. In Chinese this becomes *Chieh* (*Kat*)-*ga* (佉 or 揭 伽) or *K'o* (*K'at*)-*ga* (渴伽). The unicornity, if one may use the word, of this animal attracted notice among Indians and Chinese, and he forms a favourite illustration for loneliness or isolation. Notably the Pratyeka Buddha, who lives in the world alone and for himself, has an epithet drawn from the rhinoceros.

Then as to Birds, in the Buddhist literature we find very frequent mention of a bird, which in Chinese characters is *Ka-ling-pin-ga* (迦陵頻伽), that is, Kalavingka in Sanskrit. Another way of writing this word is *Ko-lo* (歌羅)-*pin-ga,* but the former is that generally used. Now the Kalavingka is a sparrow according to the dictionaries, but the *Ka-ling-pin-ga* is something very different. It is a bird of song with a note sweeter and more tuneful than anything else except Buddha's voice. There are who fondly fable that even in the shell while only growing to be a bird it makes a low soft music, but who can hear it? When grown to maturity the bird lives in all lonely places hidden in bosky

[1] "Pên-ts'ao," chap. li.; "Hsi-ch'ao-hsin-yü," chap. v.

dells or dark forests. It is perhaps, as has been conjectured, the "wandering voice"—the Ko-il of India—also called in books Kokila. But it is not a mere earthly bird, for as it sings to the glory of Buddha here so it is a dweller in the Paradise of Amida.[1]

The Mynah (or Mainah) is known by various names in different parts of China, and it has some which are used only in books. One of its common names is Pa-ko, the Eight-Brothers, reminding us of the Seven Sisters of India. It is also known in literature at least by its Sanskrit name Ṣārika or Sāri. In Chinese this becomes usually *Shê-li* (舍 利), but sometimes we find *Shê-lo* (舍 羅). The latter is perhaps also for Sāras, a name given to several birds, including a kind of heron. The name *Shê-li* is also given by the Chinese to a long-legged bird like a heron, and is said to be another name for the *Ch'iu-lu* (鶖 鷺) of their books. It is possible that the son of Ṣāriputra's mother would not take it as a compliment to his mother to be told that her eyes were like those of a pady-bird.

The Dragons, Nagas, met old friends, speaking figuratively, when they were brought by the Buddhists into China. Like the native word *Lung* the Sanskrit Naga includes all serpents so far as they are objects of worship or are credited with supernatural powers. Among the strange creatures called *lung* is one which has retained its Indian name. This is the Kumbhira or Kumbhila, "the crocodile of the Ganges; the long-nosed alligator." In Chinese the word became *Kung-p'i-lo* (宮 毗 羅) or *Chin*, that is, *Kum* (金) *p'i-lo*. The creature is described as a monster, part fish and part serpent, and as living in lakes or the ocean. It is also identified by some native scholars with their *Mu-lung*, the *Chiao* (蛟) or scaly hornless dragon. So the creature is, at least to some extent, one about whose existence we may reasonably have doubts.[2]

[1] "Shih-lei-fu," chap. lxxxvi.; Burnouf "Le Lotus," &c., p. 565.

[2] "Yuan-chien-lei-han," chap. cdxxxvii.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

(Continued).

We have next to consider some of the new Chinese terms and phrases which were added to the Chinese language as a result of the introduction of Buddhism. And of these we first take examples of the translations from Sanskrit which were originally made and used in the Buddhist teachings and transferred thence to the popular language. It would seem that the early apostles of Buddhism in China tried to translate all the Indian books which they brought, and to render all the peculiar phrases of their religion into Chinese idioms with like or analogous meanings. They did not succeed, however, and partly from inability but partly also from design they left many expressions untranslated. These, as has been seen, have to a large extent continued to be used in their original forms given to them by these first translators, the conservative spirit of religion repressing all tendency to change traditional phraseology.

In dealing with the sacred texts from India the translators into Chinese, we are told, observed four courses of procedure. They (1) transcribed without translating as in all cases of magical formulæ; or (2) they gave the meaning in Chinese while retaining the Indian symbol as in the case of the Svastika; or (3) they both transcribed and translated; or (4) they did neither leaving the Indian symbols in their original forms without explanation. In practice only the first and third of these modes of treatment were of importance, instances of the second and fourth being rare. Then if we enquire how it is that all the Sanskrit words and phrases have not been rendered into Chinese equivalents we receive the following explanatory answer. The early translators having treated the texts in the manner here set forth left their works a sacred legacy to their successors.

These corrected errors of interpretation and sometimes of transcription, but they did not like to make needless changes. There are five kinds of expressions, Sanskrit and Chinese, which the later translators, say those of the T'ang period, left in their old forms handed down from the early fathers. Thus (1) the dhāraṇi and all Sanskrit words and phrases of a mystical incommunicable virtue inherent in the Sanskrit sounds were left as they were found. Such terms (2) as were of too great and serious import, like Bhagavan, were left untranslated as before. Objects (3) which were unknown in China and had no representative there, like the Jambu tree, retained their original names. Certain phrases (4) which were left untranslated by the early translators were out of respect for these kept as they were left. Lastly (5) all those terms remained untranslated which had peculiar signification and importance, such as Anuttara-samyak-sambodhi. But it must be added that renderings have been given for some of the Chinese-Sanskrit expressions here indicated, and that in some cases the Chinese equivalents are better known than the Sanskrit originals. We must remember, however, that the renderings of Sanskrit terms are often erroneous or at least inapplicable and that they frequently add something new to the meaning of the original. With these preliminary observations we may now proceed to review a few of the new terms given to Chinese by translations of Sanskrit expressions. These terms are called new to Chinese because they are such for practical purposes. Some of them may perhaps be found in old literature before Buddhism, but these became known through the influence of that religion and so passed into the common language.[1]

Beginning with the Buddhas we find that the title or as the Chinese regard it, name of the historical Buddha Ṣākyamuni, was early translated into Chinese. The rendering usually given is *Nêng-jen-tsi-mo* (能仁寂默), which means "one capable of benevolence living as a recluse, or the compassionate hermit. But the latter half of the name is very commonly omitted, and

[1] The "Sung-kao-sêng-chuan" (宋高僧傳) quoted in "A-mi-t'ê-ching," chap. i. in "Fan-i-ming-i;" chap. xi. and in other books.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Nêng-jen is used by itself as meaning simply "the compassionate one," that is, Buddha. It is found in this sense as a name of Buddhist monasteries, and the term is often used in such a way as shows that its origin has been forgotten. Instead of *Nêng-jen* we find occasionally *Neng-ju* (能 儒), the able scholar, the clever man of learning. Here we have an instance of what occurs often in the Chinese treatment of foreign words. The name Ṣākyamuni is sometimes transcribed, as has been seen, *Shi-chia-wên* (釋 迦 文). Of this Shi-chia was taken by some to be a Sanskrit word meaning able or capable, and *wên* (*mun*) was said to be a Chinese word used in the sense of *ju*, a student or man of learning.

One of the usual epithets of reverence for every Buddha is in Chinese *Shi-tsun* (世 尊). This means "world-honoured,"and is sometimes said to be a translation of the Loka-jyeshtha of Sanskrit which has the same meaning. It is, however, also given as the rendering for Loka-nātha, Lord of the world; and we find, moreover, that it is used to represent Bhagavat, Tathāgata, Purushottama, and other titles or epithets of Buddha. It is also a common form of speech when addressing a Buddha or speaking of one or his image. Thus in the Mountain Monastery poem Tu Fu describing a ruined temple says—The old Hall alone remains—even Buddha's image is crumbled to dust (世 尊 亦 塵 埃). The expression *Shi-tsun* occurs in early Chinese literature, for example in Han Fei tzŭ's writings, in the sense of "the world honours, or esteems." But the term as used by the Buddhists is practically new to the language.

Among the mythical Buddhas who are said to have preceded the historical one Dipankara is famous for an interview which he had with Gautama. The latter was then a youth going through one of his many stages of existence, and it was part of the good destiny he had made for himself that he was to encounter Dipankara. On the occasion of the meeting when the youth had presented his offering and given worship to the Buddha the latter predicted to Gautama that after many great cycles of years had passed he would become Buddha with the name Ṣakyamuni. The old Buddha Dipankara (or Dipaka) is transcribed in Chinese

in various ways, as *T'i-ho-chie,* that is. De-va-ka perhaps (提和竭) sometimes with *lo* added; or as *Di-van-ka* (提洹渴). The transcriptions, however, are very rarely met with, and this Buddha is known in Chinese literature by a translation of his name. He is the *Jan-têng* (然燈) Fo, that is, the Buddha bright as a burning lamp; or he is the *Ting-kuang* (定 for 錠光) *Fo,* the Lamp-bright Buddha. The Sanskrit name Dīpankara means light-maker or illuminator, and it was given on account of the great radiance which emanated from the body of the future Buddha when he was only a baby.

One of the most popular and familiar objects of worship in China is the god or goddess called *Kuan-shi-yin* (觀世音) or Kuan-yin, or Kuan-tzŭ-tsai (觀自在). This last is a fair rendering of the Sanskrit name which is Avalokitesvara, meaning "the Lord who looks down or regards." But the two other forms of translation are either the result of an improper analysis of the above Sanskrit word or renderings of some other form of the name. Kuan-yin is a *P'u-sa* who takes a very great interest in the affairs of mankind, but more especially protects women and children. As a god he is of Indian origin, but as a goddess she is perhaps at least partly a native deity. The common name of the P'u-sa is *Kuan-yin* (or Kuan-shi-yin), but there are many other titles, some of which are given by Eitel. Thus he is known as *P'u-mên* (普門) or door for all, that is, facing all sides or beholding all things, a translation of the Sanskrit epithet Samanta-mukha, facing in all directions. Tender compassion and love for mankind are the characteristics of this "Goddess of Mercy," and hence we find her called *Chiu-k'u* (救苦) Kuan-shi-yin, the epithet *Chiu-k'u* having the sense of "releasing from misery" or "saving from woe." As her eyes are always turned downwards she is called the *Ti-mei* (低眉)-P'u-sa, that is, the P'u-sa of the down-bent eyebrow. This was perhaps meant to be a rendering of the Sanskrit word avalokita, looking down, that is, with pity and compassion.

In all lands where Buddhism prevails few among the contemporaries of the Buddha are better known that the rich lay

disciple who bought Prince Jeta's Park and built on it the great vihāra for the Master and his disciples. But this disciple is best known not by his name which was Sudatta, but by the epithet which his charitable actions had won for him, Anātha-piṇḍada, "the feeder of the helpless." It was this latter which was translated into Chinese as his name, the rendering being *Kei-ku-tu* (給孤獨), that is, giver to orphans and the friendless. This is sometimes shortened to *Kei-ku*, giving to orphans, but otherwise the rendering has remained unaltered. The first translators perhaps had in mind the old Chinese expression *Hsü* (恤) *ku-tu*, to be kind to the orphans and friendless, a duty, according to the "Li-chi," of the *Ssŭ-t'u*. It is interesting to observe that here *Ku-tu* is explained by *Wu-kao-cho* (無告者), that is, those who are without one to whom to appeal (A-nātha). So also the old woman whom Ch'ên Tzŭ-wei met when he was in search of his mother described herself in Buddhist language saying: I, an orphan and friendless, want to be supported by my own son (我孤獨欲依親家子).[1]

One title of a supreme ruler or universal sovereign in Sanskrit is Chakra-vartin, that is, perhaps, Wheel-revolving. The interpretation in Chinese is *Chuan-lun-shêng-wang* (轉輪聖王), that is, the Holy King of the Revolving Wheel. There are various explanations of the Sanskrit name which is perhaps of Solar origin, and there are several theories as to the origin and meaning of its Chinese rendering. But the latter long ago became a popular phrase in the Chinese language and literature. It has also received new applications, and it has been extended even to a ruler in the world below. The term for "Holy" is often left out, and the title Chuan-lun-wang, Rolling Wheel King is used alone, or it is qualified by other words to indicate that the king is such by force or otherwise.[2]

Then Buddhism is sometimes called the Dharma-chakra, the Circle of the Faith or the Wheel of the Law. In Chinese this became *Fa-lun* (法輪) with the same meaning. It was at

[1] See the "Li-chi," chap. iii.; "Fêng-su-t'ung," chap. iii.

[2] "Fa-yuan-chu-lin," chap. xliii.

Benares that the gospel of Buddhism was first preached, and the fact is expressed by saying that there Buddha "set the Wheel of the Faith in motion." This in Chinese is *Ch'u-chuan-fa-lun* (初轉法輪). Here the word *ch'u,* meaning *at first, for the first time,* was probably at one time superfluous, and the phrase *Chuan-fa-lun* may have meant "to establish the Kingdom of True Religion" or "set on foot the dominion of the Law." But it soon came to mean simply to teach or propagate the Buddhist religion. This is its common use now, and so familiar is the form of expression that the word *fa* may be left out as understood. Thus we are told of P'u-sas that the final cause of their existence is that they may help Buddha to propagate his religion—*I-tsu Fu-chuan-lun* (以助佛轉輪).[1]

In China senior brethren, heads of houses and other superior monks are styled *Ta-tê* (大德) by their juniors and inferiors and also by others. This term represents the word Bhadanta, which is a Sanskrit Buddhist word, meaning "Reverend."

The term *Shêng-wên* (聲聞), Voice-hearer or Listener, is a rendering for the Sanskrit term Ṣrāvaka, Hearer. This was a name given at first to the immediate disciples of the Buddha, and afterwards extended to those professed followers who were content with or were in a low state of spiritual attainments. Those who were Elders among the first Buddhist Brethren were called Sthaviras, old men. This was rendered in Chinese by *Ta-ti-tzŭ* (大弟子), Great Brethren, and the term is still in common use as one of respect for old or eminent monks.

Passing on to examples of geographical and topographical terms we notice the common expressions *Chie* and *Shi-chie* (世界). These mean "world," the confines of mortality, and usually represent the Sanskrit word *loka* with the same meaning. But they translate also dhātu when used in the sense of "a world," *loka-dhātu,* a world or a great region, and *Kshetra,* which is properly a land or territory. The well known phrase *San-chie* (三界) denotes in Buddhism the "three worlds" of Desire, Form and the Formless. It is a translation of the Sanskrit *trailokya* and

[1] See Childers' Pa. Dict. s.v. Dhammachakkam.

traidhātuka with the same meaning. The word *loka* is rendered also in several other ways, as by *shi* (世), a generation, by *yu* (有), existence, and by *pai-hsing* (百 姓), the people.

Near Rājagriha, in India, is a mountain which in the early history of Buddhism attained a celebrity among the followers of that religion. Its Indian name was Gridhra-kūṭa (in Pali Gijjakūt) that is, Vulture Peak. In the old translations of the sacred books we usually find this transcribed in Chinese by *Ch'i-sho-chueh* (耆 闍 崛), that is, perhaps *Gi-dha-kut*. There are also several other ways in which the name is transcribed, but the mountain is known in China by translations of the Sanskrit. The common rendering is *Ling-chiu-fêng* or *shan* (靈 鷲 峰 or 山), the Peak or Hill of the Intelligent Vultures, the word *ling* being an addition of the translator. This name is explained as denoting that the mountain was so called from the wise prophetic vultures by which it was haunted. But we find also as another rendering of the Sanskrit name *Chiu-t'ou-fêng*, that is, Vulture-Head Peak, as though the mountain had been so called from a supposed resemblance of its summit to the head of a vulture. The name Ling-chiu-shan has been given to several mountains in China and notably to one in the Province of Chekiang.

When Buddha's disciple Sāriputra hereafter becomes Buddha he will have a Paradise to be called Virajas. This word means "free from dust" and it is translated into Chinese by *Li-kou* (離 垢), *free from soil, clean and pure.* But there are also other Sanskrit terms with a like signification which have been rendered by *Li-kou.* This has come to be a name often given by Chinese to gardens and pleasure grounds, and the Li-kou-yuan, about ten miles from Kiukiang, was once a place of fame.

Then we have *Lu-yuan* (鹿 苑) or Deer Garden. This is a translation of Mṛiga-dāva, or Deer-Forest, the name of a place about ten *li* from Benares. There is another and a better rendering, *Lu-ye* (野)-*yuan*, meaning Deer Park, a wood inhabited by wild deer. It was here that Buddha "first set in motion the wheel of religion," and so it is regarded as the starting place of Buddhism. Hence comes the Confucian expression *Lu-yuan-*

tzŭ-liu (鹿苑淄流), literally, the Dark Stream from the Deer Park. But the expression means the order of Buddhist monks, the sombre vested profession derived from Buddha.

Going on next to names of objects which are connected or associated with the monks we take one or two examples. The Buddhist monastery is called in Sanskrit a Vihāra, a word which meant originally expansion, recreation, roaming about for pleasure. The Chinese rendering is *Ching-shê* or *Ching-lu* (精舍 or 廬), the abode or cottage of the refined, according to some explanations. Here we have another instance of the elevation often given to Sanskrit terms by their Chinese translations. But in some of the old books we find simply *shê*, a dwelling place, as the rendering of Vihāra. It was probably from an impulse of humility that words like *shê* and *lu* were adopted to designate the abodes of the monks. In Chinese literature those words were used to denote the dwelling houses of the people, and specially of the poor. Another term used to render Vihāra but only in certain cases is *Ta-ssŭ* (大寺) or *large temple*, but originally, the premises of a large public building.

The abbots or heads of Buddhist monasteries in China have as one of their badges of office a *Hsi-chang* (錫杖) or "Pewter Staff." The staff is of wood, but it is surmounted by a head of pewter having a regulated number of rings also of that metal. This term Hsi-chang represents but is not supposed to be a literal rendering of the Sanskrit name Khakkhara, the Khikshari of Hodgson, explained by him as "a short staff surmounted by a chaitya." Something like this was probably the early form of the staff, and it was at first carried by every monk when going his rounds begging. Confucianists sometimes speak of it as the Buddhist or Buddha's Pewter Staff, and we find them alluding to the belief that to a knock from it the gates of hell open and let out the sinner whom Buddha wishes to release. If, says a Confucianist philosopher, your parents are in hell it is because they have heaped up wickedness in this life, and if such be the case how can Buddha's Pewter Staff save and release them? (豈浮屠錫杖所能救而出之者乎). Sometimes the Chinese

drop the word *Chang* using only *Hsi,* as in names of wells and other objects. Thus there is a *Hsi-ch'üan* (錫泉) or Pewter Staff Spring in the White Cloud Hills near Canton. This Spring was so called because tradition said that a pious monk once struck the spot with his staff and caused the Spring to appear. Further, the true mendicant Brother who has no settled place of abode is called a *Fei* (飛)-*hsi,* a Flying Monk's staff. On the other hand the monk who lives quietly at ease in his monastery is said to have hung up his staff, and hence he is called *Kua* (掛)-*hsi,* a Hung-up Pewter Staff. Intermediate between these is the monk who while attached to a monastery makes visits or pilgrimages to noted seats of religion. When such a Brother visits a monastery he lays down his staff as a sign that he wishes to be a guest for a few days. He is then said to *Chê* (卓)-*hsi,* set up his Pewter Staff, and he is called a *Chê-hsi* or sometimes *Kua-hsi* (掛錫), hung-up staff, because he hangs his staff on a peg to keep it clean and safe. It should be added that the name Hsi-chang is said to have been given to the Buddhist mendicants' staff in imitation of the *Si-si* which it made when shaken. It is also known as the *Hu-hsi* (虎錫), Tiger Pewter Staff, because a monk once drove away tigers with it. The Hsi-chang is to be distinguished from the *Chu-chang* (柱杖), which is a staff for the use of any old or feeble member of a Buddhist fraternity.[1]

The sacred books of the Buddhists are known collectively as the Tripiṭaka or Three Baskets. This title was translated into Chinese by *San-tsang* (三藏), the Three Stores. This became a well known phrase and received new applications. It is given to other collections of books, as, for example, to those in the Emperor's Palace. In cases like this it denotes a Library of Confucianist, Buddhist and Taoist books, but it may also be applied to other three-fold collections of books. The pious and learned monk Yuan-chuang (Hiouen Thsang) was honoured with the title T'ang San-tsang, which we may translate "Canon of Buddhism of the T'ang period." In later times this epithet has

[1] Hodgson's Essays on the Lang. Lit. and Rel. of Nepal and Tibet, pp. 141, 143; "Hsiao-hsio-chi-chie" (小學 &c.,) chap. v., p. 20; "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 中 and chap. 下; 南海寄歸, &c., chap. iv.

been conferred on other monks of note, but it is rarely given now.

The word Vajra in Sanskrit has several meanings, of which we may notice the diamond, steel and the thunderbolt. It was translated in Chinese by *Chin-kang* (金 剛) in these senses. So this term is used to denote the thunderbolt and its symbol, the miniature club employed by Buddhist and Taoist monks. It is also used figuratively to denote that which cuts or breaks other things but cannot be injured by anything. The Chinese Buddhists and non-Buddhists, moreover, give this name *Chin-kang* to many objects which have not the corresponding word Vajra in their Indian names.

A well known technical term of Buddhism is in Sanskrit Triyāna, the three-fold Vehicle, the three Conveyances, viz., the great, the medium and the small one. This word Triyāna was translated by *San-shêng* (三 乘) with the same meaning. Then as each of these Vehicles had its peculiar literature yāna came to be interpreted as denoting *tsê* (箣), a writing or pamphlet. There is, however, another Triyāna, also translated *San-shêng*, of old date in Buddhism. The three Vehicles of this are the Srāvaka's, the Pratyeka Buddha's, and the Bodhisatva's or Buddha's, and these symbolize different ways of attaining Nirvāna.[1]

Then we have the popular term *Fu-tê-shê* (福 德 舍), which was perhaps made by or for the Buddhists. It is used as a translation of the Sanskrit Puṇy-sālā, a name given to the houses of shelter set up by the roadside in India. The Chinese made such houses or sheds and gave them this name, using the buildings also as places of worship. They are still common in many parts of China and are often called simply *Fu-tê*, that is, Religious Merit. A word for shrine or temple, however, is usually added to the inscription over the door of such building. The use of the word *shê* in the above expression is probably derived from an old native application of the term. In ancient times there were government stations at intervals of thirly *li* on the highways. These stations, which were merely sheds or pavilions, were called *shê*, and they were for the convenience of officials and travellers

[1] "Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching," chap. iii.

generally. The phrase *Fu-tê* itself is perhaps of Buddhist origin. It is used to render the Sanskrit terms puṇya, religious merit, and puṇya-skandha, accumulation of such merit. In this, as in many other cases, the word *tê*, virtue, originally perhaps served only to convert the word preceding from an adjective into a noun or to indicate that the word is used as a noun. The word *fu* may mean happy or happiness, but *fu-tê* is always happiness, or the merit from good works which brings happiness. A remembrance of the Sanskrit extraction of the phrase seems to have produced such common expression as *Chi-fu-tê* (積 福 德), to accumulate religious merit, heap up happiness, and *Chi-fu-tê-hsing* (行), a course of conduct by which such merit is accumulated.

Nearly every translation of a Buddhist sūtra into Chinese begins with the words *Ju-shi-wo-wên* (如 是 我 聞). These are for the Sanskrit Evam mayā ṣrutam, and mean, This is what I heard, or I have heard as follows. The expression *ju-shi-wo-wên* became proverbial, and it was adopted as the title of a book.

The formula called Tri-ṣarana, the Three-fold Refuge, has been called the Creed of Buddhism. It consists in the repetition of words which mean "I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in the Scriptures, I take refuge in the Church." This word Tri-ṣarana was rendered in Chinese by *San-kuei* (三 歸), the Triple Recourse. And in a learned and popular treatise of the 2nd Century A. D. we find this term *San-kuei*, but apparently with a different meaning. The word *kuei* is used also to render the Sanskrit *namas*, meaning praise or salutation. This is its explanation in the common expressions *Kuei-ming* (歸 命) and *Kuei-i* (依), I go to for life or support, that is, I put my trust in. These expressions are said to mean simply I give praise or salutation, but they are evidently the equivalents of the Sanskrit ṣaranam gachchami, I go for refuge to [Buddha, the Scriptures and the Church]. The phrase *kuei-ming* is employed also in common literature in the sense of "to give in adherence, to tender submission." It is used in this way of a rebel chief laying down arms and submitting to Government. An old word which, however, is still in use and is said to be a synonym for *kuei* in its Buddhist

use is *Kuei* (皈 or 皈). The spelling of this character, however, would seem to give a sound like *pan* or *fan*, and it was perhaps originally for a Sanskrit word like vanda, which means praise or salutation.

We next take a phrase which is to some extent peculiar to Buddhism though borrowed from it by the adherents of other systems and with a different meaning. The phrase is *Lou-chin* (漏盡), the literal meaning of which is "having all leaking exhausted or ended." This phrase is a translation of the Sanskrit term Āsrava-kshaya, of which *Asrava* means a flowing as of water, then affliction, and in Buddhism a yielding to sin, and *Kshaya* denotes destruction or termination. The Pali form is Āsavakkhayo, and Childers explains it by "Extinction or cessation of human passion, Arahatta." And thus *lou-chin* means "having put an end to all tendencies to sin," and it is applied to a man who is ripe for Nirvāna. Such a person is also said to be Kshināsrava, which in Chinese is *Chu-lou-i-chin* (諸漏巳盡), having all leaking ended, that is, free from all spiritual imperfection. Or he is said to be *Wu-lou* (無漏), free from leaking, staunch and perfect. Sometimes the other meaning of *lou-chin* already noticed seems to be present in the mind of one using it as a Buddhist, and occasionally it is hard to tell in which sense the term is employed.[1]

We have already seen that the Sanskrit word Pāramita has been admitted into the Chinese language. It has also been translated, and it is well known by the common rendering *Tao-pi-an* (到彼岸), "having reached that bank," or "arrived at the other shore." But then the "other shore," Pi-an, is Nirvāna according to some, and Paradise according to others. And so the term Pi-an often denotes simply the world beyond, the life hereafter. Hence Confucianists have stated one of their objections to Buddhism in the charge that the Buddhists *K'ung-t'an-pi-an* (空談彼岸), talk without ground of the other bank, meaning that they talk idly of the world to come, neglecting that which is.

[1] See Childers' Pa. Dict. s. v. Āsavakkhayo and Āsavo; Burnouf "Le Lotus," p. 822.

Then the word *tu* 度 (or more correctly 渡), to ferry over or carry across, viz., the ocean of existence, is another rendering for Pāramita. The Six Pāramitas are the *Liu-Tu,* the six fold means of deliverance or the six requisites for obtaining salvation. These are alms-giving, moral purity, patient endurance, energetic progress, ecstatic meditation and Prajñā or Spiritual Wisdom.

It is probable that the term *Chie-t'o* (解脫) was first made by or for the Buddhists. These use it to translate Mukti, Moksha, Vimoksha and other derivatives of *much,* meaning to free or release. So *Chie-t'o* means emancipation, released, viz., from all that binds to existence, and also free, unbound generally. Like Moksha, moreover, it has sometimes the technical restricted sense of absolution such as is given at the quinquennial conference. Then with or without the addition of *fa* (法), canonical scripture, *Chie-t'o* stands for Pratimoksha, the ceremonial code of the professed Buddhists.[1]

Another new phrase added to the Chinese language by translation from the Sanskrit is *Mie-tu* (滅度), to save by extinction. This stands for the word Nirvāṇa (which we have seen was imported into Chinese as *Nie-pan*) and some of its derivatives. The phrase *mie-tu,* it will be observed, is like several others a translation with a gloss. It also follows the fortunes of the original, for it means not only Nirvāṇa but also to die, to save, and salvation. Thus there is the common expression *Mie-tu-chung-shêng* (滅度衆生), which means to save all creatures, to cause them to attain Nirvāṇa. When used in the sense of to die the idea of the last death, of passing into Nirvāṇa, is perhaps present in the mind of the person so using it, and it is probably so applied only to a Buddhist monk.

The last phrase we notice in this department of our subject is *Shên-t'ung* (神通), literally, Spiritual penetration. There are certain supernatural powers which are attained by every one who becomes Arhan or Buddha. In Sanskrit these are called Abhijña (or Abhijnāna), and this is translated in Chinese by *shên-t'ung* as above. There are properly five of these powers—Panchābhijña,

[1] Childers' Pa. Dict. s. v. Patimokkham.

Wu-shên-t'ung, but sometimes we read of six. In China the phrase Wu-shên-t'ung has given name to many temples, and it has long ago in popular use lost its proper signification. For this expression we sometimes find in the older translations and other books the phrase *Pan-cho-hsün* (般遮旬), in which pan-cho is the Sanskrit word for five (pancha), and *hsün (jan* perhaps) is for abhijnāna. Another way of giving the Sanskrit expression is *Wu-hsün* (五旬), the five *hsün.*

We next go on to consider some of the new expressions added to the Chinese language through the influence of Buddhism, but which are not translations from Sanskrit. Under the previous heading, as may have been observed, several phrases are given, which belong properly to the class before us at present. And of the expressions now to be considered some are regarded by the Chinese as, equally with those given in the last section, translations from Sanskrit. It will be seen, however, from a few examples that they are not such but only new terms introduced by Buddhist teachers and their followers. We must also bear in mind that here, as in the last division, some of the terms treated as additions by Buddhists may not be such but may have been in the language from an early date. Occasionally even learned Chinese make mistakes on this subject, putting down a Buddhist term as a native one stolen from an old Taoist writer or with lazy indifference calling another term a translation because it is strange to them. As we all know, however, it is not easy in every case to ascertain with certainty when a particular word or phrase was first used or when and by whom it was invented. For the present in illustrating the additions to Chinese of the kind now under consideration we have generally to trust to native authorities. And we now proceed to notice some examples beginning with terms which relate to the clergy and their functions and services.

The first which occurs is the very common phrase *Ch'u-chia* (出家), to become a monk, literally, to leave the family. This phrase was taken or made by the early translators to render such Sanskrit terms as *parivraj,* to wander about as a religious

mendicant, or *abhinishkram grtha-vāsasya,* to renounce home, that is, in order to become a religious ascetic.[1] But *Ch'u-chia* may be applied now to any one entering Religion Buddhist, Taoist or other, though it is still used chiefly of Buddhist monks and nuns. Hence in common language a *ch'u-chia-chih-jen* is usually a professed Buddhist merely. The Confucianists also have the phrase *ch'u-chia,* but with them it means to excel the family, to break the "invidious bar."

Another expression for taking the vows of a professed Buddhist is *Ch'u-shi* (出 世), to quit the world. Some see in this use of the term an implied reference to Mencius' words about belonging to the age *(shi)* in which we are born, but this is not necessary. As we have seen, there is another sense in which *ch'u-shi* is employed, viz., to be born, to come into the world. The Buddhists, who perhaps originated the phrase, also use it in this way to denote the incarnation of a Buddha. When a P'u-sa leaves the Tushita Heaven and is born in this world for the last time he is said to *ch'u-shi,* to emerge in the world. And this phrase is used in the same way of the appearance of a great and good sovereign.[2]

The phrase *T'i-tu* (剃 度), ordained by shaving, is a Buddhist invention, and points to a curious well known custom. When a boy is afflictedwith a dangerous illness his parents often vow to consecrate him to the service of Buddha if his life is spared. When the boy recovers he is attached nominally or really to a monastery as a novice or disciple. He serves as such sometimes for life, but often for only two or three years or even a shorter period. The novice in such cases is called a *T'i-tu* because he is in the church by the mere act of having his head shaved. But this name is often given rather to the poor boy who is hired by the parents of the sick child to represent their son vicariously in the performance of the vow. This substitute has also among the monks another title derived from the irregularity of his admission and the facility with which he may give up the life of a professed Buddhist. The title is also extended to the novice who fulfills his parents'

[1] The phrase is so used in the "Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching."

[2] L. C. C., ii., p. 376.

vow. The title is *T'iao-ch'iang* (跳牆) or Wall-leaper, and the above described novices are so called because they came not in by the door of regular ordination and they go out how and when they please. Another term invented for boys apprenticed, as it were, or sent as disciples to an abbot is *Fo-tzŭ*, Sons of Buddha. This term is also often applied to properly ordained deacons and to pious monks and devotees, and to Buddhist monks generally.

It is the duty of the Buddhist Abbot or Patriarch when near the end of life to appoint his successor. This is done by the act of handing over to the brother selected all the insignia of office. These are still in remembrance of early days of simple poverty called by the old term *robe and bowl*, and *Chuan-i-po* (傳衣鉢), to transmit dress and bowl, is to appoint the recipient successor as abbot or head of a monastic establishment. This expression *Chuan-i-po* is applied also to the last will of a dying monk who leaves his all—the robe and bowl—to one of the brethren or to the monastery. At first the phrase was confined to Buddhists, but it soon came to be adopted in ordinary life, and it is used in the sense of handing over to son or other successor one's trade or profession.

Another phrase of this kind also perhaps first used by the Buddhists is *Chuan-têng* (傳燈), to transmit the lamp or lantern. Buddhism is likened to a lamp because it brings light to the long night of life elsewhere and illuminates man's spiritual darkness. The old abbot and all who have the lamp of faith and wisdom must give it over betimes well trimmed and in full flame to those who are coming after. Or as others put it, he who has a burning lamp must light with it a new lamp for him who follows. Instead of the lamp we often find the simpler article, the torch, used as a symbol of the Buddhist faith. The *Fa-chü* (法炬), Torch of Buddhism, was first lit by Ṣākyamuni and held out by him over the dark ocean of existence. He gave it over to his successor, and this and every great teacher since has tried *Jan-fa-chü* (然法炬), to have the torch of the Faith burning as brightly as when it was first held aloft by the Founder of the religion. It is expecially the duty of the Patriarchs,

founders of schools, abbots of great monasteries, and pious brethren with learning and leisure to pass the light undimmed and without interruption. Hence comes the title of a well known treatise, *Chuan-teng-lu* (傳燈錄), Record of the Transmission of the Lamp, which gives short accounts of eminent Buddhists.[1]

When a Buddha or a Buddhist saint is described as sitting it is usually said of him that he *Chia-fu-tso* (加趺坐). The first character is commonly written *chia* (跏), but this, as we are told, is a mistake. The above form of expression, however, is varied in several ways in the sacred literature. We are told that the phrase *chia-fu-tso* was invented by the Buddhists, and from them it seems to have passed into the language of the people. It means "to sit with the legs crossed under one" and it is used, for example, in the "Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching" (Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi), to translate the Sanskrit Paryaṅka-bandha, with the same meaning. A fuller form of expression is *Chie-chia-fu-tso* (結跏趺坐), to cross the legs and sit down, used in the "Miao-fa-ching" to render the Sanskrit Paryaṅkam ābhūjati with the same meaning.[2]

The great Patriarch Ta-mo (Bodhidharma), with whom we have met already, gave occasion to the making of a new phrase *Mien-pi* (面壁), to face a wall. After reaching Lo-yang Ta-mo took up his abode in a small monastery, and occupied himself there for nine years in looking at a wall or rather sitting with his face towards a wall (*mien-pi*). He was all the time, however, looking at his own heart, and hence arose the expression *Mien-pi-i-kuan-hsin* (面壁以觀心), to keep the face to a wall in order to contemplate the heart.

Another term due to the Buddhists is *Mu-yü* (木魚), Wood Fish. This denotes the fish-shaped drum made of wood which summons the brethren to mess and to prayers. The shape of this drum is said to have been given to it because the fish is a type of the good monk. It sleeps not day or night and it

[1] "Tu-shi-chi-shuo" (杜詩集說), chap. x., p. 52.

[2] Kuang-yun s. v. 趺; "Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching," chap. i., p. 6 (prose) and st. 61. Burnouf "Le Lot. de la Bonne Loi," p. 334; "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 中.

has the possibility of becoming a dragon. So the good monk is always watchful and diligent at devotions, and he may ultimately attain to high spiritual and supernatural powers.

One name, rather a literary one, for a Buddhist temple or monastery in China is *Hsiao-ssŭ* (蕭寺) or *Hsiao.* This name teaches us history, for it was during the Ch'i and Liang periods (A.D. 479 to 557) that it arose. Hsiao was the family name of the rulers of these dynasties, and the members of the family were generally devoted patrons of Buddhism. So many temples did they build or endow that Buddhist temples came to be generally called *Hsiao-ssŭ.* Hence we find in Chinese literature expressions like *Tu-shu Hsiao-ssŭ* (讀書蕭寺), that is simply, to study in a Buddhist temple. Then *Hsiao-chai* (蕭齋) is "monastery fasting" or lenten fare, but it is also used in other senses. It is a literary name for a study derived from that of Hsiao Tzŭ-yun, a descendant of the founder of the Ch'i dynasty.

The visible sign of reverence made by holding up the hands with the palms together was perhaps introduced into China by the Buddhists. It is called *Ho-chang* (和掌), putting the palms together. But this term is used to translate the Sanskrit word *kritānjali,* which means doing reverence by raising the open hands palms upward. The *Ho-chang* as an act of respect and worship is still considered to be characteristic of Buddhists though it is no longer confined to them. With the Buddhists to fold the hands in adoration before Buddha is an outward sign of the faith which the converted man professes to have in Buddha, his Church and his Canon. The native scholars are familiar with a quotation which alludes to a very old story and illustrates the meaning of our phrase. The quotation runs—By making a sand-heap one may attain to Buddhahood, and to fold the hands is to have already entered the holy career (聚沙能成佛道合掌己入聖流). The character used here for *ho* is perhaps more correct than that given above, but the latter is more popular. In course of time the word *chang* came to be oft left out as it is always in the phrase *Ho-nan* (和南). This is short for *Ho-chang-nan-wu* (和掌南無), I fold my hands and give saluta-

tion. Buddhist monks make much use of this form of expression, both in speech and writing, specially to their lay friends. The phrase *Ho-nan-pai* (和南拜), Reverence and salutation with folded hands, may often be seen on cards sent by monks in acknowledgment of a donation or in reply to an invitation from a lay patron. But Ho-nan is also said to be in early Buddhist literature a translation for the Sanskrit vanda, to salute with reverence and vandana, the act of doing obeisance or reverence. This rendering was afterwards changed for *li* (禮) in the sense of "treating with ceremony."

The Buddhist monks and nuns in China do not as a rule beg their food from door to door. But they go abroad much in search of subscriptions for the maintenance of their establishments and for useful works to which they annex a religious character. As this kind of begging was new to China it gave rise to several new forms of expression. One of these phrases used to denote the collecting of subscriptions for a temple or for some other Buddhist religious purpose is *Ch'ao-hua* (抄化), explained as meaning to seek out *(ch'ao)* those who have earned conversion *(hua)*. Another phrase is *Mu-yuan* (募緣), to summon the destined, that is, to call to good works those who in a former existence wrought for themselves a good destiny. This phrase is used also of any appeal to the community to subscribe for some public object not necessarily of a religious character. Like expressions are *Hua-yuan*, to convert the predestined, and *Mu-hua*, to summon to conversion. The Buddhist also teaches the "more blessed" doctrine and tells the believing giver that his alms and donations have both a retrospective and a prospective connection. They are the proof to him that in a former state he made for himself religious merit which he now enjoys, and they are the roots of further merit to grow and bloom and bear fruit in lives to come. Because the religious mendicant asks for contributions as doing good to the giver and under the form of calling on people to be converted *(hua)* he is called popularly and disrespectfully a *Chiao-hua-tzŭ* (叫化子), the caller to conversion. *Hua-tzŭ*, it will be remembered, is a common name for a beggar.

It is in connection with death and what is supposed to follow that we expect specially to find characteristic new expressions due to Buddhist influence. The possibility that birth here may be actually a re-birth, that life and death are only a coming and a going had occurred to Chinese philosophers before Buddhism came into the country. Thus we find in the book of Lie-tzŭ a sage reported as saying, "Death and birth are a departing and a return, and so to die here may be to be born in another place." And Chuang-tzŭ taught that Life and Death are merely relative terms, life follows death which in its turn begins life. But statements like these were only dark presentiments, and the thought of other lives than this did not take hold of the Chinese people until it came embodied in story by Buddhism. In this system the life we live now is only a short sad dream in the long night of existence which is full of such dreams all connected by unseen bonds which we are ever binding. It tells us that what we are here is the fruit of what we did in past forms of being and the seed of what we are to be in future modes of existence. The expression *Lun-hui* (輪 迴), Rotation of existence, lit. wheel revolving, was perhaps invented by the Buddhists. It has at least become their property as a term to denote the doctrine of metempsychosis and the world of transmigrations. To end these returns to wretched mortal life is the desire of all good people, and one of the dreadful punishments in King Yama's regions is to add three to one's allotted stages of existence. The wretch so punished is said to *Chia-san-shi-lun-hui* (假 三 世 輪 迴), to get three transmigrations from another. When referring to a return hereafter to this world the Buddhist speaks of his *Chuan-shên* (轉 身), body of revolution. And this phrase has passed into popular use in the sense of "in my next birth" or "when I come again into this world."

But after death here the spirit, *Shên* or *Ching-shên* (精 神), continues to live lodged in another body here or elsewhere. If it was bad and did evil it may go to the *Ti-yü* (地 獄), Earth Prisons or Hells, a term said to have been invented by the Buddhists. In the Ti-yü it may become an *O-kuei* (餓 鬼), or Hungry

Ghost, another term said to be due to the Buddhists. This term was used to translate the Sanskrit word Pretas, but as one of the meanings of this word was *spirits of ancestors,* the rendering was not satisfactory. So *Tsu-fu-kuei* (祖 父 鬼), ghosts of ancestors, was taken to render Pretas in this sense, and *O-kuei* was retained to designate those creatures which form one of the three bad classes among the six into which sentient creatures are divided. These are the creatures which are tortured in hell by perpetual hunger and thirst, and they are specially remembered in China on the occasion of the Yü-lan-hui, when all manner of kindness is extended to them. It is because one's deceased parents and other near relatives may possibly be in an "Earth Prison," or may be doomed to re-birth in a low and painful condition that many of the rites and services performed by Buddhist monks have been called into existence. These have given the language such expressions as *Chui-chien* (追 薦), to "follow the dead with worship," to obtain for them advancement in the other world. In popular use this phrase simply means to perform services for the release from the realms of misery for one who is supposed to have gone there on account of his misdeeds. Like *chui-chien* is *Chao-tu* (招 渡), also coined by the Buddhists and meaning *to evoke and save.* This also denotes the performance of a religious service for the dead, and the name is applied to the incantations and other strange ceremonies practised by Taoists and others on behalf of deceased persons or their relatives. Another very common phrase of this kind is *Tu-wang* (度 or 渡 亡), to save the dead. A general name for all religious services in connection with death is *Fo-shi* (佛 事), Buddha business. This name is used whether the services are performed by Buddhists, or by Taoists, or by laymen. Instead of "Buddha-Business" we find native authors using the one word Buddha in this sense. Thus of Cheng I-chuan of the Sung dynasty it is recorded that in conducting the death-rites for his parents he did not use Buddhist services, the words being *Pu-yung-fou-tu* (不 用 浮 屠). The term *Shao-i* (燒 衣), Burning clothes, that is, paper clothes for the dead, denotes a new usage which gives a new expression to the language.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

We pass on to take a few specimens of other terms added to the Chinese language by the Buddhists or derived from their religious teachings. For mortal existence which goes on from life and death to life and death renewed in many forms for many ages Buddhism has numerous metaphors. One of these is "a sea of troubles," *K'u-hai* (苦海), Sea of Bitterness or Misery. Then to carry us across this sea to Nirvāṇa we have the *Tzŭ-hang* (慈航), "The Grace" or Ship of Mercy. This is a very popular phrase often associated with Kuanyin P'u-sa and Omit'o Fo. But it is especially Prajṇā which is the *Tz'ŭ-hang*, the word being in common use liberally interpreted. To circulate good books among the people is praised as "showing far and wide the Ship of Mercy" (溥示慈航). Buddha's teachings, which may be summed up in the word Prajṇā, are also called a raft, a *Pao-fa* (寶筏), Precious Raft. This bears us across the sea of changing existence to the "other shore" where we let it go. Again the long series of life and death ceaselessly renewed through which man passes darkly not knowing whence he comes or whither he goes is called the *Hun-ch'ü* (昏衢), the murky labyrinth, the dusky thoroughfare. It is only spiritual wisdom which can light and guide us through the long *Hun-ch'ü*, and hence the term *Chih-chu* (智燭), Torch of Wisdom, a synonym for Prajṇā.

We next notice one or two of the terms for *to die* introduced by the Buddhists. Some of the old and common terms are much used by them, but there are also several forms of expression which they are said to have invented. Most of these have long been familiar to the laity but especially to the educated. One of them is *Hun-shêng Hsi-t'ien* (魂升西天), the spirit has gone aloft to the Western Heaven, that is, the Soul has gone to Paradise. No one whatever objects to the use of this expression with reference to a friend or relative newly deceased. Less complimentary and reassuring is the expression *Chien-yen-wang* (見閻王), to see King Yama, have an interview with the King of the Dead. This phrase, which is a safe one as it does not commit the speaker to an expression of opinion as to the result of the interview, is very

popular with all classes of the people. For *Yen* we often find *Ming* (冥), which has come before us already, and *Chien-ming-wang*, to have seen the King of Hades is to be dead simply. It was also the Buddhists perhaps who first made and used the phrase *Shun-shi* (順 世). This seems to mean no more than to follow the age or go with the world, but it is a Buddhist term for to die, to "go the way of all the earth." But the correct expression to use of the death of a Buddhist monk or nun is *Yuan-chi* (圓 寂), which means "to have perfect peace." He, that is a Buddhist monk, was already dead, is expressed by *i-yuan-chi* (已 圓 寂), he had already entered into his rest. The phrase *yuan-chi* is in common use, and it may be seen on sepulchral monuments of professed Buddhists and in their biographies.

Coming back to life let us notice two cheerful expressions which the Chinese owe to Buddhism. One of these is *Sui-hsi* (隨 喜), which seems to mean *following delight*. It is explained, however, as meaning *to praise*, that is, perhaps to find pleasure in, to enjoy. It is in this last sense that it is generally employed in common literature. Thus one may be said to *sui-hsi*, have enjoyment at the sights of a fair of a temple. Generally speaking the term denotes natural thorough satisfaction and delight, or a sauntering at will among pleasing and interesting objects. The other expression is *fang-hao-kuang* (放 毫 光), literally, to send forth a hair light. It is derived from the Buddhist scriptures in which the Buddhas and P'u-sas are often represented as sending forth a great bright light from a tuft or knob of hair between their eye-brows. The recognized expression for this is *fang-hao-kuang*, and Chinese writers use the words in that sense. But they have also extended their application and made them denote a countenance beaming with delight. To *fang-hao-kuang*, accordingly, is to have the face lit up with happiness as at the sight of one beloved who was lost and is recovered.

We next take examples of miscellaneous terms, chiefly names of objects in which the names of Buddhist objects of worship, the clergy and their temples form important elements. The use of these terms in several instances varies from place to

place, and some of them seem to be, now at least, limited to certain localities. We begin with the word Buddha, Fo, which forms part of many names of objects and enters into not a few descriptive epithets. Among the people Fo is often used as a synonym for *shên*, god or spirit, as in the popular phrase *ch'ing* (請)-*Fo*, invite Buddha, that is, invoke the aid of the gods. By an Imperial Decree also Kuan Ti, the God of War, has received the title *Hu-kuo Fo* (護 國 佛), the Buddha who protects the country, the God who defends the Empire. In Chinese books, whether by Confucian or other authors, Buddha is mentioned by several titles in addition to those already mentioned. He is the Great Hero (*Ta Hsiung* 大 雄), the Ancient Master (古 先 生), the King of [the Buddhist] Religion or the Spiritual King (*Fa-wang* 法 王), the Guiding Teacher (*Tao-shi* 導 師), the Golden Immortal (*Chin-hsien* 金 仙).

But taking his name Fo, we find this in popular language used in all kinds of ways. It is often given among the people as part of a personal name, especially for young boys. Thus *Fo-kuang* (光), Buddha's Brightness, is a name given in childhood and sometimes retained through life. Another personal name is *Shi* (石)-*Fo*, Stone Buddha, that is, perhaps Pagoda. But Chin-Fo, as a name, is not the Gold Buddha. It is "Chin the Buddha," from an official named Chin, who obtained the epithet Fo on account of the remarkable manner in which his prayers for rain were answered. Then the Cat is called by Buddhists and others *Fo-nu* (奴), Buddha's slave, because she purrs him praise. The China-Rose *(Hibiscus R.S.)* is commonly known as *Fo-sang* (桑), B.'s mulberry, though it has other names also in common use. The fragrant citron is B.'s Hand, *Fo-shou* (手); the lemon is called in some places *Fo-shou-kan* (柑), the citron orange; and another fruit of this kind is called *Fo-t'ao* (桃), B.'s peach. Then we find the Thorn-Apple is known as *Fo-ch'ie-êr* (茄 兒), as well as by other names; the Stone-crop is *Fo-kuo-ts'ao* (果 草), B.'s Fruit plant; and the House-leek is *Fo-chia-ts'ao* (甲 草), B.'s Bulb-plant. The colour known as ultra-marine is called *Fo-ch'ing* (靑), from the colour given to B.'s hair in pictures and images.

The rounded tops of many hills give the name *Fo-t'ou* (頭) to the hills. This term B.'s Head, *Hwut-t'ao* in the Swatow dialect, is given to those dollars which have the impress of a head, such dollars being called *Fo-t'ou-yin* (銀) or simply *Fo-t'ou*. In some districts this name has been extended to all kinds of dollars and to other foreign coins. The expression *Fo-kuo* (國) means not only B.'s kingdoms but also Buddha's Land, that is, Paradise. In a well known verse the poet Su has declared that he would never believe in the "Hills of the Immortals and the Land of Buddha." We have seen the term *Fo-tzŭ* (子) used in the sense of a novice or young disciple. About Amoy strong gales and typhoons are called *Put-á-pò* (佛 子 暴), pò meaning fiercenees. Here *Fo-tzŭ* is not "B.'s son," but simply Buddha, and the storms are called *Fo-tzŭ-pao,* because they seem to occur regularly about the 8th day of the 4th month, "which is Buddha's birthday. The Emperor of China is styled *Lao Fo-ye* (老 佛 爺), "Old Buddha Sire," and he is also *Huo* (活) Fo, or Living B. This last term and its equivalent *Shêng* (生) Fo are also given as honourable epithets to good officials and men eminent for high moral qualities. Since Ssŭ-ma Kuang's time it has been customary to present to just and generous officials tablets bearing the inscription *Wan-chia-shêng-fo* (萬 家 生 佛), the Living Buddha of a myriad families. A *Fo-hsing* (性), B.'s nature, is man's natural good moral constitution, it is *Jen-jen-chih-hsing* (人 人 之 性), every man's original nature. Then the phrase *Fo-hsing* came to mean a good kind disposition, a generous forgiving spirit. Lastly there is the term *Fo-ku* (骨), which means not only "a bone of B." but also *the pith* or *essence* of Buddhism. It is used also to denote a perfect faith in that religion and a thorough devotion to its interests.

We next take a few specimens of terms in which the name of Kuan-yin appears. This goddess is to the Chinese the ideal perfection not only of a tender-hearted powerful being but also of perfect beauty. Her nose is specially admired, and Chinese mothers like to see a child developing such a nose. At Foochow, where Kuan-yin is also called Kuan-sin, a baby is often soothed to

sleep by a lullaby, which begins—*Hu-pei hu-pei-sing Noh-noh ch'iong Kuan-sin.* This means something like "I am twiddling your nose's bridge to make it like Kuan-yin's." A brunette beauty is spoken of as a *T'ie* (鐵), *Kuan-yin* (from the colour of iron *(t'ie)*) that is, a dark-complexioned goddess of beauty. It is said that this term may also be used to a pretty nut-brown maid with dewy-violet eyes and that she will not resent the compliment. A man in China may sometimes wed one wife and cleave to her making her alone his mate and asking her help and advice in all his affairs. Such a man is gently bantered by his friends for this seeming feminine manner in the expression *Tso Kuan-yin-t'ang* (坐觀音堂), You sit in Kuan-yin's Hall. This alludes to the fact that Kuan-yin is specially a woman's divinity whose Hall or Temple is consequently resorted to chiefly by women. Then as this goddess loves wild romantic places we find such names as Kuan-yin *Yai* (厓), *Yai* meaning a *precipice.* This name is given to any high steep cliff or any tall precipice among mountains. The grace and beauty of Kuan-yin are implied in several of the designations applied to certain natural objects. Thus a pretty Bamboo with fine small leaves bending over like the *Cycas Revoluta,* is called the Kuan-yin-*chu* (竹), in the Amoy dialect *Kuan-yin tiek,* Kuan-yin's bamboo. The name *Kuan-yin-liu* (柳) is given in some places to the yew tree, and in others to the tamarisk, *liu* being a name for the willow tree. There is an araceous plant (of the genus *Lysichiton)* which is known as *Kuan-yin-lien* (蓮) or *Kuan-yin-chiao* (蕉), the latter being considered the more correct term. *Lien* is a name for the lotus, and *chiao* is the plantain. Then we have also *Kuan-yin-tou* and *Kuan-yin-ts'ai* as names for certain beans and peas (*tou* 豆) and cabbage (*ts'ai* 菜). Such names as these recall the Marien-rose, Marigold, and similar terms derived from the respect paid to the Virgin Mary.

The Lohans also have contributed to the formation of several new phrases and modes of expression. Those Eighteen who sit still for ever in Buddha's Hall are types of perfect order and grave quiet demeanour. Hence when a host is arranging his

guests duly according to age and rank he says he *p'ai* (排) *Lohan*, puts his saints in order. So also the dais or *kang* in a room set apart for guests is dignified by the name Lohan-*chuang* (床), the saint's couch. Half in fun and half in anger the hard-working people call the idle literati their Lohan, because they often lead idle useless lives, receiving homage and maintenance on the mere reputation for learning. Then in some districts a *Podocarpus* and in others a different Taxaceous tree is popularly known as the *Lohan-sung* (松), the word *sung* being a loose name for various conifers. One name also for the Mangosteen, a fruit little known to the Chinese, is Lohan-*kuo* (果), another name being *Shi-chia* (Sākyamuni)-*kuo*, the Saints' or Buddha's fruit.

In the popular language much use is made of the common term for a Buddhist monk, *Ho-shang*. This is given as a name to little boys in order to cheat boy-hunting demons, and the name is often retained through life. It is also current generally as a nickname for the bald, and it is not always meant or regarded as offensive. The long-tailed Jay (Urocissa) is to the country people the Shan-Ho-shang, Mountain Monk. To sailors Castor and Pollux are the *Hai-Ho-shang* and *Hai-ni-ku* (海 尼 姑), Sea Monks and Nuns. They are ill-omened elves which come out of the sea and run up the masts, bringing in their train all kinds of bad weather. Mushrooms have been designated *Hoshang-jou* (肉), the monk's meat, because it is a luxury which serves him as a substitute for pork and mutton.

From the term *Chia (Ka)*-lan, a monastery, arose the name *Ka-lan-ts'ai* (加 監 菜), a popular term for the white cabbage *(ts'ai)* of North China.

We have seen that Māra, the Tempter or Devil, came into China with the Buddhists. From his bad character this being is often accused of all kinds of mischief. Thus when a man goes mad the madness is said to have been caused by the devil, and the man is spoken of as *Fêng-mo-liao* (風 魔 了), bedevilled to madness. But when the devil enters into a man he may torment his victim in many ways. The expression *fêng-mo-liao*, accordingly has come to have several meanings. It often indicates

that the person so spoken of is simply a fool or block head, especially one who cannot express himself clearly. It also denotes the state of one who has lost his head, who is bewildered for a moment.

It remains to mention one or two new terms which are of a secular and political character though relating to the monks. For the government of these certain members of the fraternity are invested with the rank and power of civil officials. Thus in Peking there is the *Sêng-lu-ssŭ* (僧 錄 司), Register office for Buddhist monks. In it are two monks with the title *Shan-shi* (善 世), who are of the sixth rank, and under these are several others. But the term *Sêng-lu* seems to be often used simply in the sense of Buddhist Pope or chief authority of the monks residing at the capital. This office was first instituted by T'ang Wên Tsung (A.D. 827 to 841), and the first to hold it was the celebrated abbot Tuan-fu (端 甫). There were afterwards two Sêng-lu and a Fu (副) Sêng-lu. The last was a Doctor in Divinity who determined questions of faith and doctrine, and the former administered the affairs of the clergy.[1]

NEW MEANINGS GIVEN TO OLD EXPRESSIONS.

We have now to consider some examples of the effects which Buddhism has had on the Chinese language in altering the uses and meanings of native expressions. These effects resemble in some measure, as has been stated, those which other religions have produced when derived from abroad. Thus as to Christianity we know that such words as those translated *peace*, *faith*, *grace*, *righteousness* had recognized and well-known meanings in ancient Greece. But when they were taken up by the early Christians these words received new meanings and higher applications. So also the *diakonos*, *episkopos* and *apostolos* for example, of the New Testament are very different from those of pre-Christian writings. In like manner, as has been stated, Buddhism in its native land gave new uses and meanings to several Sanskrit expressions. A conspicuous example is afforded by the word

[1] Mayers' Ch. Gov., p. 77 (ed. Playfair); "Ta-ch'ing-hui-tien," chap lv.; "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 上.

dharma, which is employed by the Buddhists in some of its many common meanings while they also give it new and special applications. So also when their system was brought into China and propagated there it caused many old Chinese words and phrases to receive new significations. One of the many reproaches which Confucianists heap on this religion is that it has perverted the uses of words. The instances most frequently quoted are those of *hsin* (心), heart or mind, and *hsing* (性), moral nature. Here the Buddhists are charged with making confusion by changing one word for the other. This criticism is just to a great extent. Those Buddhists, and they are numerous, who follow Bodhidharma's teachings say that the Buddha is man's *hsin* and by this word they mean man's moral nature. Farther, the six kinds of existence into which mortals are born are the results of actions influenced by moral character. In pictures this is illustrated by representing the six modes of existence as so many rays diverging from the *hsin*. We also find it stated that the *hsin* of Confucianism is the *hsing* (性) of Buddhism, and that the *hsin*, heart of the latter, is the *i* (意), mind or will of the former.[1]

Let us take the word *Fa* (法), which is one of those regarded as characteristic of Buddhism. This word is used to translate several Sanskrit terms, but it is the common rendering for *dharma*, and like it *Fa* has many original and non-Buddhistic significations such as law, method, a means, a model. But among the meanings of dharma are nature, condition, law, spirit, matter, institutions, religion and specially Buddhism. Now in the Chinese Buddhist writings *fa* is found in all these senses, and consequently the word is often hard to translate. So it is not without reason that a great disciple in one of the sacred books complains of the many ways in which the phrase *i-chie-fa* (一 切 法), all *Fa*, is used. In Confucian literature the phrase *fêng* (奉)*-fa* means to observe the regulations and specially to carry out the eight-fold law about the removal of officials. But like dharma the word *fa* acquired the

[1] See "San-yü-t'ang-wên-chi" (三魚堂文集), chap. ii.; "Chih-yue-lu" (指月錄), chap. iv., where the B. patriarch says to the king 性在作用; "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. xi., p. 6; "Chung-yung,' ch. i. (commentary); "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 中 s. v. 心.

meaning of Buddhism and *fêng-fa* came to be used in the sense of being or becoming a Buddhist. So *Fa-chiao* (法敎) is the religion of Buddhism, though we find occasionally such redundant expressions as *Shi-tsun Fa-chiao*, the Buddhist religion of Buddha. Then *fa* is also the canon, the authoritative scriptures, as in the formula "I take refuge in Buddha, the Church, and the Law *(fa)*. The meaning of *law* often seems to be present in the mind of the person using *fa* in its Buddhist senses. Thus, for example, the monk who drinks and gambles is warned that by so doing he incurs guilt with respect to the laws of the land as well as those of Buddha (於佛法國法俱爲有罪). Further, in old Chinese classical literature *Fa-mên* (門), the Gate of the Law, was the designation of the South gate of the sovereign's palace. In Buddhism this term acquired the new meaning of religious teaching or a set of doctrines, as in expressions like *San-shêng-fa-mên* (三乘法門), the systems of the Three Vehicles. *Fa-mên* is used to translate such Sanskrit terms as dharma-paryāya, a course of instruction in religion or an orderly exposition of a religious doctrine, and dharma-mukha "introductions a la loi," and abhi-nirhāra, exposition. Then *fa-mên* came to be used as a synonym for *Ching* (經), the sūtra of the Buddhists. It denotes also the church, the adherents of Buddhism, though the more usual term for the latter is *Fo-mên*, as Confucianists are *K'ung-mên*. There is also the old term *F'a-tso* (座), the Seat of Right, the Throne of Justice. With the Buddhists this acquired the meaning of Abbot's throne, or the seat of the ecclesiastical superior in a monastery or in the church.[1]

The next word we take is *Chiao* or *Kiao* (覺). In old classical literature this word means to awake or become conscious, then to have wisdom, to perceive the rules or principles which underlie facts and events, to instruct, to rouse others to thought. The Buddhists took this word to render the Sanskrit Buddha which denotes "him who is enlightened and enlightener." But with them the enlightenment is religious, and the awaking and

[1] "Yung-chêng," Eds. 2nd y. 1. 4; "Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching." chap. xxxiv.; "Ku-liang," chap. ix.; "Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching," chap. i.

arousing are from the sleep of moral delusion. The Buddha is so called because he is enlightened as to the vanity of all things, the misery of all life, and the supreme excellence of Nirvāṇa. He has Bodhi or spiritual wisdom, and *Chiao* is one of the renderings for that word. The *chiao* of Confucianism can be taught by sages, such as I-yin, for example, and it is intellectual wisdom. But the *chiao* of Buddha is spiritual and transcendental, not to be taught by sage or prophet nor acquired by mere study and reasoning. The Buddha is sometimes called *Ching* (淨) *chiao*, pure wisdom, the undefiled enlightened one. He is also *Chiao-wang*, the King of spiritual wisdom whose seat is in man's heart.[1]

The mention of *chiao* and Bodhi suggests the word *Tao* (道). Some of the uses made of this word have been indicated in a previous chapter, and we have now to see how the Buddhists gave it new applications. In many cases they retained the old phrases and forms of expression of which it formed a part, sometimes with the original meaning and sometimes changing this for one of their own importation. New combinations of the word were also made to meet the requirements of the foreign learning and religion. As Tao was found to have many significations it was employed to translate several Sanskrit words. Thus it was naturally taken to render such words as Padam and Mārga in the sense of a way or path. It is also for Mārga and Prati-pada in the sense of "the path which leads to the cessation of suffering," the last of the Four Sublime Truths. This Path is the *Pa-shêng-tao-fên* (八聖道分) or simply *Pa-shêng-tao*, the Eight-fold Holy Path, in Sanskrit Ārya Ashṭāngika Mārga. The expression *Pa-shêng-tao* denotes the perfect life with true knowledge, absolute rectitude of thought, speech, and conduct, and devotion to the true faith.

Then *tao* is used to render the Sanskrit word *charya* in the sense of course, conduct, or career. Thus *P'u-sa-tao* is in some places the "course of wisdom," though more commonly it denotes the conduct which is required of a P'u-sa, "les devoirs d'un Bodhi-

[1] "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. i., pp. 13, 26; and chap. vi., p. 2; L.C.C., ii., p. 239; "Mêng-tzŭ," chap. ix.; p. 32.

sattva," and it also denotes the way to become a P'u-sa. In the sense of "course of wisdom" it is the Sanskrit Bodhi-charya.

Tao is also the translation of Gati, a journey or career, but specially a course of existence, the condition of being subject to transmigration. There are six (properly only five) classes of mortal sentient beings. These constitute the Liu Tao, six ways of existence, six careers of life through some or all of which mortals have to pass. These are Devas, Men, Asuras, Beings in hell, Hungry Ghosts, and Beasts. In the five-fold classification the Asuras are left out. Of the above, the Devas and Men, are called the *Shan* (善) *tao* or Good states of existence, and the last three are the *O* (惡) *tao* or Bad States, or the *San* (三) *O-tao,* Three Bad States. This last term is also often used to translate one of the Sanskrit names for hell. We have already seen *Shan-tao* and *O-tao* as used in the non-Buddhistic senses. There is also another Liu Tao, not Buddhist but apparently an imitation. In this the six classes of creatures refer only to this world and to one life. They are the prosperous, the unfortunate, the womb-born, the egg-produced, the moisture engendered, and the metamorphosis-developed.

The term *T'ien* (天)-*tao,* which we have seen before, with the Buddhists is not only the Deva State of existence. It translates also the Sanskrit Deva-soprāna, Deva-ladder, the name of the world in which Deva-datta is to appear as Buddha. Further in Buddhist books *tao* is often used to translate or represent the Sanskrit word jnānā in the sense of knowledge or wisdom. Thus *Fo-tao* sometimes stands for Buddha-jnānā, the knowledge which a Buddha possesses. Then the word *dharma* is also rendered by *tao* in the sense of state or condition. So also is *yoga* as the magic power obtained by prolonged meditation.

The word Bödhi, as has been seen, is translated by *chiao,* but it is much more frequently represented by *tao.* Thus *tê* (得) *tao* is to attain Bodhi, and *Ch'êng* (成)-*tao* is to perfect it, that is, to attain Buddhahood. The Buddhists in China remembering that their founder endured great privations that he might reach this high estate like to associate their *ch'êng-tao* with that of the old

native philosophers. The latter means to become perfect in the practical wisdom which guides a man in the path of right and duty. It is attained only after much tribulation, long study and unceasing application. Thus both Buddhists and Confucianists quote the saying which tells us that as the jade must be chiseled to make it of use so man must pass through the mill of study and hardship in order to become perfect (玉不琢不成器人不磨不成道).

The Peepul is to Buddhists the Bodhi-druma, Tree of Wisdom, because under a Peepul Gautama attained Bodhi. The Chinese translate Bodhi-druma by *Tao-shu* (樹), Tree of Wisdom, and they extend the name to several other trees. The spot on which Gautama attained Bodhi was called the Bodhi-maṇḍala (or-maṇḍa), Circle of Wisdom. This was rendered in Chinese by *Tao-ch'ang* (塲), the Arena of Wisdom. The phrase became popular and was employed to denote "the seat" of a superior being, the centre from which he operates. Thus the Island of Puto, the Wu T'ai mountain, and the O-mei mountain are the Tao-ch'ang respectively of Kuan-yin, Manjusri, and Samantabhadra P'u-sas. And any mountain which is regarded as the scene of supernatural influences may be spoken of as a *Tao-ch'ang-shan*. The phrase Tao-ch'ang is old in the language and is applied to sacred spots by Confucianists, Taoists, and the people generally.

The *Ta* (大)-*tao* of Confucianists is, as has been seen, the highway of life, the course followed by the good who have gone before. With the Buddhists this term in one of its uses denotes the strict ascetic life, and *hsing* (行)-*ta-tao* is to lead such life. To Confucianists their own creed and principles are the *chêng* (正)-*tao*, the right way or orthodoxy. To Buddhists as a matter of course their own system is the *chêng-tao*, the Saddharma or "Good Law," and for other religions they have the usual expressions. Thus Brāhmanism is one of the *wai-tao* or "outside" systems of doctrine. It and others are also grouped together as *i* (異)-*tao*, strange religions. Another term for heresy which also reminds us of its Confucian use is *hsie* (邪)-*tao*, depraved

system. But this phrase may also be applied to those who are Buddhists but hold erroneous views on certain subjects. Such persons are said to *hsing-hsie-tao,* be going a wrong course. It may be remarked in passing that these uncomplimentary expressions are seldom, if ever, applied to Confucianism.

With the Confucianists the phrase *ju* (入)*-tao,* to enter the course, means to have the beginning of wisdom, to apprehend principles. With the Buddhists it means to enter religion, to take the vows of a monk or nun. Then *tao* came to mean a sect or system, and we read of ninety-six *tao* or sects. Hence arose the phrase *Ho-tao-ch'u-chia* (何道出家), meaning—In what religion are you professed? *Tao* also came to be a short name for a Buddhist monk, the full expression being *Tao-shi.* Thus a monk speaks of himself as a *Tao,* or a *Pin* (貧)*-tao,* Poor Religious. From this use of the word comes the form of expression *Tao-su* (俗), that is, clergy and laity, a distinction made chiefly by Buddhists.[1]

In the common Chinese language the word *hsin* (信) has such meanings as *to believe, to trust in, faithful, truthful.* The Buddhists gave it the additional meanings of Faith, to have Faith, that is, in Buddhism. With the Confucians, for example in Mencius, a *hsin-jen* is a "faithful" man, one of genuine principle. Among the Buddhists the Hsin-nan (男) and Hsin-nü (女) are "Believing men and women," lay adherents of the religion. He who does not believe in Buddhism is a sceptic and doubts, *i* (疑), or he is an unbeliever *Pu-hsin* (不信). As he that doubts is doomed so Buddhists tell us that Buddha can save all creatures but not unbelievers (佛能度一切衆生不能度一切不信之人).[2]

One of the most common terms for "good works" is *hao-shi* (好事), a term which simply means good affairs or services.

[1] Many of these uses of Tao are taken from the "Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching" compared with the Sanskrit text. For the Liu Tao see the "Fa-yuan-chu-lin," chap. v.; "Mu-lien-pao" (目蓮寶), chap. 上, p. 40. See also "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 上 s. v. 道人, &c. The use of *Tao-ch'ang* in the sense of a Buddhist monastery is said to have originated with Yang Ti, the Sui Emperor of infamous memory. It is now applied to Taoist and other temples, but it is Buddhist in origin.

[2] Instead of *hsin-nan* we find commonly *shan-nan* (善男), good men.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

To shew filial piety and brotherly kindness, to be true to one's friends, and to observe the prescribed social and municipal institutions are the "good services" of Confucianism. But among all classes of the people now *hao-shi* is used almost exclusively in its acquired Buddhist sense. To "do good services"—*tso-hao-shi* (做 好 事) with the Buddhists is to build bridges, repair roads, found public schools and hospitals, support monks and temples, and help liberally the poor and unfortunate. We also find *hao-shi* often used as a synonym for *Fo-shi* as denoting the religious services performed after death on behalf of the deceased.

The term *Kung-tê* (功 德) has fared in a manner somewhat similar. In old Chinese this phrase meant "the virtue of merit," and Confucius says—To toil and not boast, to have merit and not make it a virtue (有 功 而 不 德) is the extreme of generous feeling. More commonly, however, it meant simply desert or merit, and it is still employed in that sense. But the Buddhists imported a religious idea, and *tso-kung-tê* to make merit, is now mostly used to denote the reciting of magical formulæ, the chanting of prayers and all the religious services performed for the good of the dead or the living. It was in this sense of "religious merit" that Liang Wu Ti and Bodhidharma used *Kung-tê* in their famous conversation. "Since I came to the Throne," says the Emperor, "I have built temples, copied sacred Books, and ordained monks more than can be told. What merit is there to me (有 何 功 德)?" There is no merit, replied Bodhidharma. But *Kung-tê* is also used by the Buddhists to translate the Sanscrit *guna* in the sense of excellences, good qualities. Bodhidharma probably had both meanings in his mind when he answered the Emperor, as it is not unusual even for sage and pious Buddhists to play with words.[1]

Another interesting expression transmuted by the Buddhists is the old and very common one *pu-shi* (布 施). This term formerly meant simply to treat generously, provide for liberally,

[1] "Chih-yue-lu," chap. iv.; Edkins' Ch. Bud., p. 101; "Yi-ching," chap. iii., p. 8.

give freely. Thus Huai Nan-tzŭ says that the people of his time in the observance of the duties of life gave liberally but made a virtue of their liberality (爲義者布施而德). And in the works of an older philosopher we find the question asked—How can you put the pearl in the mouth of the dead one if you were not generous to him when living (生不布施死何含珠)? The expression is explained as distributing (*pu*) one's property and giving it away (*shi*) to others. The Buddhists use it in the sense of giving alms to the poor, but specially to the monks and nuns. It is the rendering for dāna, Charity, the first of the Six Saving Virtues (*Liu-tu*). Then the alms given or offerings presented are also called *pu-shi* as in phrases like *chê-hsie* (這些)-*pu-shi*, "these contributions of food." In modern Chinese this term *pu-shi* is seldom if ever used in any other than the Buddhist way. It is applied not only to the giving of alms to the poor and destitute and of donations to mendicant monks and needy monasteries. It is extended also to charitable acts of a religious or spiritual character such as reading prayers and incantations, and performing acts of worship on behalf of others.[1]

Passing on to the modes of expression which are connected with mortal life we find these, as was to be expected, much influenced by Buddhist teachings. A few examples will serve to illustrate the effects of this influence in changing the meanings of words and phrases. A simple and obvious instance is that of the word *shêng* (生) which once meant merely living, to make or keep alive, and included only the present life. But the Buddhists added the notion of this life being only a link in a chain of continuous though varied existence. So *chin* (今)-*shêng* ceased to mean "during life" simply, and came to mean "during the present stage of my existence." Again *Ch'ien* (前)-*shêng* was formerly *one's senior*—born before—but the Buddhists made it to mean "in a previous stage of existence." The phrase *shêng-ch'ien* is literally *before birth* only, but the Buddhists gave it the sense of "in the pre-natal states." Thus *Shêng-ch'ien-wu-tsui* (生前無罪), an ex-

[1] "Huai-nan-tzŭ's" Works, chap. xi.; "Chuang-tzŭ," chap. ix., p. 3; "Chin-ku-ch'i-kuan" (今古奇觀), chap. x.; "Hou-han-shu," chap. xxix.

birth only, but the Bnddhists gave it the sense of "in the prenatal states." Thus *shêng-ch'ien-wu-tsui* (生前無罪), an expression which occurs in popular literature, means "to come into this world unbound by the results of sin in a previous life." The highly endowed can recall the events of former incarnations, and hence such expressions as *chi-san-shêng* (記三生), to remember three past lives. Again an affair which turns out unexpectedly well, a fortunate meeting, and other matters of happy chance are popularly described as *san-shêng-hsing* (幸), the good fortune of three existences.

In like manner *Ch'ien-shi* and *Hsien-shi* (先世) once denoted *in past time* or *in a former age.* But since Buddhism prevailed they mean nearly always *in a former state of existence, in a previous life.* The mating of husband and wife, for example, is said to be the lot which results from the destiny made for themselves by the couple in a former existence, and it is not dependent on others (作夫妻這件事都是前世裏造定的緣分由不得人的).[1]

We next take the word *su* (夙), which formerly meant the *early morning*, the morning twilight. It may still be used in this sense or in the derived ones of *long ago, in the morning of life.* But it is most frequently found with the meaning which the Buddhists gave it in their teachings and translations, viz., in a previous state of existence. Thus *su-yuan* (願) is a vow or prayer made by one in a former life; and *su-chou* (仇) is a present hatred due to an unpleasantness in a past existence. To have incurred in a former life the resentment of a fellow-creature and to experience the consequences in the present life is expressed by *Su-yuan* or *Su-yu-yuan* (夙有怨), to have resentment from a previous existence. On the other hand a happy marriage is said to be the result of a contract made in previous lives, according to the popular expression *liang-yuan-yu-su-ti* (良緣由夙締,) a fair fate in marriage comes from the betrothal of a former state of existence.

[1] See "Fa-yen" (法言), chap. vi.; "Tzŭ-êrh-chi"; The Hundred chapters, chap, lxxxv.; "Liao-chai," &c., chap. xiii.

The phrase *Wu-ch'ang* (無常), which is now regarded as purely Buddhistic, is of great antiquity. We find it giving name to the city which the semi-mythical Emperor Huang Ti made his second capital. In the old language the term meant impermanent or of short duration. Hence it was taken by the Buddhists to render their word *Anitya* with a similar meaning. But *anitya* has also the special technical signification "the impermanency of all creation," and *wu-ch'ang* also took that signification. Then it came to denote *death* and *to die,* and it has long been so used in popular language. It also became the title of Yen Wang's two messengers, the tall and short demons known respectively as *Ch'i-yeh* and *Pa-yeh* (七 and 八 爺.)[1]

We next take the common phrase *Ch'ang-yeh* (長夜), the original meaning of which is simply *long night.* But in the Buddhist literature dīrgharātram, a long night, is used in the sense of *a long time.* So the translators took *Ch'ang-yeh* to translate dīrgharātram with this meaning. This is still a common use of the term, but the "long time" has come to be in a manner defined. It is the interval between two earthly lives of a human creature, or that which elapses between the disappearance of a Buddha and the arrival of his successor, or it is simply the time after death—the long night of the grave. The philosopher Hsün-tzŭ has preserved an old poem in which this phrase appears to be used in something like the Buddhist sense. The poem begins—The long night wears slowly on, Thought prolonged brings error (長夜漫兮永思騫兮), the "long night" being here apparently that of Time simply. To the Buddhists, as we know, man's life here is only a short dream in the long night of existence, and in the language of Schopenhauer—How long is the night of an endless time when compared with the short dream of life! With the Buddhists, moreover, the unconverted man is as if living in a long night (如處長夜) and Buddha, the Awakener, brings light and awakes him.[2]

[1] Introduction to "*T'ung-chien-wai-chi*" s. Huang Ti; "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 下.

[2] "Hsün-tzŭ," chap. xvi.; "Miao-fa," &c., chap. ii. et al.; Burnouf "Le Lotus," &c., pp. 25 and 350.

In common Chinese the term *Yin-yuan* (因 緣) means "the why and wherefore" of a thing, the reason or cause or explanation of its existence or occurrence. It has also the technical use of denoting the remote causes of present experiences, that which done by oneself produces good or bad results to oneself or one's children. The Buddhists gave the term the new meaning of *the cause which produces its effects in another stage of existence.* Strictly speaking the *yin* is the beginning, the first cause, and the *yuan* is the immediate or "occasional" cause. Hence this word *yin* is sometimes used in the sense of *beginning with, proceeding from.* The expression *lai-shêng-wei-liao-yin* (來 生 未 了 因) denotes "the unaccomplished karma for future life," and *chêng* (正)-*yin* is a real karma, a good destiny. The term *yin-yuan* is also technically the equivalent of the Sanskrit word Nidāna, a cause; and the *shi-êrh-yin-yuan* are the Twelve Nidānas or "Causes of Existence." [1]

Chinese moralists have always taught that a man reaps as he sows. The fruit of his conduct may be gathered by himself, for "they that plow iniquity and sow wickedness reap the same," or the fruit may not ripen during the planter's life but remain over for his children. When a man enjoys or suffers from the results of his own conduct he is said to *Chie-kuo* (結 果), gather fruit or collect results. To be cangued, chained and kept in prison is the *chie-kuo* of the worthless lout who from idleness and dissipation goes on to crime. The term is used in a translation of the New Testament to render the advice of John the Baptist to the Generations of Vipers to "make fruit" worthy of repentance. But the translation is not a happy one, as *chie-kuo* is not to "make fruit." The Buddhists gave the phrase a new meaning, viz., to experience in one life the results of conduct in another. Thus *chie-kuo* with them and with the Chinese generally is the gathering in this life of fruit which was grown by oneself in a former life. So also *hsiu-kuo* (修 果) is to make fruit, to act now in such a way that the conduct will pro-

[1] "Miao-fa," &c., chap. ix.; Burnouf "Le Lotus," &c., p. 132; "Yun-fu-ch'un-yü," chap. iv., p. 2.

duce good results in later years. But with the Buddhists and in common language *hsiu-kuo* is to cultivate fruit which will ripen in future stages of existence. Then *Yin* (因)-*kuo,* "cause fruit," is the result of conduct in this life with Confucianists; and with Buddhists the consequences of actions done in past states of existence.[1]

In the common language and literature of China the word *Ye* (業) means that on which one is occupied, an art, a trade, or a profession, and also an action or course of proceeding. It is also used in the sense of origin or beginning, and from this may have come its adoption by the Buddhists. They employ it to translate their Karma, that mysterious something which the individual makes in one state of existence and which makes the same individual in another state of existence. The mouth, body and mind are called the *San-ye,* the three instruments or means by which karma operates. The life before may have been a bad one, and so its acts are *tsui* (罪)-*ye, guilt conduct,* a term which includes not only past sins but also their present retribution. Confucianists also use this phrase, but in the sense of the punishment in this life which bad actions bring to their doer. It may have, moreover, the possibility of a double interpretation as when it is said of professed Buddhists breaking their vows, *Ch'i-shou-p'o-chieh-chih-tsui-ye-pi-yi* (其受破戒之罪業必矣), that they will suffer for the sin of breaking their vows is certain.[2]

The religious services on behalf of the Hungry Ghosts have come before us already. These ghosts are often called *Yu-hun* (游魂), Souls at large, Wandering Spirits. But this is an old Chinese term, and in Confucian literature denotes the spirit of one deceased gradually dissolving, becoming dispersed in the air from which it came. In the Appendix to the "Yi-ching" we find it stated that "the wandering soul becomes transformed (or "makes change" 游魂爲變). These words are interpreted to mean that the departure of the spirit from the body causes

[1] Sacred Edict, Art. 4, p. 31; St. Matthew's Gospel, Ch. iii., verse viii. (Ch. Mandarin version).

[2] "Yih-ching," chap. iii., p. 2; L.C.C., ii., p. 368.

change in the latter; and by some they are taken to mean that the spirit on being set free becomes transformed. The common use of the term *yu-hun,* however, has long been that in the sense of a poor homeless ghost going about in search of shelter and nourishment. It is also applied to social parasites, to those who live by their wits or gain a precarious subsistence by degrading arts. "The wandering spirit bumps against a corpse," that is, falls in with one *Yu-hun-chuang-shih* (游魂撞屍) is a common expression used about such persons. It is also applied as a nickname or opprobrious description of an idle vagabond. The word *Chiao* (醮) once meant to worship simply, and to pour out wine. The Buddhists took it to denote their religious services, and now *ta* (打)-*chiao* is "to hold a service of worship." But it has special reference to the feast of the Seventh Month, at which offerings and libations are made to the spirits of ancestors, and also to all ghosts supposed to be in an unhappy condition. Hence the term *P'u-tu* (普渡), which means simply "to rescue all," has become a name for this Mid-Autumn Feast. This is a very common phrase, both in the sense of the Feast and also as denoting universal salvation.[1]

Let us now notice a few of the names transferred to Buddhist sacred places from other objects. The most common name for a Buddhist monastery is *ssŭ* (寺), and this word is seldom used in any other sense. But up to the time of Han Ming Ti it denoted a public office, and this old use still survives. The first missionaries from India, however, were quartered in the Hung-lu-ssŭ and since that event the word *ssŭ* got a new signification. As the missionaries had the sacred books borne by a white horse the name of the yamên was changed to *Pai-ma-ssŭ* (白馬寺), White Horse Temple. In like manner the word *An* (庵) was once simply a name for any house or cottage. But from the use made of this word by the Buddhists it has long been the popular designation for a Buddhist nunnery and in some places for a Buddhist temple or monas-

[1] "Yih-ching," chap. iii., p. 4; "Chu-tzŭ-yü-lei" (語類), chap. i., p. 17; Sacred Ed., Art. 7, Par.

writes of himself as *Na-tzŭ* (衲子), the Ragged one, or *Pin-na* (貧衲), Poor rags. The name is derived from the *na* or ragged patchwork coat which the poor monks once wore. This sort of garment may still be seen occasionally on a zealous Brother going about begging.[1]

We have already seen that *la* (臘), the sacrifice to ancestors after the winter solstice, is used in the sense of a year or winter of one's life. In Buddhism this use is modified, and the word is employed in the sense of *a year of profession in religion.* Thus the words *Sêng-la-wu-shi* mean "he was a monk for fifty years," the age of the monk being given as so many *sui* or years of life.

Passing on to other subjects we notice a few more instances of new meanings for old terms. In the sense of the sky or heaven *T'ien* is a very old word in the Chinese language. When the Buddhists came they took it to translate the Sanskrit words Deva, a god, and Marut, a storm-god. As Devas the *t'ien* are the first of the Liu-tao or Six Orders of beings, and it is in this sense that the Buddhists use the word commonly. Among the gods Indra was chief, and hence his title *T'ien-chu* (天主), Lord of Devas, in Sanskrit Devendra. There are four sovereign devas, who are the guardians of the Buddhist religion and its adherents. These are known in China as the *Ssŭ-ta-t'ien-wang* (四大天王), Four great Deva Kings, or as the *Ssŭ-ta-chin-kang-wang*, Four great Vajra Kings. They stand in front of Buddhist temples to protect them from hostile demons, but they have long since come to extend their protection to individuals and temples of other religions. The term *T'ien* is applied even to that dreadful creature Māra, the Tempter, whom we find spoken of as *T'ien-mo* (天魔), the Deva Māra.

[1] "Tu-shi-chi-shuo," chap. ii., p. 31; chap. i., p. 4; "Ch'ang-li-shi-chi-chu," chap x., p. 3. The name Fang-chang for the abbot's apartments in a monastery is said to date from the second half of the seventh century, the reign of T'ang Kao Tsung. It is not derived from old Chinese romance, but from the measured ruins of the room of a celebrated Indian Buddhist. This room was found to have been ten feet every way, and hence the name *fang-chang*, ten feet square. "Shi-shih-yao-lan," chap. 上.

Dr. Edkins long ago pointed out the peculiar use which the Buddhists make of the word *ch'u* (觸). In common Chinese this word means to butt as with horns, to offend, to attack with vigour, and to be roused or excited. The Buddhist translators adopted it as the rendering of the Sanskrit word *Sprishtha* (Pali *Phoṭṭabha*), which means "touch," the sense of feeling having its seat in the body. In the earliest Buddhist literature we sometimes find *ch'u* used with its original meaning, but the other seems to have largely supplanted this use. The orthodox writers also have adopted this mode of expression in phrases like *ch'u-mu*, to strike the eye, that is, to be seen, and *mu-ch'u*, visible objects. To see is to come into contact with what is seen, as when we speak of the waves of æther from a luminous body impinging on the optic nerve. Even mere spirit without body is spoken of as having "touch perception" (空神無身而覺觸).[1]

The word *hsiang* (相) plays a great part in Chinese Buddhistic language and literature. The common meanings of the word are well known and need not be detailed. Some of these the Buddhists adopted, and some they applied in new ways, while they also gave the word peculiar applications drawn from their own system. It means, for example, with them a banner and a sign or mark as a translation of the Sanskrit word *dhvaja* in such expressions as Sü-mi-hsiang, Sumeru-sign. We find it also for *nimitta*, an omen, and *Hsi-yu-chih-hsiang* (希有之相) is "prodigies" or "miracles." It also renders the Sanskrit word *Sanjnā* in the sense of thought or consciousness, and also as meaning *name, symbol.* Some explain the word in such cases as denoting rather "to have regard to," to "have in one's thoughts." Very often it translates the Sanskrit word *lakshaṇa* in the sense of a mark or sign. Thus the thirty-two great marks of a Buddha are the *hsiang* by which he is known. This use of the word passed over into the common language and gave origin to such expressions as *Ku-hsiang-pu-chü* (骨相

[1] See Edkins' Ch. Buddhism, p. 8; "Ssŭ-shi-êrh-chang-ching" (四十二章經), chap. xii.

不具), which means "bodily imperfections." There are eighty (or 82) minor signs or marks which are present along with the thirty-two great marks in every Buddha. These small marks are called *hao* (好), the word for *good.* Collectively the thirty-two and eighty marks are called *hsiang-hao*, a term which in common Chinese means a friend or lover. It is strange also to find that the phrase *shi* (實)*-hsiang*, the appearance or resemblance of the real, means in Buddhism, the reality itself, the original.[1]

One of the curious expressions of the Chinese language is *Fang-pien* (方 便), literally, "convenience of method." This is said to have been first made by the Buddhists and, though this may not be correct, the term does not seem to be of very old date. In the translations of the Sacred Books, *e.g.*, in the Lotus of the Good Law, it is used to translate *Upāya* in the sense of way, means, device, and *Upāya-Kauṣalya*, in the sense of cleverness (or happiness) of device, that is, skill (or success) in the use of means. Then *fang-pien* is also frequently the representative of the Sanskrit word *Sandhā*, which Burnouf renders "énigmatique." The translators into Chinese, however, understood *sandha* to mean that which fits in or is suitable for the occasion. They sometimes render it also by *Sui-i* (隨宜), which means convenient or suitable. This is the common every-day meaning of *fang-pien* now, though it has also a religious use. As the expedients or devices to which the Buddhas resort are all employed to obtain salvation for mortals *fang-pien* came to mean "good works." To subscribe liberally to religious purposes, to help the needy, and succour those in distress are *fang-pien*. A benevolent charitable man is sometimes described as one who "likes to practise good works generously helping the poor" (好行方便利濟貧民).

[1] The uses of *hsiang* here mentioned may be found illustrated in the "Chin-kang-ching" and "Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching," when compared with the Sanskrit verses. Cf. also Burnouf's Le Lotus, pp. 5, 17, 30 et al. Thus in the 79th stanza of ch. i. of the "Miao-fa" we find 諸法實相, the S. being dharma svabhava yadriśah and Burnouf's rendering "la nature de la loi a été énoncée telle qu'elle est."

The formation of the compound *Ju-i* (如 意), "as you wish," is also ascribed to the Buddhists. These use it to render the Sanskrit Ṛiddhi and Ṛiddhi-pada (Iddhipādo in Pali), meaning magic power or devices. But ṛiddhi is properly only success, prosperity, the consummation of one's wishes, though the Buddhist books generally use it in the sense of magical power. Both uses may be traced in the ways the Chinese employ their term *ju-i*. The monk who has *ju-i* can fly, can make himself as large and as small as he likes, and perform other strange feats. But the *ju-i* sceptre is only a token of good wishes that all things may prosper for the person to whom it is given. For Ṛiddhi-pāda or supernatural magical power the common rendering is *Shên-tsu* (神 足), spiritual foot. The term *ju-i* must be regarded as pre-Buddhistic since it was the name of one of Han Kao Tsu's sons.

The phrase *An-chü* (安 居) is old in Chinese literature in the sense of to live in peace, dwell in comfort. With the Buddhists it acquired the new meaning "to keep Lent" or "spend a Retreat." During the rainy season the mendicant monks came together into monasteries and remained there for three months. Sometimes we find the term *yü* 雨-*an-chü*, the Rain Retreat, but the word *yü* is more frequently omitted. This is the *Hsia-la* (夏 臘), Summer Retreat, but *Hsia-la* is also a monk's age—his summers and winters, his years before and since ordination.

The phrase *Kung-kei* once meant to serve and to give offerings or worship, as in *Kung-kei-kuei-shên* (供 給 鬼 神), "to offer service to ghosts and gods." It also meant to wait or attend on one as a servant. The Buddhists used it to denote the supplying monks with the necessaries of life, giving to a travelling Brother the appointed or requisite provisions. This is now the common use of the term, though it is also found in the sense of serving or attending simply. Like *Kung-kei* the phrase *Kung-yang* (供養) was once to serve with food and drink and afterwards it came to mean "to render service generally." Among the Buddhists it is used in the sense of showing courtesy and kindness to the begging monks. It also denotes with

them to worship, offer service and make offerings to Pagodas, Buddhas and other sacred objects. These uses of the phrase have also passed into the common language and are generally current.[1]

In old Chinese the word *Cho* (濁) is an epithet of water and other fluids and means *muddy, impure.* It is then used figuratively of an age in which all government is bad, as in the expression *Chi-cho-shi-chih-chêng* (疾 濁 世 之 政), to hate the government of a gross age. In Buddhism and now in common literature *Cho* denotes moral and intellectual degeneracy. It is used to translate the Sanskrit word kashāya in its sense of impurity or defilement. A *Cho-shi* is an age of utter degeneracy when vice, ignorance and false teachings prevail, when man's life is shortened, and the world is hastening to destruction. The term is now of very common occurrence, not only in books by professed Buddhists but also in general moral literature.[2]

THE EFFECTS OF BUDDHISM ON THE CHINESE LANGUAGE AS ILLUSTRATED BY PROVERBS AND COMMON SAYINGS.

The last part of my task for the present is to illustrate the effects of Buddhism on the language of the Chinese by illustrations taken from their Proverbs and Common Sayings. These can now be readily examined, as collections of them have been made and published by Messrs. Premare, Scarborough, Perny, Smith and others. Here we have to do only with some of those which let us see the popular conceptions of Buddhism and the Buddhists as affecting the common speech. It must be premised, however, that some of the examples given by the above-mentioned scholars as Proverbs and Common Sayings would be better designated by some such title as Familiar Quotations. Further, it is to be remembered that as these sayings are in popular use throughout the Empire they have different applications and are in many cases susceptible of more than one interpretation. Moreover, some are to be

[1] "Li-chi," chap. i., p iv.; "Le-ki," Callery, p. 3; Sacred Edict. Art. 2, p. 16; "Fêng-su-t'ung," chap. iii.; "Fo-kuo-chi," chap. ii., &c.; "Han Fei-tzu," chaps. xi. and xix.; "Miao-fa," etc., chap. i.; B.'s "Le Lotus," p. 33 sts. 88, 89 et al.

[2] See "Fa-yuan-chu-lin," chap. xcviii.; "Fêng-su-t'ung," chap. vii., p. 4.

INDEX OF FOREIGN WORDS IN CHINESE.

Ācharya p. 402
Agü ,, 366
Akanishta ,, 401
Akshobya ,, 389
Aloe ,, 332
Amban ,, 366
Amitabha ,, 389
Āmra ,, 436
Anāgāmin ,, 404
Ananda ,, 393
Anavatapta ,, 428
Angudán ,, 352
Anjir ,, 349
Apium ,, 345
Arak ,, 354
Āranyaka ,, 409
Arhan ,, 404
Asañkhya ,, 430
Asura ,, 398
Avichi ,, 401

Bádán ,, 348
Badik ,, 347
Baghshi ,, 371
Bal ,, 378
Ball ,, 339
Ballút ,, 349
Balsam ,, 339
Batsa ,, 378
Baturu ,, 367
Beg ,, 357
Bhikshu ,, 401
Bithese ,, 367
Bo-de ,, 377
Bodhi ,, 418
Bodhidharma ,, 393
Bodhisattva ,, 391
Brahmā ,, 395
Brāhman ,, 407
Buddha p. 387,411

Captain p. 340
Carmine ,, 333
Cent ,, 339
Cha ,, 407
Chaghan ,, 374
Champaka ,, 438
Chandana ,, 438
Chandi ,, 399
Chao-tʻi ,, 408
Chê ,, 369
Cheque ,, 336
Chocolate ,, 333
Cigar ,, 333
Cocoa ,, 333
Company ,, 335
Consul ,, 337

Daiji ,, 372
Dakshiṇā ,, 415
Dalai ,, 370
Dāna-pati ,, 414
Dapon ,, 377
Darkhan ,, 372
Darughatsi ,, 372
Datoh ,, 346
Dharāṇi ,, 423
Dhūna ,, 442
Dhūta ,, 405
Dhyāna ,, 419
Doro ,, 365
Dozen ,, 338
Dunyā ,, 354
Dzasssak ,, 372

Efu ,, 365

Fara ,, 355
Fīrūzah ,, 352
Flannel ,, 339
Foot ,, 338
Frank p. 334
Fujin ,, 365
,,

Gaja ,, 442
Gambier ,, 344
Gandharva ,, 397
Ganges ,, 429
Garuda ,, 398
Gātha ,, 429
Gautama ,, 388
Geya ,, 429
Ghosho ,, 365
Ghyunluk ,, 358
Gig ,, 340
Gioro ,, 364
Grana ,, 333
Gurun ,, 364

Hafan ,, 366
Halileh ,, 355
Hashima ,, 368
Hingu ,, 440
Hoshang p. 358,406
Hubilhan p. 371
Hutukhtu ,, 370

Īlchi ,, 360
Imām ,, 353
Īmām ,, 353
India ,, 428
Insure ,, 336

Jambu-dvipa ,, 427
Janggin ,, 366
Janji ,, 373
Jetavana ,, 410
Jhāpevā ,, 416
Jīra ,, 440

Kablon ,, 377

Kajang p. 346
Kalampak „ 345
Kalavingka „ 443
Kanpu „ 376
Kapa „ 368
Kappal „ 346
Kapur „ 345
Kara „ 374
Karketana „ 433
Karma „ 420
Karon „ 373
Karpāsa „ 439
Kashāya „ 413
Kasyāpa „ 393
K'atags „ 377
Keke „ 366
Khadga „ 443
Khan „ 357
Khatun „ 357
Khūrma „ 348
Khvāja „ 358
Kinn ara „ 398
Knot „ 341
Koṭi „ 430
Krupp „ 334
Khsana „ 430
Kumbandhas „ 398
Kumbhira „ 444
Kusa „ 368
Kushtha „ 441

Laksha „ 430
Lama „ 375
Lanza „ 426
Latin „ 331

Maitreya „ 391
Malli „ 441
Mandāra „ 437
Mango „ 344
Mani „ 432
Manjuṣri „ 391
Mappa „ 332
Māra „ 396
Marakti „ 433
Marichi „ 440
Maskah „ 360
Maudgalyaya-na „ 349
Mazu p. 349
Merchant „ 340
Metre „ 334
Mihr „ 351
Mile „ 338
Moksha „ 420
Murdā-seng „ 348
Muslim „ 353
Myrrh „ 355

Nabo „ 373
Namas „ 422
Nangka „ 343
Nayuta „ 430
Nirvāna „ 416
Noian „ 372
Nomunkhan „ 371
Nor „ 374
Nushadir „ 350

Obo „ 373
Om maṇi pad-me hum „ 423
Ounce „ 338

Padre „ 333
Panasa „ 437
Pañcha varsha „ 420
Panshen Er-deni „ 370
Pāramita „ 418
Pāsin „ 396
Paṭh „ 425
Pātra „ 412
Peilê „ 365
Penang „ 348
Penny „ 338
Pin „ 339
Piṇd-pāta „ 413
Piṇḍāya „ 434
Pippala „ 435
Pippalī „ 441
Pound „ 337
Prajnā-para-mita „ 418
Pratyeka „ 390
Protest „ 340
Putalaka „ 429
Qahwah p. 355
Quarter „ 338
Quinine „ 334

Rahu „ 399
Rakshas „ 396
Rapa „ 332
Rifle „ 339

Sabbath „ 354
Sabūn „ 346
Sago „ 342
Ṣahā „ 427
Saklāt „ 341
Ṣakra „ 395
Ṣakridāgāma „ 304
Sākyamuni „ 388
Ṣāla „ 435
Ṣālmali „ 435
Ṣamādi „ 419
Samghaṭi „ 413
Sangha „ 406
Sanghārāma „ 409
Sappan „ 344
Ṣāri „ 344
Ṣāriputra „ 492
Ṣarīra „ 417
Ṣarong „ 346
Sde-pa „ 376
Shabat „ 351
Shahr „ 350
Shanyü „ 360
Shilling „ 337
Shir „ 350
Si-lin „ 362
Siddhanta „ 426
Silosu „ 375
Simha „ 443
Sloka „ 426
Ṣphaṭika „ 433
Srāmana „ 403
Sramanera „ 403
Srotapanna „ 404
Stupa „ 411
Su „ 359
Suf „ 355
Sula „ 368
Sultan „ 354
Sumeru „ 428

Tāla p. 489
Tāla-pattra ,, 424
Tanga ,, 358
Tangha ,, 374
Tangri ,, 356
Telephon ,, 341
T'er ,, 378
Tiryak ,, 350
Tobacco ,, 342
Ton ,, 338
Toulo ,, 439
Trayas-triṇsa 400
Tsala ,, 373
Tu-ch'i ,, 361
Tūj p. 359
Tūla ,, 439
Tu-li ,, 362
Tuman ,, 359
Tushita ,, 400

Udumbara ,, 435
Ūla ,, 374
Ullambhana,, 421
Upādhyaya (See also s. Khvāja) 406
Upāsaka ,, 402
Usu ,, 374
Vaidūrya p. 390,432
Vakūchi p. 442
Vilva ,, 438
Vyākarana ,, 425

Yakshas ,, 397
Yama ,, 395
Yāsmin ,, 354
Yoga ,, 419
Yojana ,, 431

Zafaran ,, 384
Zak ,, 375

REESE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

INDEX OF NATIVE WORKS ON CHINESE.

Chêng-shi-chih-yin p. 71
Chêng-su-yin-tzŭ ,, 46
Chêng-tzŭ-t'ung ,, 87
Chêng-yin-chü-hua ,, 99
,, ,, -hui-pien ,, 99
,, ,, -pien-wei ,, 99
,, ,, -t'ung-su-piao ,, 100
,, ,, -tso-yao ,, 99
Chi-chiu-chang ,, 29
Chi-yun ,, 60
Ch'i-yin-liao ,, 66
Chia-hsün ,, 45
Ch'ie-yun-chih-chang-t'u ,, 65
Ch'ie-yun-chih-nan ,, 73
Ching-tien-shi-wên ,, 48
Chuan-chu-ku-yin-liao ,, 82
Chung-chow-ch'uan-yun ,, 76

Fan-chiang ,, 29
Fang-yen ,, 31
Fu-ku-pien ,, 65

Han-li-tzŭ-yuan ,, 68
Hsiang-wên-yü-pien ,, 53
Hsiao-urh-ya ,, 28
Hsü-hsüan-shuo-wên-chu ,, 56
Hsü-yen ,, 95
Hung-wu-chêng-yun ,, 79

I-ch'ie-ching-yin-i ,, 52

Jen-tzŭ-hsin-k'an-Li-pu-yun-liao ,, 72

Ku-chin-t'ung-yun ,, 87
Ku-chin-wên-tzŭ ,, 44
Ku-chin-wên-tzŭ-t'ung-shi ,, 97
Ku-chin-yun-liao ,, 86
Ku-shi-yin-hsio-wu-shu ,, 85
Ku-yun-piao-ch'ün p. 90
Kuang-kan-lu-tzŭ-shu ,, 67
Kuang-shi-ming ,, 91
Kuang-ya ,, 38
Kuang-yun ,, 59,92
Kuan-yin-hui-chie-shi-i ,, 98
Kuei-yuan-chu-tsung ,, 49

Lei-pien ,, 64
Lei-yun ,, 77
Li-pu-yun-liao ,, 61
Li-shi-yin-chien ,, 96
Liu-shu-ku ,, 73
Liu-shu-liao ,, 66
Liu-shu-chêng-o ,, 78
Liu-shu-pên-i ,, 80
Liu-shu-yin-ch'ün-piao ,, 95
Lung-k'an-shou-ching ,, 58

Mao-shi-ku-yin-k'ao ,, 83
Ming-yuan ,, 64

Pan-ma-tzŭ-lei ,, 67
P'ei-wên-yun-fu ,, 88
P'i-ts'ang ,, 39
Pi-ya ,, 92
P'i-ya ,, 64
Pien-yun-kuan-chu-chi ,, 81
Po-hsio ,, 26

San-ts'ang ,, 26
San-ts'ang-hsün-ku ,, 39
Shêng-lei ,, 38,96
Shêng-lei-piao ,, 95
Shi-ming ,, 35,91
Shi-yun-ch'i-liao ,, 82
Shuo-wên ,, 33
Shuo-wên-chie-tzŭ-i-chêng ,, 93
,, ,, ,, ,, -chu ,, 94

Shuo-wên-chie-tzŭ-hsü-shi-hsi-chuan p. 55
„ „ „ „ t‘ung-hsün-ting-shêng „ 94
„ „ „ „-yun-pu „ 55
Ssŭ-shêng-ch‘ie-yun „ 42,47
„ „ „ „ -piao „ 90
„ „ -lei-pu „
Ssŭ-shi-êrh-ch‘i „ 38
Ssŭ-yin-shi-i „ 88

Ta-kuang-i-hui-yü-pien „ 50,60
T‘ang-yun „ 50
T‘ien-chu-tzŭ-yuan „ 63
Tsang-chie-hsün-tsuan „ 30
„ „ -ku „ 26
„ „ -pien „ 26
Tsêng-yun „ 62
Tzŭ-chien „ 77
„ -hui „ 84
„ -lin „ 40
„ -shi „ 46
„ -shuo „ 63

Urh-ya „ 23
„ „ -chêng-i „ 92
Urh-ya-chu-su p. 57
„ „ -hsin-i „ 64
„ „ -i „ 68
„ „ -yin-i „ 39

Wên-hsin-tiao-lung „ 44
Wên-tzŭ-chih-kuei „ 49
Wu-fang-yuan-yin „ 89
Wu-yin-chi-yun „ 68,81
„ „ -lei-chü „ 71
„ „ -pien-hai „ 69
„ „ -yun-pu „ 67

Yen-hsü-ts‘ao-t‘ang-pi-chi „ 97
Yuan-li „ 26
Yü-pien „ 45, 92
Yun-chi „ 40
Yun-fu-ch‘ün-yü „ 75
„ -hsio-chi-ch‘êng „ 80
„ „ -chih-nan „ 88
„ -hui „ 74
„ -liao „ 61
„ -pu „ 69
„ -tsuan „ 47
„ -tsung „ 62
Yung-hsi-kuang-yun „ 58

REESE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

ERRATA.

P. 1, line 4, from foot dele *not.*
„ 11, for La Couperie read Lacouperie.
„ 12, l. 2, from foot for *language* read *Languages.*
„ 14, first note, for "*vergleich*" read *Vergleich.*
„ 15, l. 15, for *anti-classical* read *ante-classical.*
„ 23, l. 8, put inverted commas after *mean* and *another.*
„ 24, l. 13, for These read The subjects.
„ „ l. 27, for *it* read *the book.*
„ 32, l. 14, for *Ju* read *Tzŭ-ju.*
„ 42, l. 1, for *Fan-yeng* read *Fang-yen.*
„ 43, l. 6, the characters for *yun* and *pu* are transposed.
„ 46, l. 17, for 丁 也 read 阤.
„ 47, l. 1, for *yen* read *yun.*
„ 48, l. 11, from foot for *yan* read *yuan.*
„ 50, l. 5, for *Chih* read *Chi.*
„ 54, "The invention of printing in China dates from the T'ang dynasty." This is not quite correct. Printing in China first began in the Sui period.
„ 58, Note, for "13th ed." read 13 ed. *i.e.* the edition in Yuan Yuan's Thirteen Classics.
„ 93, l. 10, for Kuei Fu read Kuei Fu-hsio.
„ 97, l. 1, 2, a copy of this work is in the Wylie collection in the Bodleian. By the great kindness of the Librarian I had an opportunity of inspecting the book a few months ago.
„ 107, l. 9, for "use" read "rise."
„ 108, add " after "them" at end of first paragraph.
„ 109, l. 17, for "swathling" read "swathing."
„ 110, l. 15, put comma after speech and *dele* the comma after "but."

P. 115, l. 5, for "place to place" read "time to time."
„ 117, l. 9, for "then" read "them."
„ 119, l. 10, from foot read "Missionary."
„ „ l. 8, „ „ for O read o and 1 for I.
„ 123, Note, add *Lu-shih-ch'ien-chi* (路史前紀) ch. 6.
„ 130, l. 8, after "word" insert "even."
„ 137, l. 24, omit comma after "breathes."
„ „ l. 7, from foot for "Saüsselt" read "sausselt."
„ 142, l. 6, from foot "inhaling" and "exhaling" exchange places.
„ 144, l. 8, from foot for "pearl" read "pearls."
„ 146, l. 8, for "work" read "word."
„ „ l. 13, place a comma after "like" and dele the comma after "*noh-noh.*"
„ 147, l. 6, for "*k'eh*" read "keh" and for ? read !
„ 148, l. 8, from foot for "*suak*" read "*sauk.*"
„ 154, last line, for *lu* read *Lu.*
„ 155, l. 6, for *hang* read *hsing.*
„ 162, l. 3, from foot for *ch'iang* read *Ch'iang.*
„ 166, l. 6, from foot for "is spoken of as" read "hence we find."
„ 198, l. 5, from foot for 夭 read 无 *i.e.* 無.
„ 208, l. 3, from foot for 明 read 正.
„ 210, l. 14, from foot put " before *appetitus* and after *fruentis.*
„ 215, l. 19, put comma after "brothers."
„ 216, l. 8, for 盡道 read 盡事.
„ „ l. 11, for The read To.
„ 220, l. 8, from foot for "zeal" read "real."
„ 222, l. 9, from foot for *sha-lu* read *Sha-lu.*
„ 234, l. 14, before "included" insert "not."
„ 261, l. 7, for "*befal*" read "befall."
„ „ l. 10, read "sickness-broken."
„ 297, l. 7, substitute—"It is recorded of Confucius that when a friend died and there was no one on whom the disposition of the body devolved, he said "*yü-wo-pin,* &c.

P. 297, l. 16, dele comma after "constable."
„ 302, l. 20, for *piu* read *pin.*
„ 330, l. 14, for "*chien-abi*" read *Chien-a-bi.*
„ 332, l. 11, from foot after "mappa" insert "in the sense of map."
„ 341, l. 5, for *no-t'a* read *no-t'ou.*
„ 343, Note 1, read "Crawfurd's Des. Dict.
„ 347, l. 5, for *t'on* read *t'ou.*
„ 352, l. 18, for "as tone" read "a stone."
„ 365, l. 2, after "eldest" add But *Kurun* is an old Nü-chên word meaning *Princess* or *wife of chieftain.*
„ 366, l. 7, from foot after "resides" add—This word, written *An-pan* (揞 板) is found in Chinese literature as a Nü-chên term, and interpreted as meaning *great.*
„ 379, l. 7, from foot after 佛 substitute , for .
„ 399, l. 2, from foot for "Maūchi" read "Marīchi."
„ 403, l. 17, for "Szamana" read "Sramana."
„ 417, l. 12, for "Ṣaria" read "Ṣārīra.
„ „ l. 14, for do. read do.
„ „ l. 23, for "Chatya" read "Chaitya."
„ „ l. 24, for "achitā" read "a *chitā.*"
„ 425, l. 19, for "Vy-ākaraṇa" read Vyākarana."
„ „ l. 20, read (or-*Chia* or-ga)-lo.
„ „ last line, for *Ga* read "*ga.*"

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.